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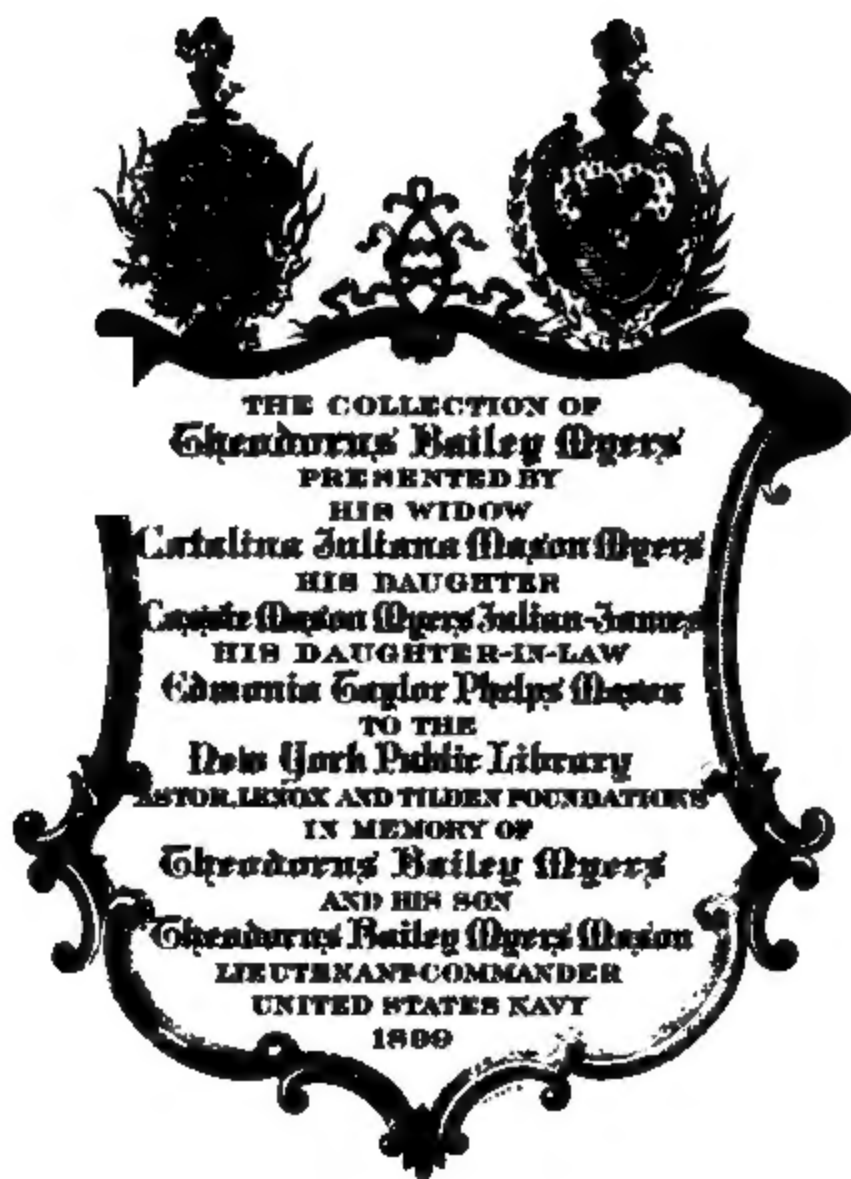
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 Robert Inow.





C E

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
AS WELL
Ecclesiastical as Civil.

BY
M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING

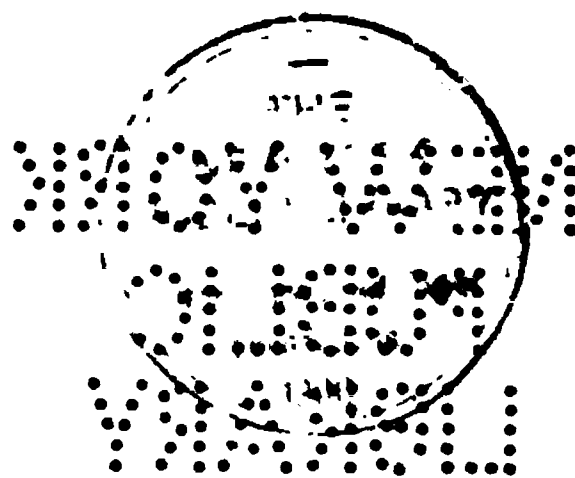
- I. The Reigns of HENRY II. RICHARD I.
JOHN, and HENRY III.
- II. The State of the CHURCH of ENGLAND
from the Year 1154 to 1272.
-

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and
useful NOTES mark'd with an *, by

N. TINDAL, A. M. Vicar of Great
Waltham in Essex.

*Illustrated with the Heads of the KINGS curiously engrav'd
on Copper-Plates, by Mr. Vertue.*

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THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK VII.

*The Restoration of the Saxon Line: The Reigns
of Henry II. and Richard I. containing the
Space of Forty-five Years.*

SECT. I.

5. HENRY II. *Sirnam'd*
PLANTAGENET.

THE *English* were too much tir'd out
with the Civil Wars, that had so long
rag'd in the Kingdom, willingly to
run the Risk of seeing them renew'd.
Tho' the Death of *Stephen* might ea-
sily have furnish'd a Handle for fresh
Comotions, they patiently waited

1154.
Duke Hen-
ry comes to
the Crown
without
Opposition.

for the Duke of *Normandy's* Coming, which was not till
six Weeks after he had receiv'd the News. During which
Time, not a Man offer'd to dispute his Title. Besides
that *William*, Son to *Stephen*, was a Prince of little Me-
rit,

1154. rit, the late Proceedings of the greatest Part of the Barons against the King his Father, kept them from adhering to the Fortune of the young Prince, for fear of putting it in his Power to be reveng'd. Moreover, *Henry* was not only powerful beyond *Sea*, but had also a great Party in the Kingdom, and the strongest Places were in the Hands of his Creatures. So that, had *William* been minded to make an Attempt on the Throne, he wou'd have fallen short of his Design for want of necessary Assistance.

1155.
He is
crown'd.

Henry then was crown'd * the next day after his Arrival, pursuant to the Agreement made with *Stephen*, of which all the Barons of the Realm were Guarantees. 'Twas with extreme Satisfaction, that the *English* beheld on the Throne a Prince descended by the Mother's Side from their antient Kings, and who gave the Crown a brighter Lustre than ever. He added to it as so many new Gems, *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Normandy*, which he was actually possess'd of. In the mean time *England*, which made the most considerable Part of his Dominions, had endur'd such violent Shocks in the late Reign, that in order to regain its antient Splendor some Rest was entirely necessary. The most proper Means to that End, was the putting it out of the Power of the *Factions* to excite new Troubles. Accordingly *Henry* made This his chief Business from the first hour of his Reign. He began with demolishing the great Number of Castles that had been fortified in *Stephen's* Reign, and which serv'd only for Sanctuaries to Robbers, and such as should have a Mind to disturb the Publick. The Bishop of *Winchester* alone had six of the most considerable, which he forfeited for going out of the Kingdom without Leave. This first Step, by which the King let the Barons see he was resolv'd to keep them in Obedience, was follow'd by another no less beneficial to the Kingdom; and that was, the sending away the Foreign Troops entertain'd by *Stephen*. These Soldiers, known in the *English* Historians by the Name of *Brabançons*, and in the *French*

He demolishes the
Castles.

He dis-
bands the
Foreign
Troops.

* By *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* on the 20th of *December*, in the 23d Year of his Age, at *Westminster*.

French by that of *Routiers* or *Cotteraux*, were a Mixture of People from several Parts of *Europe*, and particularly from *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*. As they profess'd themselves independent of any particular Prince, they serv'd indifferently whoever had a Mind to employ them, provided they found their Account in it. Not to be regularly paid they look'd upon as an Advantage, because they took Occasion from thence to plunder the Friends as well as Enemies of those that entertain'd them. So that usually, the Assistance of these Troops became very burthensom to the Princes themselves for whom they fought, as the *English* had frequently experienc'd. *Henry*, willing to ease his People of this dead Weight which had for so long time lain heavy upon them, dismiss'd all the Foreigners, without suffering so much as one to remain behind. *William* of *Tpres*, their General, did not think fit to stay till he was order'd to depart, the cold Reception he met with at Court, having already convinc'd him that his Absence wou'd be very acceptable.

Had the new King stopp'd here, one might have had Reason to believe he had acted with a sole View to the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Kingdom. But he plainly discover'd, he was sway'd by a more Self-interested Motive, when shortly after, he revok'd all the *Grants* made by his Predecessor, and resum'd all the Lands which had been alienated from the Crown. The Possessors were extremely shagrin'd, and loudly murmur'd at this Proceeding, affirming 'twas very unjust to deprive them of what had been given them in recompense of their *Services*. Especially They who had sided with the King and the Empress his Mother were fill'd with Indignation to see themselves thus confounded with the Partisans of *Stephen*. These Last on the other Hand, maintain'd that by adhering to the King that was actually on the Throne, they had done the Part of *faithful* Subjects, and that by depriving them of their Estates, on that Score, a *President* was establish'd, which might one Day be very prejudicial to the King now reigning. There were several that even refus'd to comply; but upon the King's approach at the Head of his

*He recalls
the Grants
made by
Stephen.*

1155.

Army to constrain them to submit, they were in no Condition to resist, only *Hugh Mortimer* presum'd to stand it out for some time in one of his Castles, which Resistance cost him the Loss of all the others he was possess'd of. *William of Blois*, Son to King *Stephen*, far'd no better than the rest. *Henry* despoil'd him of all that had been granted him by the King his Father, and of all his Lands left him none but what belong'd to his Family before *Stephen's* Accession to the Crown. And yet he had an incontestable Title to his Estates by the Agreement that the King his Father had made with *Henry*. But of what Force are Treaties against Breach of Faith, back'd with Power? Thus the Nobility, who had been enrich'd by the Liberality of the late King, or of the Empress *Matilda*, were, on a sudden, impoverish'd by the Policy of *Henry*, who had had frequent Occasion to remark how arrogant their *Riches* had made them. *Henry* shew'd also, that he acted out of a Principle of Revenge, by depriving the Barons of the *new Creation*, of the honourable *Titles* conferr'd on them by *Stephen*, on pretence they were bestow'd on them, as a Recompence for siding with an Usurper.

*He abuses
a Council.*

After the King had taken all the Precautions he thought proper for the restoring Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he chose a *Council* out of the most eminent Persons as well among the *Clergy* as the *Nobility*. *Theobald*, Archbishop, *Thomas Becket* Archdeacon, of *Canterbury*, who was just made *Chancellor*, *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, Great Justiciary of the Realm, held the first Rank in it. At the Head of the *Cabinet-Council* was *Matilda* his Mother, whom long Experience and her own Misfortunes had render'd wise at her own Cost. These two *Councils* being establish'd, *Henry* conven'd an Assembly-General or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he caus'd the Barons to swear Fealty to *William* and *Henry* his Sons, the first of which died a few Days after this Ceremony. Before the Assembly broke up, the King consented that the *Laws of Edward* shou'd be put in Force, and of his own accord confirm'd the Charter of *Henry I.* his Grandfather. These Proceedings of the new King gave great Hopes

*The Ba-
rons swear
Fealty to
the King's
Sons.*

Hopes to the Honest and Peaceable, whilst they struck the Wicked and Injurious with Terror, who found themselves reduc'd to the Necessity either of abandoning the Kingdom, or of behaving themselves in a very different manner from what they had hitherto done. They were very sensible, they had to deal with a Prince, who was fully resolv'd to root out the Licentiousness introduc'd in the late Reign.

1155.

Pope *Anastasius* dying this Year, *Adrian IV.* an *Eng-*
lishman, succeeded to the *Papacy* *.

Adrian IV.
Pope.

As soon as *Henry* had made an end of settling his Affairs in *England*, he went over Sea to do *Homage* to the King of *France* for the Provinces he held in that Kingdom. His Possessions there render'd him the most powerful Vassal of the Crown of *France*, and almost equal to the Sovereign himself, whose *Demesns* were very inconsiderable in comparison of what they were in process of Time. As the Dominions *Henry* and his Successors were possess'd of in *France*, prov'd the Occasion of numberless Wars between the *French* and *English*; it will not be improper to explain, in a few Words, wherein consisted at that time the Strength of the Kings of *France*. From whence we shall be enabled to form a just Idea of their Power, and see at the same time the wide Difference, on that score, between the first Successors of *Hugh Capet*, and Those, that in these latter Days have sway'd the Sceptre of that Kingdom.

1156
Henry
goes into
Norman-
dy.
Hoved.
Diceto.

When *Hugh Capet* had usurp'd the Crown from the House of *Charles the Great*, he thought he cou'd make use of no better Method to fix himself in the Throne, than to manage it so, that the late *Revolution* might greatly turn to the Advantage of the *French Nobility*. To engage them there-

Reflections
on the
Strength
of the
Kings of
France.

* His Name was *Nicholas Break-spear*, said to be the Son of a *Bondsman* belonging to the Abby of *St. Albans*, where being refus'd to be made a *Monk*, he went beyond Sea, and improv'd so in Learning. that the Pope made him Bishop of *Alba*, and his Legate to *Germany*, and afterwards a Cardinal. He prov'd a stout and active Pope: Tho' he held the Chair but four Years; He put the City of *Rome* under an *Interdict* for insulting one of his Cardinals, and excommunicated *William King* of *Sicily*.

1156. therefore to support his Usurpation, he made a Grant of the Provinces, of which they were only Governors, to them and their Heirs, by the Name of *Fiefs*. These Grants he confirm'd by *Authentick Charters*, wherein he articted that the *Fiefs* shou'd devolve to the Crown in default of Heirs. Moreover, he reserv'd the Right of confiscating them in case of Rebellion; and for other Reasons specified in the *Charters*. By this immense Bounty, he stor'd *France* at once with great Numbers of powerful *Lords*, or rather *Princes*; who holding their Lands by *Hereditary Right*, became so many *Sovereigns*. The Crown then had nothing left but the Governments *Hugh Capet* was possess'd of before he mounted the Throne. But these *Demesns*, to which he added some vacant Governments, were very considerable, by reason he was grown exceeding Powerful upon the Decline of the House of *Charlemaign*. I am well aware, that All are not agreed that *Hugh Capet* was the first that chang'd the Governments into *Fiefs*, and that it is affirm'd it was done by some of the first Kings of that Race. But besides that the Opinion I have follow'd is the most probable, the difference of a few Years, whether more or less, is of no moment with regard to the general State of *France*, of which I wou'd be understood to speak.

Among these *Fiefs*, there were some distinguish'd for their great Extent, the which were stil'd *Peerdoms*. Of this Sort there were six *Ecclesiastical*, and six *Lay* ones. But as the first have little Relation to the *English* History, it will be needless to mention them *. Of the six *Lay-Peerdoms*, three were *Dukedom*s, viz. *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and three *Earldom*s, namely, *Flanders*, *Tholouse*, and *Champagne*. Each of these six *Peers* had *Vassals* which held their Lands of him, in the same manner as he himself held his *Peerdom* of the Crown. For Instance, the Duke of *Normandy* had for *Vassal* the Duke of *Bretaign*, by the Concession of *Charles the Simple*, who annex'd this Right to the Grant which he made to *Rollo*.
Hence

* They were the Archbishopricks of *Rheims*, *Laon*, and *Langres*, and the Bishopricks of *Beauvais*, *Noyon* and *Chalons*.

Hence we may see, how bare and naked the Crown of *France* was, and how inconsiderable its Revenues were, in comparison of what they were afterwards, down to the Time of *Lewis VII.* Sirnam'd the *Young*, who was on the Throne of *France* when our *Henry* came to the Crown of *England*. The Kings of *France* had not as yet united any of these great *Fiefs* to their *Demesns*. 'Tis easy therefore to perceive, that the new King of *England*, who held two of the most considerable *Peerdoms*, besides many other Provinces, was possess'd of as much or more Lands in the Kingdom, than the King of *France* himself. But yet, notwithstanding the narrow Extent of the *Demesns* of the Crown, the King of *France* was however a very Potent Prince, on Account of the Succours he receiv'd from his *Vassals*: Succours, which were furnish'd sometimes out of Duty, and sometimes voluntarily. When the Kingdom was engag'd in a War, with the Advice and Consent of the States, each *Vassal* was oblig'd to find a certain Number of Troops; in which Case the Sovereign appear'd at the Head of a formidable Army. But when the King enter'd upon a War of his own accord, or for his own private Interest, the *Vassals* were at Liberty to furnish or not to furnish him with their *Quota* of Troops. They even look'd upon themselves as priviledg'd to take up Arms against him, in case they were oppress'd, or meerly for having Justice denied them. Such being the Nature of the *French Constitution*, 'tis no wonder, that in the History of that Kingdom, we find their Kings marching one while with a very inconsiderable Number of Forces, and another while at the Head of puissant Armies. Their main Strength consisted in the Succours they had from their *Vassals*. But Matters were quite otherwise when once they had united to the Crown some of those large *Demesns* which had been granted in *Fee*. Then by Degrees, they found the means to lay aside the Distinction between a *necessary* and an *unnecessary* War. Without troubling themselves to get their Designs approv'd by the *States*, they oblig'd their *Vassals* to furnish them with Succours at all Times, confounding incessantly the private Views

Mezeray.

1156.

Views of the King, with the Interest of the Publick. They even made use of some of their *Vassals* or Instruments to oppress the others. This, added to the Opportunities that naturally offer'd, to unite several Provinces to the Crown for want of Heirs, increased their Strength in such a manner, as enabled them at length to keep their *Vassals* in Obedience: But it was not but by Degrees, and after a long Space of Time, that they arriv'd at that height of Power.

Henry
wages War
with his
Brother
Geoffrey.
Gervase.

His Design to do Homage to the King of *France*, was not the sole Motive of *Henry's* crossing the Sea: His chief Aim was to recover *Anjou*, which *Geoffrey* his Brother had seiz'd, upon the following Claim. *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, Father to these two Princes, had order'd by his last Will, that *Henry*, his eldest Son, shou'd inherit the Possessions of *Matilda* their Mother, which included *Normandy*, and her Right to *England*. To *Geoffrey* his second Son, he had bequeath'd *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Main*; and left to a third Son, nam'd *William*, only the Earldom of *Mortaign*. But as it wou'd have been unreasonable to deprive the Empress his Wife of her Possessions during her Life, or to make *Henry* wait for her Death without any Inheritance in the mean while; he added another Clause in his Will, namely, that *Henry* shou'd enjoy, 'till the Empress's Death, the three Earldoms assign'd to *Geoffrey*, reserving to this last, the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, 'till such time as his elder Brother shou'd deliver him up the Paternal Estate, upon his becoming possess'd of *Normandy*. To secure the Performance of this Will, the Earl caus'd his Barons solemnly to swear, That they wou'd not suffer his Body to be buried, 'till his eldest Son had sworn to fulfil his *Last Will*. 'Twas with great Difficulty that *Henry* was prevail'd upon to take this Oath. He was of Opinion, that the Earl his Father had done him a great Injury in depriving him of these three Earldoms, which, according to Custom, ought to devolve to him as eldest Son. However, rather than his Father's Body shou'd lye unbury'd, he had sworn to execute his Will. Some time after, *Matilda* his Mother

having

having deliver'd him up *Normandy*, *Geoffrey* thought he had a Right to take possession of *Anjou*; but, as was related before, *Henry* drove him out of that Province. As soon as his Brother was on the Throne of *England*, *Geoffrey* renew'd his Pretensions; and whilst the King was busied in his Island, he once more took possession of *Anjou*. The *Angevins* espous'd his Cause, chusing rather to have a private Earl, than be in dependance on the Crown of *England*. Besides, he was assisted by the King of *France*, who was always upon the Watch to lessen *Henry's* Power, whom he look'd upon as a very formidable Neighbour. When the Earl of *Anjou* made his *Will*, there was little appearance of his Eldest Son's ever mounting the Throne of *England*; *Stephen's* Affairs being at that time in a prosperous Condition. For this Reason it was that he consider'd that Kingdom only as a Thing to which indeed his Son had a Right to pretend, but of which he had but very distant Hopes. It was not reasonable therefore, that *Henry*, whilst he waited for the Empress's Death, shou'd be depriv'd of the Inheritance of his Father, the which was the ground of his Father's leaving him the three Earldoms during his Mother's Life. To consider only the Intent of this *Will*, 'twas manifest, that as soon as *Henry* was in possession of *Normandy* and *England*, he ought to have yielded up *Anjou* to *Geoffrey*, especially as he had sworn to do so: But he affirm'd that the *Will* was void, and that the Earl his Father had not Power to deprive the First-born of the Patrimony he had receiv'd from his Ancestors. His Oath therefore was the only thing that stood in his way: But he found the means to get over that by a Dispensation from the Pope, which he procur'd without any Difficulty. Being back'd by the Pope's Authority, he immediately resolv'd upon a War with his Brother, the carrying on of which was the chief Motive of his leaving *England*. After he had done Homage to the King of *France*, he march'd towards *Poitou*, and took from his Brother the Cities of *Mirebel*, *Chinon*, and *Lodun*; then entring *Anjou*, in spite of all the Resistance *Geoffrey* could

Henry dis-
possesses Ge-
offrey of
Anjou.

1156. cou'd make, he became Master of all the fortified Places, and drove him out of the Country.

*The Affairs
of Bre-
taign.*

This Prince, thus turn'd out of All, wou'd have been in a wretched Case, had not Fortune thrown in his way the Earldom of *Nantes*, of which the Inhabitants voluntarily made him an Offer. As this Event drew after it several remarkable Consequences, 'twill not be improper to clear up this Matter a little. *Conan the Gross*, Duke of *Bretaign*, had a Son nam'd *Hoël*, and a Daughter call'd *Bertha*, married to *Eudo* Earl of *Pontevre* her Relation, by whom she had a Son called *Conan*, from his Mother's Father. Some Suspicions, whether well or ill grounded, having induc'd *Conan the Gross* to disown and disinherit his Son *Eudo* Husband, to *Bertha*, got Possession of *Bretaign*, after the Death of his Father-in-law, in spite of *Hoël*, who had only the City of *Nantes* on his side. *Bertha's* Death, which happen'd four Years after, was the Occasion of fresh Claims. *Conan*, her Son, Sirnam'd *the Little*, pretending that *Bretaign* was his Mother's Inheritance, to which *Eudo* his Father had no manner of Right, assum'd the Title of Duke of *Bretaign*: *Eudo* for his part, willing to keep possession of the Dukedom, there arose between the Father and Son a War which lasted many Years, and ended in the entire Defeat of *Eudo*, who was oblig'd to fly for Refuge to the Court of *France*.

Conan the little was no sooner in Possession of *Bretaign*, but he took in Hand the reducing to his Obedience the City of *Nantes*, which since the Death of *Conan the Gross*, made a separate State by itself under the Dominion of *Hoël*. When the Inhabitants of *Nantes* first espous'd the Cause of *Hoël*, they did it out of a Motive of Justice, being perswaded that the Duke his Father had wrong'd him very much in disinheriting him. Afterwards, they found themselves so deceiv'd in the good Opinion they had entertain'd of him, that they expell'd him, believing him incapable of defending them against *Conan* who was preparing to attack them. From that Time, *Hoël* is no more mention'd in History. In the mean while, the People of *Nantes*, not being able to bring themselves to submit to *Conan*,

Conan, call in *Geoffrey* Brother to the King of *England*, and own him for Sovereign. Thus *Geoffrey* became Earl of *Nantes* immediately after his being driven out of *Anjou*: but he liv'd not long to enjoy his new Earldom.

1156.
Geoffrey
made Earl
of *Nantes*.
Brompton

After *Henry* had finish'd the reducing of *Anjou*, he return'd to *England*. Upon his Arrival he made a very advantageous Treaty with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who yielded up to him *Carlisle*, *Newcastle*, and *Bamborough-Castle*, resting satisfied with the Earldom of *Huntington*, which Prince *Henry* his Father had held. The Restitution of these Places was doubtless no more than what was just, since *David*, Grandfather of *Malcolm*, had caus'd them to be adjudg'd to him by Treaties at a Time when *Stephen* minded more his own private Interest, than the publick Good of the Kingdom. But in all appearance *Henry's* great Power contributed more than any Thing else to the bringing the King of *Scotland* to this Temper.

Henry re-
covers
Northum-
berland.
Paris.
Hoveden.

One can't but be surpris'd that the *Welsh*, when *Henry* was become so formidable, shou'd venture to attack him upon no Account, and make Incursions into his Frontiers. The Ravages they committed so incens'd the King, that he resolv'd to be severely reveng'd of them. To this End he drew together a powerful Army, and march'd into *Wales*, where he put all to Fire and Sword. Upon his Approach the *Welsh* had retir'd to their Mountains, where 'twas not possible to come at them, how much soever he endeavour'd to do it. It even happen'd one day that his Vanguard being gotten into a narrow Streight, were entirely routed. The Terror this Accident struck into the Rest of the *English* Troops, was still heightned by the imprudent Conduct of *Henry de Essex*, Hereditary Standard-Bearer of *England*. Upon a Rumour which ran thro' the Army that the King was slain, he forsook the Standard, and fled away with all the Speed he cou'd make, crying out, *The King is dead*. This Action, for which he was afterwards punish'd, threw the *English* into so great Consternation, that had not the King shown himself to them, he wou'd have been in danger of losing that Day his whole Army. Notwithstanding these Advantages, the *Welsh*

1157.
War with
the Welsh.
Paris.

1157. thought themselves very happy that the King, tired out with so troublesome a War, was willing to grant them a Peace. By the Treaty he made with them he reserv'd to himself the Liberty of cutting through their Woods large Roads, which might be open to him when ever he should have a mind to enter their Country. He caus'd them also to deliver up certain Castles, which they had made themselves Masters of during the Troubles of the late Reign.

1158.
*The Birth
of Richard
Son to the
King.*

In the Beginning of the next year, *Henry's* Family was increas'd by the Birth of a second Son, whom he call'd *Richard*. A few days after, he renew'd the Ceremony of his Coronation in the Suburbs of *Lincoln*, not being so hardy as to do it within the Walls of the City. He shew'd himself more scrupulous in this Point, or perhaps more condescending to the Prejudices of the People than his Predecessor *Stephen*.

1159.
*Birth of
Prince
Geoffrey.*

*The King
and Queen
never
wear their
Crowns a-
gain.
Hoved.
Chr. Nor.*

*New Mo-
ney.
Hoved.*

A year after, a third Son was born to the King, who was nam'd *Geoffrey*. This same year he was crown'd a third Time at *Worcester* together with the Queen. These superfluous Coronations, which were very frequent in those Days, seem to be design'd only to amuse the People, and to let them see that the King really intended to keep the Oath which was taken on these Occasions. At this last Solemnity, the King and Queen coming to the *Oblation*, laid their Crowns on the Altar, and vow'd never to wear them more. From thenceforward the Custom of the Kings wearing their Crowns during the Celebration of the solemn Festivals was by Degrees disus'd. At least we meet with but few Instances in the succeeding Reigns. About this Time *Henry* order'd the Money to be new coin'd, the current Coin of the Kingdom having been very much adulterated during the Reign of *Stephen* *.

These

* The Coin was grown so bad in his Reign, that scarce one Piece in ten wou'd pass. The usual Money in those Days were thin Pieces of Silver of about the Weight, Breadth, and intrinsick Value of a Queen *Elizabeth's* *Three-pence*; which was their *Penny*, and from which we still ret in the Name of *Penny-weight*, (*i. e.*) $\frac{1}{16}$ of an Ounce. In succeeding Reigns larger Pieces of four Times the Bulk and Weight

These peaceful Employments not at all suiting the warlike Temper of the King, the Death of his Brother *Geoffrey*, which fell out quickly after, gave him an Opportunity of entering upon Action. As soon as this Prince was laid in his Grave, the Duke of *Bretaign* seiz'd upon the City of *Nantz* and the whole Earldom of that Name. But *Henry* pretended that, as Heir to his Brother, it belong'd to him. And in order to make his Title valid, he pass'd into *Normandy* with so considerable a Body of Troops, that it plainly appear'd, he was bent to go through with that Matter. Whilst he waited for the Season's permitting him to enter upon his Expedition, he went and made a Visit to the King of *France*, with a Design to gain him over to his Side, or at least to get him to stand neuter. He was very sensible, if *Lewis* interpos'd not in this Affair, the Duke of *Bretaign* cou'd not give him much Trouble. Amidst the Civilities he receiv'd from *Lewis*, he found the Way to manage him so dextrously, that before they parted, a Marriage was concluded between *Henry's* eldest Son, who was not above five years of Age, and *Margaret* the *French* King's Daughter, an Infant of five or six Months old. Having thus made sure of *France*, he went and headed his Army with a Resolution to take the City by Force, if *Conan* refus'd to give him peaceable Possession. As *Conan* was by no Means a Match for the King of *England*, he was constrain'd to give way to his Power. But the Conquest of *Nantz* was not the only Benefit *Henry* reap'd from this Expedition. Before he quitted *Bretaign*, he made a Treaty with *Conan*, whereby the Duke oblig'd himself to give his Daughter *Constance* in Marriage to *Geoffrey*, *Henry's* Son, who was then in his Cradle. By this Marriage, which was celebrated five years after, notwithstanding the Bridegroom's Youth, *Geoffrey* became Duke

1159.
*The Death
of Geof-
frey the
King's Bro-
ther.*

*Affairs of
Bretaign.
Brompt.*

Diceto.

*Argentre
c. 2. l. 15.*

Weight of these, were minted; and from such Increase of their Size were call'd *Groats*, and weigh'd as much as our present Shillings. The Silver Pennies after the Conquest were much the same with the *Saxon* Ones: The King's Head is full-fac'd, with a Sceptre in his Hand. *Stephen's* Penny is the First that's half-fac'd,

1159. Duke of *Bretaign* upon the Death of his Father-in-law.

Henry's
Design up-
on Tho-
louse.

The large Dominions *Henry* possess'd, and the Earldom of *Nantz* which he had just acquir'd, with Hopes of adding one day to it all *Bretaign*, were not sufficient to content him. His Ambition still increasing as he made new Conquests, he undertook to revive his Queen's Title to the Earldom of *Tholouse*, which was of a very great Extent. The Alliance he had just enter'd into with *Lewis the Younger*, made him hope that Monarch wou'd give him as little Disturbance in *Languedoc* as he had done in *Bretaign*, and that he wou'd leave him at Liberty to extend his Frontiers in that Quarter. But he was out in his Conjectures. I shall first clear up Queen *Eleanor's* Title to *Tholouse*, and then see what was the Success of that Expedition.

The
Queen's
Title to
Tholouse.
Cat. Hist.
des Comt.
de Toul.
Pol. Virg.
Chr. Nor.

William IV. Earl of *Tholouse*, Cotemporary with the Conqueror, had but one Daughter call'd *Philippa*, who was married to *William VIII.* Earl of *Poictiers*, *Eleanor's* Grandfather. By this Marriage the Earldom of *Tholouse* was to fall one day to the House of *Poictiers*, which was also in Possession of *Guienne*. But *William*, Father of *Philippa*, imagin'd he cou'd secure it in his own Family by selling it to *Raymond* of *St. Giles* his younger Brother. This Sale, whether real or pretended, wou'd have been but a weak Means to deprive the Countess of *Poictiers* of the Inheritance of her Father, if certain Accidents had not concurr'd in Favour of *Raymond*, who continued in Possession of the Earldom of *Tholouse*, after his Brother's Death. The Design of the Earl of *Poictiers*, Husband to *Philippa*, of mortgaging his *Demesns* to *William Rufus* in order to equip himself for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, having been frustrated by the Death of *William*, he applied himself elsewhere, and at length rais'd the Money by mortgaging his Revenues for several Years. His Expences on this Occasion, and his Misfortune in losing all his Equipage, constrain'd him to return Home, where however he cou'd have no Prospect of retrieving his Loss, by reason his Revenues were all mortgag'd. *Raymond* of *St. Giles* laying hold of this Juncture, offer'd him a considerable

Sum

Sum to renounce his Right to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. 1159.
 As Matters then ſtood with the Earl of *Poitiers*, he readily liſten'd to this Propoſal, and ſtruck up a Bargain with *Raymond*. By this Agreement, *Raymond* kept poſſeſſion of the Earldom, which his Poſterity enjoy'd after without meeting with any Diſturbance from the Earl of *Poitiers* or his Son *William IX*. After the Death of this Laſt, *Lewis the younger*, who had married *Eleanor* his only Daughter and Heir, reviv'd the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Poitiers* to the Earldom of *Tholouſe*. He maintain'd that the Sale made by Earl *William* to *Raymond*, was all a feigned Thing. In the next Place, that *Raymond* had impos'd upon the eaſy Nature of the Earl of *Poitiers*, and purchas'd his Right at much too cheap a Rate. Laſtly, that he had not even paid the whole Sum that was agreed upon. From hence he inferr'd, that the Bargain was void, and conſequently that *Eleanor* ought to enter upon all that *Philippa* her Grandmother was entitled to, upon Re-payment to the Earl of *Tholouſe* what the Earl of *Poitiers* had receiv'd. *Raymond V*. who was then Earl of *Tholouſe* was then at a great Loſs, on account of this Claim. 'Twas to no Purpoſe to plead *Preſcription*, which is ſometimes of Service in private Affairs. That was too weak a Fence againſt a Prince, who had it in his Power to break through it by Force of Arms. However, after Matters had been debated for ſome Time, an End was put to the Affair by a Marriage between Earl *Raymond* and *Conſtance* Siſter to *Lewis* and Widow to *Enſtace* the Son of King *Stephen*. On account of this Marriage *Lewis* dropp'd his Pretenſions, and as long as he liv'd with *Eleanor*, the Earl of *Tholouſe* remain'd unmoleſted.

Eleanor's ſecond Marriage created *Raymond* freſh Diſturbances. *Henry*, who was entitled to the ſame Rights the King of *France* had thrown up, laid Claim to the Earldom of *Tholouſe* upon the ſame Grounds as *Lewis* had done before him. *Raymond* pleaded a-new the Purchase made by his Grandfather, the Reſignation of the Houſe of *Poitiers*, beſides a long Poſſeſſion which exceeded the Time allow'd by the Laws for a *Preſcription*. Upon theſe Accounts

1159. counts he resolv'd to keep his Possession of the Earldom. This was the State of the Case, which was to be decided by Arms. To bring about his Designs the more easily, *Henry* made an Alliance with *Raymond* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, and got the King of *Scotland* to bring him a powerful Aid. As soon as his Army was ready, he march'd towards *Languedoc*, in his Way took *Cahors*, and then went and sat down before *Tholouse*.

Catel
Pol. Virg.

1159. *Lewis the younger*, who cou'd not look on *Henry's*
1160. Greatness without Jealousy, had us'd such Expedition,
1161. that he had thrown himself into *Tholouse* a few Days be-
1162. fore. The large Extent of that City, and the *French* King's
Henry be- Succours, render'd the Siege of it so difficult, that *Henry*
sieves Tho- did not think it in his Power to compass his Ends. Ac-
louse. cordingly without any more ado, he rais'd the Siege and
return'd into his own Dominions. *Mezeray* says, he might
easily have become Master of the City, if he had not made
a Conscience of besieging his Sovereign. But one can
hardly believe, that he really broke up the Siege upon that
Account, since on other Occasions he did not appear to
have so great a Regard for the King of *France*. Be this
Fitz Step. as it will, he march'd back to *Normandy*, leaving *Cahors*
to the Care of *Thomas Becket* his Chancellor. In his
March homewards, he went into *Beauvoiris* where he com-
mitted great Ravages, in Revenge for the King of *France's*
breaking his Measures. At the same Time *Simon* Earl of
Montfort put into his Hands some Castles in the Neigh-
bourhood of *Paris*, by the Means of which all Communi-
cation with *Orleans* was entirely cut off. The Advan-
tage he might make of 'This, forc'd *Lewis* to send Pro-
posals for a Cessation of Arms, which was agreed upon
for a Year. During the Truce, the two Monarchs con-
cluded a Treaty of Peace, whereby was confirm'd the Trea-
ty they had made at *Paris*, without any mention at all of
Tholouse. So that *Henry* kept up during his Life, his Pre-
tension to that *Peerdom*, and by his Death left them to his
Successor, who thought fit to drop them.

Peace be-
tween Hen-
ry and
Lewis.

Williams

William Earl of *Blois*, Son of King *Stephen*, died in his Return from the Expedition to *Tholouse*, where he had attended the King.

1159.
Diceto.
Hoveden.

Pope *Adrian* dying in 1159, the Election of a new Pope occasion'd a *Schism*, which lasted a long Time. The Majority of the Cardinals elected *Roland* a Native of *Siena*, who took the Name of *Alexander III.* The Rest chose Cardinal *Octavian*, who stil'd himself *Victor V.* Almost All the Princes of Christendom own'd *Alexander* for Pope. But the *Germans* espous'd the Cause of *Victor*, who finding himself back'd by the Emperor *Barbarossa*, drove his Rival out of *Rome*, and forc'd him to seek for Shelter in *France*.

Death of
Adrian IV.
Schism.
Paris.
Hoveden.

The last Peace concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, was only, as hath been said, a Confirmation of the Treaty of *Paris*, wherein they had agreed upon a Marriage between *Henry's* eldest Son and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Lewis*. The Princess was to have for her Dower the City of *Gisors* and Part of the *Vexin*, which for that Purpose were to remain in the Custody of the *Knights Templars* *, till the Marriage shou'd be solemniz'd. Pursuant to this Treaty, Chancellor *Becket* was sent to *Paris* with a magnificent Retinue, to demand the young Princess, who was to be educated in *England* till she became marriageable. Quickly after her Arrival at *London*, *Henry* order'd the Nuptials to be celebrated, though the Bridegroom was but seven, and the Bride but three years old. Upon which the *Knights Templars*, thinking that he had sufficiently perform'd his Promise, put him in Possession of *Gisors*. The precipitating this Matter occasion'd

Chr. Non

Marriage
of the
young
Prince.

* The Order of the *Knights of the Temple*, instituted by *Gelasius* in 1119, had their Name from dwelling in a Part of the Temple at *Jerusalem* assign'd them by King *Baldwin*. They were but nine at first, and their Business was to lead in their Armor, Christian Strangers and Pilgrims thro' the *Holy Land*. They increas'd so at length that they had great Estates in all Parts of *Christendom*; and growing too potent they were suppress'd by *Clemens V.* 1309, and by the Council of *Vienna* 1312. The Master of the Temple here in *England* was summon'd to Parliament. From whom the Minister of the Temple-Church has his Name.

1162.
A War be-
tween
Lewis and
Henry.
Hoved.
Treaty of
Peace.

The Re-
spect paid
the Pope by
the two
Kings.

the renewing of the War between the two Kings. *Lewis* complain'd that the King of *England* had brib'd the *Great Master of the Temple*. *Henry* maintain'd, that, having perform'd his Part of the Treaty, he had done no Injury to the King of *France* by taking Possession of *Gisors*. This War, which lasted but a very little while, had an End put to it by the Mediation of *Alexander III.* who was just come to *France*. His Legates, whom he had sent before, having prepar'd the Way for an Accommodation, the two Kings went together to receive the Pope at *Torcy* upon the *Loire*. When they came near him, they both alighted, and each taking hold of one of the Reins of his Bridle, they conducted him to the Lodgings prepar'd for him.

Echard.

All these Events, I mean the Conquest of *Nantz*, the Siege of *Tholouse*, the Marriage of Prince *Henry*, and the War with *France*, fell out between the years 1159, and 1163. I have forbore the giving Each their particular Date, by reason of the great Diversity among Historians on that Head. Upon this Account perhaps it is, that a famous *Modern* has included all these Particulars within the Compass of eight or nine Lines.

1163.
The flourish-
ing
Condition
of Henry.

After *Henry* had settled the Affairs which had detain'd him in *France* four years, he return'd into *England* in 1163. The Condition he was in, gave him Room to hope nothing cou'd disturb his Happiness. He had just made a Peace with *France*, which in all Appearance wou'd be of a long Continuance. The *Welsh* lay still in their own Country. The King of *Scotland* had given a convincing Proof of his Desire to live in Peace, by restoring all the Places that might have occasion'd a War. On the other Hand, *England* was in a profound Tranquillity, the *Normans* and *English* being equally satisfied with their Sovereign. Matters standing thus, *Henry* thought he might congratulate himself upon his happy State, when on a sudden the Pride and Obstinacy of one of his Subjects rais'd a Storm, the weathering of which cost him a thousand Vexations, and the Loss of his Honor: I mean *Thomas Becket*. He was the Son of a Citizen of *London*

Disturb'd
by Becket.

by

by a *Syrian* Woman *, and had spent his Youth in the Study of the Law. He grew so famous at the Bar, that he was taken from thence, and made Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. In the Beginning of this Reign he had certain Affairs to manage at Court, which gave him an Opportunity of making himself known to the King, and of gaining his Esteem and Good-Will. *Henry* having entertained a great Opinion of his Merit, quickly gave him a sensible Mark of his Esteem, by conferring on him the Dignity of *High-Chancellor*. In the Discharge of this eminent Office, *Becket* behav'd towards all the World with so much Pride and Haughtiness, as render'd him extremely troublesome to his *Equals*, and insupportable to his *Inferiors*. Above all things, he was a Lover of Pageantry and Show. 'Tis affirm'd that in the War of *Tholouse*, where he attended the King, he maintain'd at his own Expence 700 *Knights*, and 1200 *Foot*. But if he was haughty to all others, he was not so with regard to the King. Upon all Occasions he show'd himself so entirely devoted to his Will, that the King look'd upon him as one always ready to sacrifice every Thing to his Service. Whilst he was thus prepossess'd in his Favour, he receiv'd the News, in *Normandy*, of the Death of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This appearing to him a favourable Juncture for the putting in Execution certain Designs he had been ruminating upon, he resolv'd to procure the Archbishoprick for *Becket*, as for a Person which might be very serviceable to him. How little Inclination soever the Monks of *St. Augustin's* had to choose *Becket*, whom they thought to be too much a Courtier, the King's Recommendation was so urgent in his Behalf, that he was elected and consecrated a little before that Prince's Return. As soon as he saw himself fix'd in that high Station, he sent the *Great Seal* to his Benefactor, who little expected any such Thing; and altering on a sudden his manner of Living, he wore a Habit of coarse Cloth, and kept only a few Domestick Servants

1163.
An Account of him.

Made High-Chancellor;

Fitz-Steph p. 8.

and Archbishop.

Sends the Great-Seal to the King, and alters his way of Living.

* Her Name was *Mahauld*, said to be Daughter to a *Saracen*, who had taken *Gilbert* Sheriff of *London*, *Becket's* Father, Prisoner.

1163. clad very plain. By these and several other Things of the like Nature, he let the World see, that he was resolv'd thoroughly to reform his Life, or that he had some great Design in his Head. 'Twas some Time before his Intentions cou'd be div'd into, till at length, it appear'd, that on all Occasions he was driving at an Independent Power.

The Reason of the King's promoting Becket.

I have already remark'd in several Places, how much the Power of the Clergy was increas'd to the Prejudice of the Royal Authority. *Henry*, who had seen very bad Effects of it in the Reign of *Stephen*, resolv'd upon his Accession to the Crown, to do his Endeavour to bring this exorbitant Power within due Bounds. With this View it was that he began with the *Nobility*, to the end their uniting with the *Clergy* might the less obstruct his Designs. The Affairs which kept him employ'd in *France* for some years, prevented him from immediately setting about this Work. But as soon as he had settled all his Matters, he resolv'd to lose no Time, but forthwith to begin upon it, the moment he return'd to *England*. This was the Reason that he had so earnestly recommended *Becket* to get him elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, because he expected a greater Compliance from him than any other. The Business in hand was the reforming several Abuses which were very detrimental to the *State*, but at the same time advantageous to the *Clergy*, and consequently very difficult to be remedied, unless the Bishops themselves lent their helping Hand. There was need therefore of a great deal of Address, and of acting in Concert with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in so nice an Affair. To that Purpose, it was necessary that *Sec* shou'd be fill'd with a Person on whom he cou'd depend, and no one seem'd to him so proper as *Becket*, whom he had loaded with Favours. The Archbishop's sending the *Great-Seal* immediately upon his Promotion, made the King imagine, he was mistaken in his Man. Perhaps his Concern at this Proceeding was the Reason he took no Care to keep fair with this haughty Prelate, to whom he cou'd not forbear, at his Return into *England*, to show some Coldness. In all likelihood, *Becket* had been let into the King's Designs, whilst

whilst he was *High-Chancellor*; and in the Mind he was then in, had approv'd of them : But after he became Archbishop, he was quite another Man. Notwithstanding the Obligations laid on him by his Prince, he was determin'd to cross him in the Execution of his Projects ; he pleas'd himself before-hand with the Thoughts of immortal Glory, for vigorously espousing the *Cause of the Clergy*, which they generally affected to stile the *Cause of God*.

1163.

Becket resolves to oppose the King.

One of the greatest *Grievances* which call'd for redress, was the Remissness in punishing Priests convicted of any Crime. The Clergy having by degrees acquired an absolute Power over all that belong'd to their *Body*, when a *Clergyman* was accus'd, the Matter was tried in the *Ecclesiastical Court*, from whence lay no Appeal ; but the *Judgments* given against such as they cou'd not but condemn, were so very favourable, that the most enormous Crimes were punish'd only with *Degradation*, and others with a short *Suspension*, or easy *Confinement*. The *Laity* cou'd not, without extreme Concern, see themselves subject to the utmost Rigour of the Laws for Offences, which render'd *Clergymen* liable only to some very slight Corrections, and accordingly loudly complain'd of it. On the other Hand, the *Clergy*, sure of going unpunish'd, daily committed against the *Laity* Outrages, which they durst not repel for fear of incurring a Punishment. This Abuse, which was already carried to too great a Height, grew worse and worse every Day. It was made appear, in the presence of the King, that since his Accession to the Crown, there had been above a hundred Murthers committed in the Kingdom by *Ecclesiasticks*, of whom not one had been punish'd so much as with *Degradation*, which was the Punishment enjoin'd, in the like Cases, by the *Canons*. What was still more astonishing, was that the Bishops gloried in this their Indulgence : They were of Opinion they cou'd not give surer Marks of their Zeal for Religion and the Service of God, than by maintaining, to the utmost of their Power, these pretended

An Abuse the King propos'd to redress.

Immune

1163. *Immunities of the Clergy, and consequently, all the Abuses that sprung from thence.*

The first Occasion of the Quarrel between the King and Becket.

The King wou'd have the Clergy tried in the Civil Courts. Becket opposes it.

Moved.

Another Reason of their Contest.

Things standing thus, it happen'd, a little after the King's return, that a *Clergyman* of the *Diocese of Sarum* committed a Murther. The Matter having been tried in the Archbishop's Court, it was decreed, That the Murtherer, as a Punishment for his Crime, shou'd be depriv'd of his *Benefice*, and confin'd to a Monastery. The King having been inform'd of this *Sentence*, very warmly expostulated with the Archbishop, for punishing so slightly a Crime which was Death by the Laws of the Land. *Becket* receiv'd this Expostulation, as if it had been without any manner of Ground, and boldly asserted the *Immunities of the Church and Privileges of the Clergy*. He affirm'd, that an *Ecclesiastick* ought not to be put to death for any Crime whatever. *Henry* replied, that being appointed by God to cause Justice to be done to all his Subjects, without distinction, he did not understand why these pretended *Immunities* shou'd screen Malefactors, of what Order soever, from the Punishments they deserv'd. That there was no Probability God shou'd take Pleasure in authorizing the Crimes of his Ministers; but on the contrary, that they ought to be punish'd more severely than *Laymen*. Lastly, he declared, that since the *Ecclesiastical Court* was so favourable to *Clergymen*, his Intent was, that heinous Crimes, such as Murther, Robbery, and the like, shou'd be tried in his *Courts*. *Becket* made answer, he wou'd never allow that the *Clergy* shou'd be tried any where but in the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, where Care shou'd be taken to punish them according to the *Canons*. That in Case they shou'd be sentenc'd to be *degraded*, and afterwards should commit other Crimes, the King's Judges might punish them as they thought fit; but it was unjust to punish them twice for the same Offence. This Dispute being carried on with great heat, the King and the Archbishop parted extremely dissatisfied with one another: *Becket* had even so little Regard for the King, that without considering the Passion he had put him into, he took this Opportunity to upbraid him

for having unjustly depriv'd him of the Custody of the Castle of *Rocheſter*, and by that means notoriously broke in upon the Privileges of the *See of Canterbury*. To theſe Occaſions of Complaint which he gave the King at that Time, he quickly added two others. He ſummon'd the Earl of *Clare* to do him *Homage* for the Castle of *Tunbridge*, which he pretended was a *Fief* of the Archbiſhoprick, without having vouchsaf'd to acquaint the King with any thing of the Matter. The Earl answer'd, That he held his Castle of the King by *Military Service*, with which the Archbiſhoprick had nothing to do. If one may judge by the Temper of *Becket*, his Claim to the Castle muſt needs have been very doubtful, ſince he let the Affair drop without pushing it any farther. Having fail'd in this Attempt, he took Occaſion to extend his Jurisdiction, by collating one *Lawrence* a Priest to the Rectory of *Aineſford*, without having any Regard to the Patron's Right of *Presentation*. But the Patron, who was a Baron of the Realm, being unwilling to loſe his Right, hindred *Lawrence* from taking Poſſeſſion of the *Benefice*. The Archbiſhop looking upon this as a heinous Crime, excommunicated the Patron, who applied to the King. As Matters then ſtood with *Henry*, he was extremely nettled at the little Regard the Archbiſhop ſhow'd for him. The Truth is, it had been part of the *Prerogative Royal* ever ſince *William the Conqueror*, That none of the immediate *Vaſſals* of the Crown were to be excommunicated without the King's Knowledge ; But this was the very thing that *Becket* deſign'd to ſtrike at. Perhaps he had made this Step purely to have an Opportunity to raiſe this Diſpute.

Henry was exceedingly vex'd to find himſelf ſo far from the Execution of his Project ; he was incens'd to the laſt degree againſt *Becket*, who ſeem'd to make it his Buſineſs to croſs him upon all Occaſions, and to diſpute even his very *Prerogatives* : And therefore, he reſolv'd to take new Meaſures to compaſs his Ends. He was ſenſible, 'twou'd be in vain to expect any Compliance from the Clergy, as long as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſo openly oppos'd him.

Henry ſets about reducing the Power of the Clergy within due Bounds.

1163.

him. However, not to be over-hasty in Matters, he was willing to try first what fair Means wou'd do. He order'd the Archbishop to be put in Mind of the many Favours he had receiv'd from his Sovereign, and the Mischiefs his Obstinacy was going in all probability to bring on the *Church* and Kingdom. But these Remonstrances proving of no effect, he found himself oblig'd to search for the Means of doing, in spite of the Archbishop, what he had resolv'd to bring about by his help. So far was *Becket's* Opposition from causing him to alter his Mind, that it made him the more eager and desirous to reduce the Power of the *Clergy* within its just Bounds. To this purpose he conven'd the principal Lords of the Kingdom, as well *Spiritual* as *Temporal*, in order to consult about the Means of redressing the *Grievances* that had been introduc'd into the *State*. When they were met, he complain'd to them of the Proceedings of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He endeavour'd to make them sensible, that in case Care was not taken to curb the Fury of that Prelate's haughty and arrogant Temper, he wou'd at length usurp all the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, under the Pretence of *Religion*. He added, that the Steps the Archbishop had already made, were plain Indications of his Designs; and that they cou'd not be too speedy in preventing them. The Majority of the *Temporal* Lords, among whom there were few but what were offended at *Becket's* Haughtiness, were not displeas'd at having an Opportunity to humble him. Besides, they desired nothing more than to have it in their Power to clip the Wings of the *Clergy*, who were upon all Occasions for soaring above the rest of the Nation. The King perceiving them in this Temper, propos'd a *Regulation*, which he assur'd them was absolutely necessary for the Preservation of good Order and *Tranquillity* in the Kingdom. This *Regulation* consisted of five Articles, which the King call'd the Customs of *Henry I.* his Grand-father, because they had been observ'd in the Reign of that Prince. The I. was, That no one should appeal to *Rome* without the King's Consent. II. That no Archbishop or Bishop

He convenes the
Lords,

and complains of
Becket.

He proposes
five Articles to be
enacted in
to a Law.

shou'd

shou'd go to *Rome*, tho' even summon'd by the Pope; without the King's leave first had and obtain'd. III. That no immediate *Vassal* of the Crown, or King's Officer, shou'd be excommunicated or subjected without the King's Knowledge. IV. That all *Clergymen* charg'd with Capital Crimes, shou'd be tried in the King's Courts. V. That such *Ecclesiastical* Affairs, as all the Nation shou'd be concern'd in, as the Repairing of Churches, Tithes, and the like, shou'd be decided in the *Civil* Courts. These Articles were approv'd of without any Difficulty by the *Temporal* Lords; but the Bishops and Abbots refus'd to subscribe them, unless this *Clause*, which render'd them of no Effect, was added, *Saving the Rights and Privileges of the Clergy and Church*. The King, provok'd at their Refusal, suddenly quitted the Assembly, and went to *Woodstock*, after he had however given the Chief among the *Clergy* to understand, that he wou'd take effectual Measures to set bounds to their Pride. The Prelates were so terrified at this Threat, that before they broke up, they resolv'd to send Deputies to the King to beg his Pardon, and assure him, they were ready to comply with his Will. *Becket* stood out a good while against this Resolution: But at last, press'd by his Brethren, he yielded to their Importunity, and consented that the *Articles* shou'd be admitted without the *Saving Clause*. All those that he had gain'd to his Side, following his Example, a Deputation was made, with which the King seem'd highly satisfied, and the rather because it was done with unanimous Consent. However, fearing *Becket* might fly from what he had done, on pretence that this *Convention* had not Authority enough to enact Laws of this kind, he resolv'd to get them ratified by an *Assembly-General*, or *Parliament*. To this end he conven'd a *Parliament* at *Clarendon*, and propounded the same *Articles* that had been subscribed by the former *Convention*: All the *Laics* having voted their Confirmation, the Prelates durst not openly oppose it: But when they came to sign, *Becket* and his Party made some Scruple to do it; and 'twas not without a great deal of Difficulty, that he was prevail'd

The Bishops try to insert a Clause to render them of no Effect. The King threatens them. They submit.

Diceto. Fitz-St. Newb.

Parliament at Clarendon

1163. upon to comply at the Instances of the other Bishops *.

The Pope
condemns
the Arti-
cles.

Becket re-
pents of his
Signing.

How much soever against his Will the Archbishop had subscribed the *Articles*, the King was highly delighted with it. He did not question in the least but that the Pope wou'd consent to Laws which the Bishops themselves had deem'd necessary. In this Belief he resolv'd to get them confirm'd by a *Bull*, in order to take from the Prelates all pretence of Recanting; but upon seeing the *Articles*, the Pope not only refus'd to give them the Sanction of his Authority, but even condemn'd them as very prejudicial to the *Church*, and destructive of her *Privileges*. Shortly after, *Becket* openly declar'd he repented of having signed the *Constitutions* of *Clarendon*; and that he thought himself guilty of so heinous a Crime in doing it, that he had nothing to trust to for Pardon but the Pope's Mercy. Accordingly he suspended himself as unworthy to perform the *Archiepiscopal* Functions till the Pope shou'd be pleas'd to absolve him. His Pardon having been quickly sent him, he officiated again in his Church, after the Pope had given him his Word to stand by him. However *Alexander*, who was still in *France*, willing to make *Henry* believe he had a mind to keep fair with him, sent the Archbishop of *Roan* to him with Proposals of an Accommodation; but as he had nothing positive to offer, and as the King wou'd not hearken to any Proposal, unless the Pope wou'd confirm the *Articles* of *Clarendon*, there was no possibility of bringing Matters to a Conclusion.

The King
prosecutes
Becket.

When the King found that the Archbishop, elated at the Pope's Promise to protect him, became every Day more stiff and obstinate, he endeavour'd by all manner of means

* The Laws made in this Assembly are call'd the *Constitutions* of *Clarendon*, and are well worth perusing, because they contain the chief *Prerogatives* and *Privileges* that were claim'd as well by the King as the Clergy. They are divided into sixteen Articles, of which Ten were voided by the Pope. The Reader may find them in *Gervase's Chronicle*, and in *Matthew Paris*, from whence they are translated into *English* by *Tirrel*, Vol. II. B. 5. and in *Collier Eccl. Hist.* p. 351.

means to humble him. To this end he involv'd him in Troubles, which indeed gave him a great deal of Vexation, but were incapable of bringing him to a Compliance. Among several Actions that were enter'd against him, there were two of Moment: The first related to a certain *Manor* which he was in possession of, and which [*John the King's Marschal*] pretended was unjustly detain'd from him. The Archbishop having stood a Trial, was cast and condemn'd to pay a Fine of 500 Pounds. This *Sentence* convinc'd him that they were resolv'd to be as vexatious to him as possible; and that he shou'd lose all the *Suits* that were commenc'd against him. In this Belief he came to a Resolution to plead to none of them, chusing rather to be cast for Non-appearance, than by a peremptory Decree. The King seem'd hitherto not to intend to make him feel the whole Weight of his Resentment; but soon after it appear'd that his design was to strike him home. To this purpose he order'd him to be accus'd of two *Capital Crimes*: The first was, for having converted to his own Use the Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *York*, of which he had the Custody during his Chancellorship. In the second, he was charg'd with having imbezell'd 30000 Pound Sterling of the King's Money. Instead of clearing himself from what was alledg'd against him, he answer'd, That when he was made Archbishop, Prince *Henry* the King's Son, and the *Justiciary*, had discharg'd him from giving any Account. He added, that supposing he had not been discharged, he was not bound to answer before *Laymen*, seeing he was invested with the first *Ecclesiastical* Dignity in the Kingdom. The former part of his Answer, certainly laid him open very much, since the Prince, from whom he had his Discharge, was not above 7 or 8 Years old, tho' he had the Title of *Guardian of the Realm* in the Absence of the King his Father. Besides, one wou'd think that a Person of his Character shou'd be always ready to render an Account of his Administration, both with Regard to the Profits of the *vacant Benefices*, and the King's Treasure, tho' out of too much Complaisance those that were at the Head

1163.

Gervase.

Becket
refuses to
plead.

1163. of Affairs, had dispens'd with it. As for the latter part of his Answer, he himself had taken away the Benefit of that *Plea*, by signing the *Articles of Clarendon*. But to this he replied, That the Pope having condemn'd these *Articles*, his *Sentence* was of greater Force than all the Laws of the Land. How proper soever that Reply might be to gain the Pope's Favour, it cou'd stand him in no stead in the King's Court, where *Judgment* was to be given pursuant to the said *Articles* pass'd into a Law. He was therefore look'd upon not only as a contumacious Person, but moreover as a Rebel that rose up against the Authority of Laws. All possible Endeavours were us'd to get him to own the Jurisdiction of the Court, where his Affair was brought; but there was no persuading him to that. He even refus'd to wait on the King, who had sent for him to try whether, by discoursing with him in Person, he could bring him to some Temper.

He refuses
to go to the
King.

He is
charg'd
with two
fresh
Crimes.
His Goods
are confisc-
ated.
Charg'd
with Per-
jury and
Treason.

This Refusal furnish'd the King with a Pretence to bring against him two fresh Accusations: First, for having fled from Justice. Secondly, for having disobey'd the King's Orders. Upon these Charges, to which he wou'd not Plead, all his *Moveable Goods* were confiscated. How severe soever this *Sentence* might be, the King wou'd not stop here. Having perceived that the *Indictment* was so form'd that the *Court* cou'd not come upon *Becket's* Person, he order'd him to be accus'd of *Perjury* and *Treason*, for having violated the Oath he had taken to his Sovereign, and refus'd to pay the Obedience due to him. The Archbishop was thoroughly satisfied then, that the King was bent upon his Ruin: But his being satisfied of this, instead of inducing him to submit, serv'd only to make him sit the faster in his Obstinacy. Perhaps the natural Haughtiness and Stiffness of his Temper wou'd not suffer him to bend; or rather, he was resolv'd to render himself famous, by a Firmness, which in his Opinion, ought to rank him among the most renowned Confessors in the *Church*. When 'twas found there was no probability of prevailing upon him, the *Court* declar'd him *perjur'd*, and the Bishops in particular sent him Word, that

The Court
declares
him Per-
jur'd.

that they consider'd him not as their *Primate*, neither wou'd they hold *Communion* with him any longer. All this not moving him in the least, he look'd upon the *Sentence* pass'd upon him as *void*, and continued his *Functions*, without troubling himself about the King's Displeasure. 1163.

It seems as if the Barons had avoided giving Sentence on the Charge of Treason, which would have been punishable with Death, on purpose to leave him a Hole to creep out at by submitting to the King's Will. But finding he was still the same Man, the *Court* met once more to think of the means to subdue his Perverseness. As soon as he was inform'd that the Barons were assembled in the Presence of the King, he went to Church, and order'd these Words of the second *Psalms* to be sung: *The Rulers take Counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed.* Then taking his *Cross* in his Hand, he enter'd the Room where the King and the Barons were sitting, without being sent to, or asking Leave, tho' since the *Judgment* pass'd upon him, he had no right to be there. The Archbishop of *York* seeing him enter in that Posture, severely reprimanded him. He told him, that coming into the Royal Presence in that manner was bidding Defiance to the King, and bid him consider that his Sovereign's Weapon was sharper than his. *Becket* replied, *It was true, the King's Weapon cou'd kill the Body, but his destroy'd the Soul and sent it to Hell.* This Answer, which seem'd to threaten the King with *Excommunication*, so provok'd that Monarch, that he order'd the Barons to pass Sentence forthwith on the Crime *Becket* had just then incurr'd the Guilt of by his Presumption. The *Court*, after a pretty long Debate, declar'd that he deserv'd to be committed to Prison and punish'd according to Law, for insulting the King, and coming into the *Assembly* in such a manner as might raise a Sedition among the People. This being resolv'd, the Earls of *Chester* and *Cornwall* were sent to summon him to appear and hear his *Sentence*: But he refus'd to come, declaring that the *Peers* had no Authority to judge him, and that he appeal'd to the Pope. The two

Hoved.
p. 283.

He is condemn'd to imprisonment.

1163.

Gervase.

Goes into
Flanders
in Disguise.

two Earls having represented to him, that by refusing to submit to the Laws of the Realm, he incurr'd the Guilt of Treason; he replied, That were it not for the Restraints of his *Character*, he wou'd vindicate himself in single Combat against Those that shou'd charge him with that Crime, and make them repent of their Calumny. However he did not think proper to wait the Issue, but privately made off that very Night in Disguise, in order to retire into *Flanders*, going by the Name of *Dereman*.

1164.

The King of
France pro-
sects him.
Diceto.
Gervase.Stirs up
the Pope
against
Henry.

The King of *France* gladly receiv'd the news, that there was no Likelihood of Matters being made up between *Henry* and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. He was in hopes that *Becket* being supported wou'd imbroid his Sovereign in Troubles, of which *France* might make an Advantage. With this View, he sent him an Offer of his Protection, and of a Refuge in his Dominions. *Henry* having been inform'd of what *Lewis* had done, sent Ambassadors to represent to him, that it was very unbecoming in a Sovereign to shelter Persons guilty of High-Treason. *Lewis* made answer, That he cou'd not dispense with affording a *Sanctuary* in his Kingdom to the *Unfortunate*: that *Becket* was of that Number, and he cou'd not but consider him as such, till the Pope had pass'd *Sentence* upon him. 'Twas thus that Jealousy and State-Policy induc'd that Prince to insist on the Pope's Authority in a Thing so prejudicial to all Sovereigns in general. His Passion prevented him from reflecting that in this Affair he cou'd not wound *Henry* but thro' his own Sides. But his extreme Desire to involve the King of *England* in Troubles made him overlook all Considerations. He was not content with sheltering the fugitive Prelate, but even importun'd the Pope to espouse his Cause, and turn'd Solicitor against *Henry*, whose Interests, in good Policy, he ought to have maintain'd.

There was no need of much Entreaty to gain the Pope. He was of himself sensible enough, that a favourable Opportunity offer'd to enlarge his Authority. Besides, he was apprehensive that, in Case he deserted the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he shou'd find none, among the *Clergy*,
that

that wou'd, for the future, stand by the *Rights* of the *Church*. So that the Downfal of that Prelate cou'd not but prove very fatal to the Interests of the *Clergy*. As soon as he heard that *Becket* was condemn'd, and forc'd to fly like a Criminal, he fell out into a great Passion against *Henry* and the Barons of *England*, and threaten'd to make them repent of their rash Proceedings. In the mean Time, *Henry*, in hopes of being able to prepossess the Pope in his Favour, had sent Ambassadors to inform him of all Particulars, and to desire him to send *Legates* to *England* with full *Powers* finally to decide the Affair. The Archbishop of *York*, who was at the Head of this Embassy, spoke with great Vehemence against *Becket*. He charg'd him with want of Respect to the King, and of having menac'd him with Excommunication. He maintain'd that the Archbishop was guilty of Rebellion, in refusing to stand to the Judgment of the *Court* of Barons, under the ridiculous Pretence, that he was their *Father*, and that it was against Decency, for a *Father* to be judg'd by his *Sons*. *Becket*, who was present at this Audience, spoke likewise for himself, and endeavour'd to justify his Conduct. He said in the first Place, that he cou'd not be oblig'd to answer in a *Civil Court*, without a direct Violation of the *Canons* of the *Church*. Secondly, Supposing he had thought proper to own the Authority of the Court, he shou'd have been prevented from standing to their *Judgment* by his certain Knowledge of their Resolution to condemn him. Lastly, He declar'd he cou'd not see wherein he had done amiss in appealing to the Pope; since it cou'd not be denied but that he was the proper *Judge*, from whom he expected an impartial *Sentence*. Then addressing himself to the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, he intreated them to consider the dangerous Consequences this Affair might be attended with, if they suffer'd him to be oppress'd: That they were not to look upon this Businels as a Contest between a Subject and his Sovereign, but as the Cause of the *Universal Church*, since 'twas certain that the King's Intent was to strip the *Clergy* of their Privileges. The Ambassadors perceiving by this Discourse that his Drift was to engage

1164.

Henry
sends an
Embassy to
the Pope.Becket ac-
cus'd.He defends
himself.Tries to en-
gage the
whole
Church in
his Quar-
rel.

the

1164.
The Ambassadors
desire Legates may
be sent to decide the
Matter.

The Pope
refuses,
and why?

Hoved.
p. 284.

The Pope
sent for to
Rome.

1165.
Henry's
Proceedings a-
gainst the
Pope, and
Becket.
Gervase.
Hoved.

the whole *Church* in his Quarrel, took occasion from thence, to insist the more earnestly on the King's Request, that the Affair might be tried in *England* by the *Legates* of the *Holy See*. By which they made it appear that the King their Master had no Design against the *Church*, since he was willing to abide by her *Judgment*. This Demand seem'd so reasonable, that the Pope had no other way to shift it off, than by saying, he wou'd take *Cognisance* of the Matter Himself: adding by way of justifying his Resolution, that, in Imitation of the *Almighty*, he wou'd not give his *Glory* to another. The Reason why the Pope declin'd sending *Legates*, was his Dread of their suffering themselves to be bribed. In the mean while, he put off the Trial to a more convenient Season. The Truth is, the present Conjunction was such, that he had not the Leisure to go thro' with a *Cause* which requir'd so much Time to discuss. He was on fire to be at *Rome*, whither he was recall'd upon the Death of *Victor* his Rival. However the *Schism* was still kept on Foot, by the *Cardinals* of the opposite Party electing another Pope, who assum'd the Name of *Paschal III.* Henry being exceedingly incens'd at *Alexander's* Proceedings, as a Mark of his Relentment he forbid under the severest Penalties all *Appeals* to *Rome*. This Prohibition was quickly follow'd by an express Order to commit to Prison all the Relations of Those that had accompanied *Becket* in his Flight, or that were gone to join him since his Departure. After This, he sequestred, in the Hands of the Bishop of *London*, the *Means* of all the *Ecclesiasticks* that had openly sided with the Archbishop in order to tie up their Hands from assisting him. Moreover he injoin'd the Magistrates to punish upon the Spot, as Traytors, all Persons that shou'd be taken either with the *Pope's* or *Becket's* Letters or *Mandates* about them, importing the *Excommunication* of any private Person, or an *Interdict* upon the Kingdom. He order'd likewise the Revenues of the *See* of *Canterbury* to be seiz'd, and all the Archbishop's Effects. Lastly, Not content with forbidding all Persons to pray for him in the Church, he banish'd all his Relations, not sparing even the most distant.

These

These rigorous Proceedings serv'd only to exasperatè the Archbishop the more, who, on his Part, excommunicated all that adher'd to the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, and particularly some of the Lords of the *Council*, who however made but a Jest of his *Censures*. At length, finding the King was bent to maintain his Ground, he took the Liberty to send him a threatening Letter, which it will not be amiss to insert here, as a Piece very proper to discover the *Character* of that Prelate.

1166.
Becket ex-
communicates the
Lords of
the Coun-
cil.
Fitz-Step.
Diceto.

THOMAS *Archbishop of* CANTERBURY,
To the KING of ENGLAND.

“ I Have most earnestly desir'd to see you; and altho' I
 “ can't deny but that in This I had a view to my own,
 “ yet was it your Interest, that lay nearest my Heart. I
 “ was in Hopes that when you shou'd see me again, you
 “ wou'd call to mind the many Services I have done you,
 “ with all imaginable Regard and Affection. For the
 “ Truth of which I appeal to Him who is to judge all
 “ Mankind, when they shall appear before his Tribunal
 “ to be rewarded according to their Deeds. I flatter'd my
 “ self that you wou'd be mov'd with Compassion towards
 “ me, who am forc'd to beg my Bread in a strange Land,
 “ tho' by the Grace of God, I have plenty of all things
 “ necessary for my Subsistence. I receive however great
 “ Consolation from the Words of the Apostle, *They that*
 “ *live in Christ shall suffer Persecution*, and likewise from
 “ that Saying of the Prophet, *I never saw the Righteous*
 “ *forsaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread*. As to what
 “ relates to you, I cannot but be sensibly affected with it;
 “ for three Reasons. *First*, because you are my *Liege-*
 “ *Lord*: *Secondly*, because you are my *King*: *Thirdly*,
 “ because you are my *Spiritual Son*. As my *Liege-Lord*,
 “ I owe and offer you my best Advice, such however as is
 “ due from a Bishop, *Saving the Honour of God and of the*

His Letter
to the King.

1166. “ *Head of the Church.* As *my King*, I owe you a profound Respect, and at the same Time, am bound to direct my Admonitions to you. As *my Son*, 'tis my Duty to correct and exhort you. *Kings* are anointed in three Places, the *Head*, the *Breast* and the *Arms*, the which denote, *Glory*, *Holiness*, and *Power*. We find, from several Instances taken from the *Scriptures*, that the *Kings*, who despis'd the Commandments of the Lord, were depriv'd of *Glory*, *Understanding*, and *Might*: Such were *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Solomon*, *Nebuchadnezzar* and many others. On the contrary, They that humbled themselves before God receiv'd a larger Measure of Grace and in greater Perfection. This was experienced by *David*, *Hezekiah* and some others. Take therefore, *my Liege-Lord*, the Advice of your *Vassal*: Harken, *my King*, to the Admonitions of your Bishop, and receive, *my Son*, the Corrections of your Father, lest you are drawn aside into *Schism*, or perswaded to hold *Communion* with *Schismatics*. All the World knows with what Honour and Devotion you receiv'd the Pope, how respectfully and zealously you protected the *Church of Rome*, and what suitable Returns the *Church* and *Pope* have made you. Remember therefore the Declaration you made, and even laid upon the Altar at your Coronation, to protect the *Church* of God in all her *Immunities*. Restore the *Church* of *Canterbury*, from which you receiv'd your Authority, to the State it was in under your Predecessors and mine: Otherwise be assur'd that you will draw down on your Head the Wrath and Vengeance of God.

Henry
screens
himself
from the
Attacks of
the Pope.

This Letter was hardly capable of appeasing the incensed King. And truly, 'tis no easy Matter to believe, that the Writer thought it proper for that End, or that he penn'd it with that Intent. In the mean time, *Henry*, knowing that the King of *France* fomented the Dis-union between him and the Court of *Rome*, by his offering to stand by the Pope, had a mind to let his *Holiness* see on how weak a Support he relied in Case Things came to an open

open Rupture. To this End, he levied a numerous Army, as well to prevent any Revolt the Pope might stir up in his Dominions, as to be in a Condition to oppose the King of *France* in Case of an Attack. This Precaution hindred no doubt *Alexander* from proceeding so vigorously as he intended, and made him perceive the Danger of precipitating Matters. The Truth is, a Prince back'd with a strong Army has it always in his Power to render himself formidable to Those who have none but *spiritual Weapons* to brandish. In the *Interim*, the Bishop of *London* and the Rest of the *Suffragans* of the Province of *Canterbury* wrote to the Archbishop on account of his Letter to the King, and remonstrated to him the Pride he had shewn in writing to his Sovereign without the Customary *Salutations*, as if he had written to an Inferior. They represented to him moreover the mean Estate from whence the King had rais'd him to such Grandeur, his Ingratitude to a Prince, whom he was so much indebted to, and his Arrogance in daring to threaten a Monarch so far exalted above him. In fine, they gave him notice that they appeal'd to the Pope, as a Remedy against whatever he shou'd act for the future, against them or the Kingdom, and appointed *Ascension-Day*, for the producing the Reasons of their *Appeal*.

Letter of his Suffragans to Becket. Hoved. p. 292.

They appeal to the Pope.

The Army, the King had on Foot in *England*, made the Pope look about him. He was afraid, that *Henry* wou'd at length enter into Alliance with the Emperor, and that in Case he did so, the King of *France* wou'd not be able, or at least willing, to protect him. This Consideration made him think his best way wou'd be to try to divert *Henry* from any such Thoughts, by putting him in Hopes, the Difference wou'd speedily be made up to his Advantage. Accordingly, when *Henry* least expected it, *Alexander* appointed *Legates* to go and decide the Affair in *England*, and order'd them to depart forthwith. He greatly magnified to the King this Piece of Condescension. But the *Legates* were hardly set out, when he clogg'd the *Powers* he had given them with Restrictions, that tied up their Hands from giving a *Decisive Sentence*. The *Legates*

The Pope amuses the King with sending Legates. :

1166,

Becket re-
suses to
stand to
their Sen-
tence.

They try in
vain to
make up
Matters.

Becket is
inflexible.

The King
threatens
the Abbot
of Pontig-
ni upon
Becket's
Account.
Dieto.

being arriv'd at *London*, and setting about the Business they were come upon, a fresh Obstacle unexpectedly occur'd. *Becket* refus'd to put his Cause into their Hands, unless the King wou'd first restore all that He had taken from Him or his Friends. He further insisted upon a general Revocation of all the *Orders* he had given since the Beginning of the Contest; that is, in a Word, that he wou'd condemn himself Before-hand. This is a clear Evidence, that the *Legates* had not *full Powers* to decide the Matter, since the Archbishop's Refusal to stand to their *Judgment*, without these Conditions, was sufficient to stop their Proceedings. Accordingly 'twas no hard Matter for the King to see that the Pope intended only to amuse him. In the mean time, *Becket's* Friends, dreading the King wou'd go to Extremities, advised him to give his Sovereign some Satisfaction. He told them he was ready to comply with the King's Will, provided it was consistent with *his Honour, the Church's Possessions, his own, and the Right of Others*. So many *Reservations* must needs have made them sensible that he was not inclinable in the least to relax. However these same Friends, who had so good an Opinion of him as to believe he was willing to sacrifice his private Interests to the *Church's* Peace, made him another Proposal. They put the Question to him, whether he wou'd agree to resign the Archbishoprick, in Case the King wou'd, upon that Condition, give up the *Articles of Clarendon*. But they did not find him at all inclin'd to give that Proof of his Disinterestedness. He plainly told them, that wou'd not be acting upon the *Square*; since he cou'd not renounce his Dignity without betraying the Cause of God and of the *Church*; whereas the King was bound in Conscience to annul his *new Laws*. This Reply, and the limited *Powers* the Pope had given his *Legates*, entirely cut off all the King's Hopes, and put him upon the Resolution of creating the Archbishop as much Trouble as 'twas possible. With this View he sent Word to the Abbot of *Pontigni*, who for two Years entertain'd *Becket* in his Monastery, that unless he caus'd him to go from thence forthwith, he would drive out of his Dominions all the Monks of

of his Order *, and seize upon their Estates. Upon this *Becket* was forc'd to quit the Abby ; but 'twas not long before he met with another Place of Refuge. The King of *France* admitted him into *Sens*, where he often resided, and handsomely accommodated him with all Things necessary : His frequent Conversations with that Monarch, were a great means of increasing the Jealousy and Animosity he had already entertain'd against *Henry*.

1166.
Diceto.

Towards the latter end of this Year Queen *Eleanor* was deliver'd of a fourth Son, who was call'd *John*. The Birth of this Prince was quickly follow'd by the Death of the Empress *Matilda*, Mother to the King, in the 67th Year of her Age **. She left in her *Will* very considerable Legacies to the Poor and the Churches, and bequeath'd a large Sum for the finishing the Bridge at *Roan* which she had begun.

Prince
John born.
1167.
Matilda.
Diceto.
Paris.

Hitherto the Pope and Archbishop had but little Reason to boast of the Success of their Controversy with *Henry*. *Becket*, depriv'd of his Revenues, languish'd away his Days in a melancholly Exile, whilst the Pope receiv'd no Profits from *England*. His Holiness easily foresaw that if things remain'd in this pass, his Authority wou'd be in danger of being trod upon, not only in *England*, but in other parts of *Christendom*. Besides, he was of an exceeding proud and haughty Temper. This is the same *Alexander* that some Years after treated so shamefully the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* at *Venice* *. There was no Hopes therefore, that a Pope of his Character wou'd suffer the King to carry the Day without long and violent Struggles. Accordingly, as soon as his Affairs were somewhat settled, he fell in good earnest upon thinking how to end this Contest to his own Advantage. To begin making the King uneasy, he show'd an extraordinary Regard for *Becket*, and confirm'd to him all the

The Pope
shows a
great Re-
gard for
Pri-
Becket.

* Cistercians.

** She was buried at *Roan*, in the Abby of *St. Mary de Prez*.

** He was the 19th Emperor of *Germany* from *Charles the Great* : Upon a Quarrel with *Alexander*, he was excommunicated, and at length forc'd to submit to the Pope, who insolently trod on his Neck.

1167.

Henry
threatens
to own
Paschal
for Pope.

Privileges his Predecessors had enjoy'd, affecting by this unseasonable and ill-tim'd Respect to insult the King. The Truth is, there was no manner of occasion of making this Step,] whilst the Archbishop was in Exile, and out of Favour with his Sovereign. *Henry*, willing to be even with him, caus'd a Rumour to be spread that he was going to withdraw his Obedience from *Alexander*, and recognize *Paschal* III. He even went so far as to write to some of the Princes of *Germany*, to acquaint them that he was just upon the point of taking this Resolution. And indeed, if the Matter had lain in his own Breast, 'tis very likely he wou'd have done it without any farther Consideration; but 'twould have been no easy thing to bring the Nation to it, and especially the *Clergy*. He had but very few Bishops on his Side; all the rest of the *Clergy* were for the *Pope* and *Becket* in their Hearts, tho' fear kept them from showing it openly. *Alexander*, knowing their Inclinations, was the more stout and arrogant, and express'd less Regard for the King than he wou'd have done doubtless, had he been apprehensive of any Opposition from that Quarter. To let the King see that his Threats made no Impression on him, he sent a Letter to the Bishop of *London*, wherein he seem'd willing to throw off all Regard for that Prince. He commanded the Bishop boldly to admonish him, and to enjoin him, from him, to restore the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his *See*, and annul the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. The Bishop discharged his Commission, tho' not in so imperious a manner as the Pope had order'd him; and after he had done, he sent his *Holiness* an Answer, wherein he represented to him that the King had made no Innovations, but only trod in the Steps of his Predecessors; that his Conduct cou'd not in Reason be blam'd, since he offer'd to submit to the *Judgment* of the *Church*, provided the Affair might be tried in the Kingdom.

The Pope
despises his
Threats,
and sends
to the Bi-
shop of
London to
admonish
him.

Hoved.

The Bi-
shop's An-
swer to the
Pope.

Hoved.

1168.

Conference
between
the King
and Becket
before the
King of
France.

How much soever the King might have the better on't hitherto, he wanted to clear his Hands of this troublesome Business, which obstructed the Execution of the Design he had form'd of conquering *Ireland*. Besides, he

he foresaw that this Dispute wou'd, in the long run, turn to his Disadvantage; and be very prejudicial to the Nation. In this Belief, he desir'd the King of *France* to appoint a Place where they Two might have an Interview with the Archbishop, in order to hear what he had to say for himself. *Lewis* having agreed to this Request, *Becket* appear'd before the two Kings, and very boldly made his Defence. After which, being ask'd whether he wou'd own that he was bound to obey his Sovereign, he made answer, he was ready to pay Obedience to him in all Things, *Saving the Honour of God*. How reasonable soever this Reservation might appear, *Henry* look'd upon it as an Evasion. He told the King of *France*, what *Becket* seem'd to promise was just nothing at all; since, by this *Saving Clause*, he reserv'd a Power to pronounce whatever he shou'd not relish, contrary to the *Honour of God*: But, continued he, I shall make him this Offer, which cannot be suspected of having a double Meaning: *There have been in England Kings not so Powerful as My-self, and Archbishops that have been Great and Holy Men; Let him but pay me the same Regard as the Greatest of his Predecessors paid the Least of Mine, and I am satisfied*. This was not what *Becket* wanted; that he knew very well it wou'd be a hard matter to justify his Claims by any former *Precedents*. Accordingly he rejected the Offer, on pretence that as the Affair was now before the Pope, he cou'd agree to nothing without his Consent. How great Partiality soever the King of *France* had all along shown for *Becket*, he cou'd not help owning, on this Occasion, that the Archbishop's Obstinacy was the sole Obstacle to a Peace. This Confession was very serviceable to *Henry*, as it quash'd, in a good measure, the Report that had been so industriously spread abroad of his designing to abolish, in *England*, the *Privileges* of the *Clergy*. However it made no Impression upon *Becket*, as well knowing the Pope was too much interested, and too deeply engag'd in the Matter ever to draw back.

1169.
Becket ex-
communicates the
English
Priests.
Paris.
Diceto.
Gervaf.

Henry
threatens
the Pope,
which puts
him in
great Per-
plexity.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 25.

He sends
Legates.
Diceto.

And sends
them new
Instruc-
tions.

Another
Conference
between
the King
and Beck-
et to no
purpose.

It plainly appear'd *Becket* was not mistaken, since quick-ly after, *Alexander* sent the King Notice that he cou'd not dispense with granting the Archbishop a Power to revenge with the Sword of *Excommunication*, the Injuries done to the Church and his own Person. As soon as *Becket* had the Pope's leave, he thunder'd out *Anathema's* against such Numbers of the *Clergy*, that there were hardly enough left unexcommunicated to officiate in the King's Chapel: Altho' the *Majority* were inclin'd to favour the *Cause* he maintain'd, yet was he not content therewith, but charged them with shameful Prevarication, in not openly espousing his Quarrel. *Henry*, provok'd at these Proceedings, appeal'd to a future *Council*, and sent the Pope Word, that unless he forthwith dispatch'd *Legates* with full Powers to decide the Affair, he shou'd take such Measures as wou'd not be very pleasing to him. This Menace threw *Alexander* into great *Perplexity*, because he cou'd not forbear being apprehensive of an Alliance between the King and the Emperor. On the other hand, he was so deeply engag'd to maintain the pretended Rights of the Church, that he cou'd not desist without great prejudice to the *Holy See*. In this Case, he had recourse to the usual Methods which the Court of *Rome* ever practices with Success on the like Occasions: He made as if he was willing the Affair shou'd be tried in *England*; and accordingly, to make *Henry* swallow the Bait the more easily, he order'd the *Legates* to set forward, who met the King in *Normandy*. But as they were getting ready to go to him, they receiv'd fresh Instructions whereby they were expressly forbid to give a *decisive Sentence* without acquainting the Archbishop of *Sens* with it. This was enough to blast all Hopes of a sudden Peace, no one being more averse to it than that Prelate.

Some time after, the Pope willing to keep *Henry* still in the Belief that Matters might be amicably made up, desir'd the two Kings of *England* and *France* to consider of means to put an End to the Dispute. Upon this, *Henry* being come to *Paris*, *Becket* was order'd to appear once more before the two Princes. This Conference, which

which was design'd purely to amuse *Henry*, succeeded no better than the former. The Archbishop, without giving up the least Point, still insisted upon it, that before a Treaty was begun, the King ought to make Restitution of all that had been taken from Him, or His; to which *Henry* wou'd not consent, without knowing first the Terms of Reconciliation. This was all *Becket* cou'd have expected by way of Compensation, in Case he himself had made any Relaxation: But to pretend that the King shou'd begin with owning himself in the wrong, by thus making Restitution without any Advances on his Part, was in effect to declare, he wou'd not come to any Agreement. The only thing he offer'd as a Mark of his being inclin'd to Peace, was the referring the Matter to the Judgment of the *French Divines*. But this Offer having been rejected, the Negotiation broke off: However the King had this Benefit by it, that the World was again satisfied of his Inclination to Peace.

There is never any bringing Matters to an Accommodation with the *Clergy*, unless their Demands are all answer'd. They pretend that their Cause is the Cause of God, and consequently they can give up nothing without Sin. Upon this Principle it was that the Archbishop of *Sens* press'd the Pope to put *England* under an *Interdict*, and to excommunicate *Henry* for an obstinate *Heretick*. *Henry* having receiv'd Intelligence of what this Prelate was soliciting at *Rome*, publish'd a fresh Edict in *England*, forbidding the receiving any Orders from the Pope or *Becket*. Moreover he decreed, That in Case a Letter of *Interdict* shou'd come into the Kingdom, all who submitted to it shou'd be hang'd on the Spot as Traytors to their King and Country. In fine, he enjoin'd all *Clergymen* that were abroad, to return to their Churches on pain of forfeiting all their Incomes, and suspended the Payment of *Peter-Pence* 'till further Orders. These vi-

Vigorous Proceedings of the King against the Pope.

The Pope gains Time.

1169.

Opportunity that shou'd enable him to push on the Affair more to his own Advantage.

1170.

Henry re-
turns to
England.
Gervaf.
Hoved.

In this Interval *Henry*, who had spent almost four Years in *France*, return'd home in order to regulate some Matters, which his Absence had hindred him from attending to. The Administration of Justice was so shamefully neglected, that upon his Arrival, he found himself oblig'd to send Commissioners into all the Counties, with *full Powers* to enquire into the Misdemeanors of the Magistrates *, and to punish the Guilty.

Henry the
King's el-
dest Son
crown'd.
Hoved.

This and some other Affairs relating to the Good of the *Publick* being settled to the People's Satisfaction, *Henry* conven'd a General Assembly, at which were present the *Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, and Aldermen* of the principal Cities of the Kingdom. Before this numerous Assembly, he caus'd *Henry* his eldest Son to be Crown'd by the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London* and *Durham* assisting at the Solemnity. The next Day the young King receiv'd the *Fealties* of all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and of the *Magistrates* of the Cities and *Counties*, who were summon'd on purpose to be present at the Coronation. At the Feast that was made upon this Occasion, the King himself wou'd carry up the first Dish to the Table: Then speaking to his Son, told him, *Never was Monarch serv'd in a more honourable Manner*. Instead of returning his Compliment, the young King, who was of a very haughty Spirit, turning to the Archbishop of *York*, who was next to him, said in a low Voice, *'Twas no such great Condescension in the Son of an Earl to serve the Son of a King*.

Pride of
the young
King.
Pol. Virg.
Becket is
mortified.

This Coronation, which was perform'd with an universal Consent, gave the King a double Satisfaction. He not only by that means secur'd the Crown in his Family, but moreover extremely mortified *Becket*. Indeed that Prelate was exceedingly vex'd to hear that they had with-
out

* *Sheriffs* and other Officers. The Reader may see the *Articles of Enquiry* at large in *Tyrrel*, Vol. II. p. 463. which give great Light into the *Ministerial* Part of the Law in those Days.

out him perform'd a Ceremony of that Importance, the doing of which he pretended was a Privilege annex'd to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 1170.

The King of *France* took great Offence at his Daughter's not being Crown'd with the Prince her Spouse. His Discontent at it, join'd to some other Occasions of Quarrelling, which are seldom wanting to neighbouring Princes, put him upon taking up Arms again. But this War was of so little Consequence and short Continuance, that it is entirely needless to enter into the Particulars of it: It suffices to say, in two Words, that 'twas almost as soon ended as begun, by a Treaty of Peace concluded between the two Monarchs.

Lewis complains of Henry. Gervas. Virg.

They are Friends again.

Quickly after, *Henry* was seiz'd with a violent Fever at *Donsfont*, in the Province of *Main*. He was so dangerously Ill, that believing he was near his End, he hastily made his Will. To *Henry* his eldest Son, he gave *England*, *Normandy*, *Main* and *Anjou*; and to *Richard* his second Son, *Guienne*, and *Poitou*. As for *Geoffrey*, he thought *Bretaign* sufficient for him, which he was to enjoy, after the Death of Duke *Conan* his Brother-in-law. As for *John* his fourth Son, he was satisfied with recommending him to be provided for by his eldest Brother.

Henry falls sick, and makes his Will.

Henry's Indisposition had another considerable Effect. The approach of Death having rais'd Scruples in the King's Breast, which he had not minded whilst in Health, he resolv'd to make up Matters at any Rate with *Becket*, in case he recovered. He consider'd that the Archbishop had been sufficiently punish'd by a six Years Exile, during which Space he had been depriv'd of his Revenues. Besides, he was desirous, if it pleas'd God to prolong his Days, to sit down in Quiet, which the Pope threaten'd continually to disturb, by thund'ring out the *Church's Censures* against him. Pursuant to this Resolution, as soon as his Health permitted, he held a Conference with the King of *France* at *Montmirail*, where *Becket* was present also. In the Temper the King was in, he agreed to almost every thing the Archbishop demanded: But after they had adjust'd the Terms, as *Becket* was stepping up to

He resolves to make up Matters with Becket.

A Conference at Montmirail comes to nothing by Accident.

1170. the King to give him *the Kiss of Peace*, he took it in his Head to say, that he was going to *salute* him to *the Honour of God*. The King, who was not thoroughly satisfied of his Sincerity, imagining there was some hidden Mystery in that Expression, refus'd to receive his *Salute* accompanied with those Words, which to him seem'd superfluous. The Archbishop on the other hand, insisting upon saying them, all the Pains taken to adjust Matters became of no Effect by the over-strain'd Nicety of both Parties. However *Henry*, willing upon any Terms to get clear of this Business, order'd it so that another Interview was agreed upon at *Amboise*, where the King of *France* came attended by several Princes and Lords. Here at length all Difficulties were got over: *Henry* was in good earnest reconcil'd with *Becket*, and swore to restore him to the same State he was in before his Banishment; and likewise to make Restitution to his Relations and Friends of all that had been taken from them since his going out of *England*. Thus this Contest seem'd to be happily ended by the Generosity of the King, who protested that he heartily forgave all that was pass'd.

The Quarrel is decided.

The revengeful Proceedings of Becket. Diceto.

Tyrel.

But the Archbishop was not so easily appeas'd. Tho' he oblig'd *Henry* to pardon all those that had offended him, he himself cou'd not resolve to forgive those whom he thought he had Reason to complain of. He was chiefly exasperated against the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Durham* and *Exeter*, who had acted the most openly against him. Before he left *France*, in order to return into *England*, he got leave of the Pope to *suspend* the First, and *excommunicate* the Others, and accordingly did so the Moment he set Foot on Land. He had even no Regard to the Intreaties of the young King, who having had notice of his Design, had sent Messengers to him to divert him from it. Tho' by this Refusal he had given that Prince just Cause of Complaint against him, yet wou'd he go and salute him at *Woodstock*, where he resided. Some say the Desire of paying his Respects to the young King, was not the principal Motive of his intended Visit; but that his real Aim was

to

to make a triumphant Entrance into *London*, thro' which he was to pass. Be this as it will, he lodg'd on the Road at *Southwark*, with a Design to be at *Woodstock* next Day; but he receiv'd a Letter from the young King, ordering him to repair forthwith to *Canterbury*. That this was a great Mortification to him, he thought fit to obey the Order. Accordingly he set forward for the Capital of his *Diocese*, where he made his Entry with the Acclamations of the meaner sort of People, whilst the more considerate were sorry to see him thus Triumphant; who, far from being humbled by his long Exile, was grown more Proud and Haughty. This they had quickly Reason to perceive in a more especial manner, when mounting his *Archiepiscopal Chair* on *Christmas-day*, he solemnly excommunicated *Nigel de Sackvil*, and *Robert Brock*, both distinguish'd for their Birth and High Posts. He accus'd the Former of unjustly detaining a *Manor* belonging to the Archbishoprick, and the Latter of having cut off the Tail of a Horse that was carrying Provisions to his Palace. This Proceeding was a plain Indication that his Disgrace had made no Impression upon him; and that he was ready to revive the Quarrel when an Opportunity shou'd offer. The Truth is, had he intended to keep fair with the King, he wou'd not have excommunicated, for such trifling Matters, two of the *immediate Vassals* of the Crown, seeing that was one of the Articles which had occasion'd their Difference.

1170.
The young King refuses to see him.

He enters Canterbury in Triumph.

He excommunicates two Barons.
Fitz-Step. Gervas.

In the mean Time, the *suspended* and *excommunicated* Prelates were gone to carry their Complaints to the King, who was still in *Normandy*. When they came into his Presence, they threw themselves at his Feet, and complain'd that the Peace he had made with *Becket*, redoubled the Terrors and Troubles of those that had sacrific'd themselves to his Service. The Archbishop of *York* added, that as long as *Becket* was alive, 'twas impossible for *England* to enjoy any Tranquillity. *Henry*, exasperated by these Complaints, and tir'd out with being thus incessantly plagu'd by the Insolence of a Subject whom he had rais'd from the Dust, cou'd not help uttering these Words

The excommunicated Bishops complain to the King.

Fitz-Step. 1

1170.
*Indiscreet
Words of
the King.
Gerv.*
p. 1414.

1171.
*Four of
the King's
Domesticks
plot against
Becket,*

*and mur-
der him at
the Altar.*

Words aloud : *I am very unhappy, that among the great Numbers I maintain, there's not a Man that dares undertake to revenge the Affronts I perpetually receive from the Hands of a wretched Priest.* These Words were not dropt in vain : Four of the King's Domesticks *, reflecting on the Kings Reproaches, plouted together to rid him of his Enemy. To this End they came to *Canterbury*, where they agreed upon the Method they were to take to put their Design in Execution. One Day, as the Archbishop was gone to the *Cathedral* with few Attendants, they enter'd the Church arm'd, and came up to the Altar, where he was standing. They began with upbraiding him in an outrageous manner for his Pride and Ingratitude : To which he return'd so resolute an Answer, as gave them a Handle to put their Design in practice. As they were not come with an Intent to reproach him only, they broke his Skull with their Clubs in so violent a manner, that the Blood and Brains flew all over the Altar. After they had committed this Action they went off peaceably, no Body offering to stop them *. The Resolution Becket show'd on this Occasion, the Zeal he express'd by recommending to God, with his last Breath, the Cause of the Church, the Time and Manner of his Death, aggravated the Guilt of his Murderers, and gain'd him more Friends

* *Fitz-Stephens* calls them *Barons* and Servants of the Bed-chamber, their Names were, *Reginald Fitz-Urse*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Britton*, and *Hugh Morvill*.

* Not daring to return to the King, they went and staid a Year at *Knarsborough* Castle in *Yorkshire*, belonging to *Hugh Morvill*; after which *Hovedon* says they went to *Rome* for Absolution, and were enjoin'd to go to *Jerusalem* and do *Penance* on the *Black Mountain* for Life. We have an Account of the manner of the Archbishop's Death at large, by *Gervase of Canterbury*, and *Edward Ryne*, who were Eye-witnesses. This last had his Arm almost cut off by receiving the first Blow that was made at *Becket's* Head, occasion'd, as he says, by the Archbishop's calling *Fitz-Urse*, *Pimp*. The Manuscript Relation of the Life and Sufferings of this Archbishop, written in a Hand of that Age, is preserv'd in the Library of *Gresham Colledge*. He was assassinated on the 30th of *December*, 1171. reckoning the beginning of the Year from *Christmas-Day*.

Friends after he was dead, than ever he had during his Life. 1171.

Thus died this famous Archbishop, whom some have rank'd amongst the most illustrious *Martyrs*, whilst others believe they might, without any Injury, deny him the Character of an *honest Man*, and a *good Christian*. About 50 Years after his Death, it was the Subject of a publick Dispute at the *University of Paris*, whether *Becket* was in Heaven or Hell, so ambiguous a Point was his *Sanctity*. Some asserted, that for his extreme Pride, he had deserv'd to be damn'd. Others, on the contrary maintain'd, that the Miracles wrought at his Tomb, were undoubted Proofs of his *Salvation*. It is true indeed, this last Argument wou'd have been unanswerable, if these Miracles had been as evidently prov'd as they were industriously spread. Be this as it will, it is confess'd *Becket* suffer'd *Martyrdom*; but the Business is to determine, whether it was indeed for the *Cause of God and Religion*, or solely for *That* of the *Pope and Clergy*. I shall leave the Reader to make what Reflections he thinks proper on this Subject; whilst I content my self with relating the Consequences of this Prelate's Death, which are no less remarkable than the Incidents of his Life. He had deserv'd too well of the Court of *Rome*, not to have a Place in the Catalogue of the *Saints*. There were many in that List, who in the Opinion of the Court of *Rome* it self, were not so worthy of that Honour as one that had spilt his Blood in defence of the *Church*. He was therefore *canoniz'd* two or three Years after his Death. How desirous soever the Pope might be to shew his Gratitude to the Memory of so faithful a Servant, there was a Necessity first that the World shou'd be convinc'd that the *Cause* he died for was approv'd by God; otherwise, his *Canonization* might have been objected against. Nothing was more proper to infuse this Belief into the Minds of the People than *Miracles*. Accordingly, such Multitudes were forthwith wrought at the Tomb of the *New Martyr*, that in any other Age but that, the *Number and Nature* of these *Miracles*, instead of satisfying the World, wou'd have

*Reflections
on his
Character.*

*Abun-
dance of
Miracles
attributed
to him af-
ter his
Death.*

1171.

have had a quite contrary Effect. Neither *Christ* nor his *Apostles* work'd the like, or so many, to prove the Truth of *Christianity*, as this *new Saint* did to authorize the *Privileges* and *Immunities* of the *Clergy*. 'Twas not thought sufficient to assert that he restor'd *dead Men* to Life; but 'twas further affirm'd that he *rais'd* the very *Beasts*. It was given out for certain, that being expos'd to view in the *Church* before he was buried, he rose up out of his *Coffin* and went and lighted the *Wax Candles* which had been put out. 'Tis said also, that after the *Funeral Ceremony* was over, he lifted up his Head to *bless* the People. To all these Miracles, abundance more are added, equally becoming the Majesty of God: However, they were spread abroad with that Confidence, that not a Man was found hardy enough to show the least sign of calling them in question. The Pope's *Legates*, sent some time after to examine into these Matters, found the People at *Canterbury* so possess'd of the Truth of all these Facts, that, upon so publick an Evidence, his *Holiness* thought he shou'd run no great Risk in *canonizing Becket* by the Name of *St. Thomas of Canterbury* *. The Tomb of the *new Saint* was at first deck'd with few Ornaments; but 50 Years after his Death, his Body was laid in a *Shrine*, enrich'd with a prodigious Quantity of *precious Stones*. As a further Honour to his Memory, the Pope order'd that every fiftieth Year a Jubilee shou'd be solemniz'd in the *Church*, where he lay. From thenceforward *Miracles* became so common at his Tomb, and their Fame spread so far, that they drew *Votaries* from all Parts of *Christendom*, who came to *Canterbury* in order to obtain the *Intercession* of this *new Saint*. In 1420, they kept an Account of above fifty thousand Foreigners, of all Ages and Sexes, that came in *Pilgrimage* that same Year to this renowned Tomb,

He is
canonis'd

To avoid breaking off the Narrative of this famous Contest, I was oblig'd to defer 'till now the giving an Account of certain Occurrences which happen'd in the Interval, the most remarkable of which I shall here place all together.

In 1165, during the Heat of the Dispute, the Archbishop of *Cologne* came into *England* in order to conduct *Matilda*, the King's Daughter to the Duke of *Saxony*, to whom she was betroth'd. As all the Princes of *Germany* were then for the Antipope *Paschal*, they were consider'd as *Schismatics* in all Places, where *Alexander* was own'd for Pope. This is the Reason why after the Departure of the Archbishop, the Churches, where he and the Priests that attended him, had said *Mass*, were all consecrated a-new. The King durst not oppose this Proceeding, for fear of making the Breach wider between him and *Alexander*, whom he was willing to keep fair with.

1171.
Marriage of Matilda the King's Daughter with the Duke of Saxony.
Ditto.

In 1166, certain *Hereticks* from *Germany* arriv'd in *England*, about thirty in Number, being headed by one *Gerhard*. 'Tis not distinctly known wherein their *Heresy* consisted; in all likelihood, they sath'd upon them, by forc'd Inferences, Opinions, which they entertain'd not. However this be, they were summon'd before a *Council* held on purpose at *Oxford*, where they were condemn'd and delivered over to the *secular* Power. The King, unwilling to give the Pope any *Hold*, treated these People very severely. After he had branded them in the Cheek with a hot Iron, he forbid all his Subjects to give them any Relief. This Prohibition having been punctually observ'd, all those Wretches miserably perish'd with Hunger, without any one's hearing them make the least Complaint of this most inhumane Usage. This is not the only Instance of there being no worse Time for such as the Court of *Rome* marks out for *Hereticks*, than when Princes are at Variance with the Pope.

German
Hereticks arrive in England, and are condemn'd at Oxford.
Brompton
Neubrig.
Virg.

Malcolm King of *Scotland* died much about this Time, and was succeeded by *William* his Brother.

King of
Scotland dies.
Eleanor's
Marriage.
Conan

The Marriage of *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Henry*, with *Alphonso* King of *Castile* was concluded in 1169, a little before *Becket's* Return into *England*.

Conan the Little, Duke of *Brittain* dying in 1171, Prince *Geoffrey*, who had married his Daughter, succeeded him. But as he was not above 12 years old, the King

dies, and is
succeeded
by Geof-
frey, Hen-
ry's Son.

1171. his Father took the Guardianship upon himself, and went in Person into *Bretaign*, to receive the Fealty of the Barons.

These are the most considerable Events, which fell out during the Difference between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. I proceed now to what follow'd upon the Death of that Prelate.

Henry
charg'd
with
Becket's
Murder.
Diceto.
Brompton
Hoved.

The Pope
intends to
press him
vigorously.

Henry acts
with Ad-
dress and
Resolution.

He forms
the Design
of conquer-
ing Ire-
land.

Gir. Camb

Henry, being rid of the Disturber of his Quiet, was in hopes to enjoy some Tranquillity. But he found that *Becket*, when dead, created him no less Trouble than when alive. His Enemies, the chief of which were the King of *France* and Archbishop of *Sens*, omitted not this Opportunity of imbroiling his Affairs. They boldly charg'd him with being the Author of *Becket's* Murder, and endeavour'd by all Sorts of Means to stir up the Pope to revenge the Death of his Faithful Servant. Tho' 'twas no easy Matter to prove that *Henry* had any Hand in the Assassination, *Alexander* had a mind however to believe him guilty, that he might have a Handle to humble a Prince, that had all along stoutly oppos'd him. He was sensible this was a favourable Juncture to procure some Advantages which that Monarch wou'd never be brought to yield up at any other Time. With this View he threatned, to excommunicate him and put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, unless he gave Marks of a sincere Repentance. Had this Prince been more weak, or less able, he wou'd never have extricated himself out of so slippery and dangerous a Business. But the Resolution he show'd on this Occasion, the Presents he distributed among the *Cardinals*, and his repeated Protestations, that he was ready to submit to the Sentence that shou'd be pronounc'd in *England*, averted this terrible Blow.

Whilst this Affair was transacting at *Rome*, *Henry* resum'd the Project of the Conquest of *Ireland*, form'd some Years before, but laid aside for the present, on Account of his Quarrel with *Becket*. The *Irish* having taken some *Englishmen* Prisoners, and afterwards sold them for Slaves to Foreigners, furnish'd him with a Pretence to form this Enterprize. But the real Motive was the Desire of enlarging his Dominions by the Conquest of an
Island

Island so adjacent to *England*. Two favourable Conjunctions had induc'd him to turn his Thoughts to this Conquest. In the first Place, He was at Peace with all his Neighbours. And *Secondly*, *Adrian* IV. a Native of *England*, being then Pope, he was in hopes of easily procuring his Approbation. Tho' the Outrages committed by the *Irish* against his Subjects might be one of the Reasons of his intended Expedition, yet that was not the Thing he alledg'd to the Pope to obtain his Consent. The *Glory of God* and the *Salvation of Souls*, plausible Pretences, but which rarely set Princes upon Projects of this Nature, were the Arguments he insisted upon to prevail with *Adrian* to approve his Design. To which he added another and no less forcible Motive, the enlarging the Jurisdiction and Revenues of the *Holy See*. He pretended That the *Irish* being *Schismaticks* and bad Christians, it was necessary to put them in the right Way, and oblige them to acknowledge the Pope's Authority, which till Then had been but little regarded by them: That the properest Means to that End was to bring them in Subjection to the Crown of *England*, which had all along been so devoted to the *Holy See*. This is what we find in the *Bull*, which *Adrian* sent him on this Occasion, wherein we may further observe, what Power the Popes assum'd to themselves, and how attentive they were to every Thing that might help to increase their Grandeur.

1171.

A D R I A N,

SERVANT of the SERVANTS of GOD,
To his Son in CHRIST JESUS, HENRY
King of ENGLAND.

Sends Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

Adrian's
Bull to en-
courage the
Irish Expe-
dition.
Gir. Camb.
An. 1154.
Diceto.
Paris. p. 95.

THE Desire your Magnificence expresses to advance the Glory of your Name on Earth, and to obtain, in Heaven, the Prize of eternal Happiness, deserves, no doubt, great Commendations. As a good Catholick Prince, you are very careful to enlarge the Borders of the Church, to spread the Knowledge of the Truth among the Barbarous and Ignorant, and to pluck up Vice by the Roots in the Field of the Lord: And in Order to This you apply to us for Countenance and Direction. We are confident therefore that, by the Blessing of the Almighty, your Undertaking will be crown'd with Success suitable to the noble Motive which sets you upon it. For whatever is taken in Hand from a Principle of Faith and Religion, never fails of succeeding. It is certain, as you your self acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other Islands which have the Happiness of being enlighten'd by the Sun of Righteousness, and have submitted to the Doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably St. Peter's Rights, and belong to the Jurisdiction of the Roman Church. We judge therefore, after having maturely consider'd the Enterprize you have propos'd to us, that it will be proper to settle in that Island Colonies of the Faithful, who may be well-pleasing to God.

You have advertis'd us, most dear Son in Christ, of your Design of an Expedition into Ireland, to subject the Island to just Laws, and to root out Vice, which has long flourish'd There. You promise to pay Us out of every House a yearly Acknowledgment of one Penny, and to maintain the Rights of the Church, without the least Detriment or Diminution.

Upon

Upon which Promise, giving a ready Ear to your Request, we consent and allow, that you make a Descent on that Island, in order to enlarge the Bounds of the Church, to check the Progress of Immorality, to reform the Manners of the Natives, and to promote the Growth of Virtue and the Christian Religion. We exhort you to do whatever you shall think proper to advance the Honour of God and the Salvation of the People, whom we charge to submit to your Jurisdiction, and to own you for their Sovereign Lord; Provided always that the Rights of the Church are inviolably preserv'd, and the Peter-Pence duly paid. If therefore you think fit to put your Design in Execution, labour above all Things to improve the Inhabitants of the Island in Virtue. Use both your Own and the Endeavours of such as you shall judge worthy to be employed in this Work, that the Church of God be enrich'd more and more, that Religion flourish in the Country, and that the Things tending to the Honour of God and Salvation of Souls be in such manner dispos'd, as may entitle you to an eternal Reward in Heaven, and an immortal Fame upon Earth.

These are the Foundations of *Henry's Pretensions to Ireland*. In reading the *Bull*, 'tis hard to know which of the Two acted with the greatest Hypocrisy, the King or the Pope. *Henry* alleg'd sham Pretences in order to colour over his Ambition, and *Adrian* made as if he believ'd him, that he might have the Disposal of a Country which belong'd not to him, and the transferring it to a Prince who had no manner of Right to it. But it is easy to discover, through all these Disguises, the Motives which influenc'd the Pope. *Ireland* had not yet acknowledg'd the Superiority of the *Roman See* over the *Christian Church*. That was the *Immorality* which was to be rooted out of the *Field of the Lord*. Submission to the *Bishop of Rome*, was the *Seed* that was to be carefully sown and cherish'd, to the end the *Roman Church* might reap a plentiful Harvest. What else can be meant by *spreading the Knowledge of the Truth*, where the *Christian Religion* had been so long embrac'd before? But however this be, *Henry* countenanc'd
by

*Remarks
on this
Bull.*

1171.

by the Pope and back'd by his Exhortations, waited only for a favourable Opportunity to execute his Design, which he was prevented from doing some Years on Account of *Becket's* Affair. He had no sooner got rid of that Business, but he turn'd his Thoughts to the *Irish* Expedition, bent upon putting it in Practice, the Moment he shou'd have concluded a Peace with the King of *France*, with whom he was Then at War. However, tho' the War was not over, a fair Opportunity offer'd, which he fail'd not to lay hold on. But before I relate the Success of this Undertaking, 'twill be necessary to give some Account of that Island, which we shall soon see united to the *English* Monarchy.

*Situation,
Largeness,
and Advan-
tages
of Ireland.*

*Gir. Camb.
in Topog.
Hibern.*

Ireland is situated on the West of *Great-Britain*, from which it is parted by an Arm of the Sea, call'd *St. George's Channel*, which in some Places is not above three Leagues over. The Island is in Length from *South* to *North*, about 300, and in Breadth, from *East* to *West* 200 Miles. It is certain that in all *Europe* there is not a more temperate Climate than That of *Ireland*. Excessive Heat and Cold are seldom known there, because the Vapours rising from the Sea, with which it is surrounded, generally qualify these two Extremes. The Soil is very fertile, especially in the Southern Parts. They who tell us, that no Wheat grows there, no doubt, meant the North-Parts where the People commonly live upon Oatmeal-Bread. But every where else, there is good Wheat, and in Plenty sufficient for the Subsistence of the Natives. However the Island abounds most with Pasture-Grounds, and its chiefest Wealth consists in a prodigious Breed of Cattle. The Sea is stock'd with such Plenty of Fish, that were the Inhabitants destitute of all other Food, that alone wou'd be sufficient to sustain them. But the most considerable Advantage this Island enjoys, is a commodious Situation for *Trade* and *Commerce* with all Parts, not of *Europe* only, but of all the World. Add to this the great Number of good *Ports* which might very much facilitate the Exportation of its Commodities. These Privileges have rais'd the Jealousy of the *English* to such a Degree, that ever since
their

their becoming Masters of the *Island*, they have had nothing more at Heart, than the preventing the *Irish* from extending their Commerce, lest the Trade of *England* shou'd thereby receive too great a Prejudice. It is no wonder that an Island so fertile, so well situated, and so near a Neighbour to *England*, shou'd attract the Eyes of *Henry II.* let no Bounds to his Ambition.

1171.

If we refer the Matter to some *Irish* Historians, we must go back beyond the *Flood* to find the first Inhabitants of this Island. But there are others less prejudic'd in this Point who give us the following Account of their Origin. They affirm, that in the third Age of the World, *Ireland* was inhabited with *Scyths*, whose Number, in the Fourth (a), was considerably augmented by some Colonies of *Spaniards*. These two Nations, in Process of Time, not only peopled *Ireland*, but the *Hebrides* also, from whence Part of them went and settled in *North-Britain*, as hath been already related in the *Introduction*.

Its first Inhabitants.

Several Names have been given to this Island, all form'd from the Word *Erin*, the Name the Natives give it themselves. Such are *Ierna*, *Juverna*, *Iouernia Quernia*, *Bernia*, *Hybernia*, all which plainly mark the same Origin. The *Britons* stil'd it in their Language *Iverdon*. The *Romans*, *Hibernia*, and the *Saxons*, *Iren-landt*, that is, the Country of the *Iren* or *Erin*. The Etymology of the Word *Erin* is not well known; but *Cambden's* Conjecture, who derives it from an *Irish* Word signifying *West*, seems to me the most probable; because in reality, *Ireland* is the most *Western* Island in *Europe* *. *Isidore* and *Bede* call it *Scotia* with respect to the Inhabitants, who for the most Part came from *Scythia*, as was said before, and for that reason were call'd *Scots*. The same Writers term it also *Scotia Major*, to distinguish it from *North-Britain* inhabited by the same Nation. Others give it the Name of *Britannia Parva*, to distinguish it from *Great-Britain*, pretending that

Divers Names of this Island.

Ptolemy.

(a) They have not explain'd what they mean by the third and fourth Age of the World.

* *Bochartus* derives *Hibernia* from *Ibarnae*, a *Phœnician* word signifying the furthest Habitation.

1171.
Its Lan-
guage dif-
ferent from
all others.

Conversion
of the Irish.
Ninnius.

The great
Fame of
the first I-
rish Monks.

Ireland
suffers
much from
Invasion.

that all the Isles in those Parts were to be call'd the *Britannick Islands*. We are still more in the dark with regard to the Origin of the *Irish* Tongue, which has nothing, not even its *Letters*, in common with the Languages of the Neighbouring Nations.

Pope *Celestinus* I. was the first that undertook the Conversion of the *Irish* to Christianity, by sending *Palladius* to preach the Gospel to Them. But being deprived of this their first Bishop by an untimely Death, *Patrick*, Disciple of *St. Germanus* was sent in his Stead; who converted the greatest Part of the Natives. Their Descendents have all along consider'd him as their *Apostle*, and still hold him in great Veneration. Shortly after their Conversion, *Ireland* abounded with *Monks*, who for the most Part became so famous for their *Sanctity*, that they were the Occasion of the Island's being term'd *the Conntry of Saints*. From hence great Numbers of *Learned* and *Zealous* Men came forth, who very much help'd forward the Conversion of the *Albin-Scots*, *Picts*, and *Anglo-Saxons*. Such were *Columbanus*, *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Kilian*, and many others of whom I have spoken in several Places.

Religion and *Learning* which flourish'd in *Ireland**, were expell'd thence by foreign Invasions, to which that Island was frequently expos'd. A King of *Northumberland* *¹ sent a numerous Army thither, which committed great Ravages. Afterwards the *Norwegians* wasted the Country in a terrible Manner for thirty Years together, under the Conduct of one *Turgesius*, who at length was cut off by an Ambuscade. This Devastation was quickly follow'd by the Invasion of certain People from *Germany*, call'd by Historians *Estmanni* that is, *the Men of the East*. Shortly after, *Edgar* King of *England* subdued *Ireland*, if any Credit is to be given to a *Charter* that goes under

**Cambden* observes that the *Saxons* in those days flock'd to *Ireland*, as to the great Mart of *Learning*: Which is the Reason why we so often find this in our Writers, *Such a one sent his Son over to Ireland to be educated*. Vide *Bed.* l. 3 c. 7. and 27.

*¹ *Egfrid*. See *Hist. of Northum.* Vol. I.

under his Name, wherein he makes his Boasts of that Conquest. But how great soever the Ravages might be, which the Island suffer'd from the Hands of Foreigners, the *civil* Dissentions at Home were attended with still worse Consequences. The *Irish* were hardly freed from the Invasions of Foreigners, particularly of the *Danes*, who made them feel the Effects of their Fury, no less than the *English*, when a Civil War broke out among them, which ended in the cantoning out the Island into several petty States. These Kingdoms, which at first were many in Number, and consequently very small, were at length reduc'd to seven, namely, *Connaught*, *Corck*, *Leinster*, *Offery*, *Meath*, *Limerick*, and *Ulster* (a)*. The King of *Connaught*, who was the Chief of these petty Sovereigns, held the Rest in a Sort of Dependence, with much the same Authority as the *Anglo-Saxon* Monarchs exercis'd during the *Heptarchy*. This is the Reason why the *Irish* *Annals* give *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, who was on the Throne in the Time of *Henry II.* the Title of *Monarch*, tho' at the same Time there were more Kings besides him in the Island. Such was the State and Condition of *Ireland*, when the *English* undertook the Conquest of it. A Difference between two of these Kings, the weakest of whom invited the *English* to his Assistance, was the Occasion of the *Irish* losing their Liberty. This was not the first Time that the like Cause had produc'd the like Effect. The same imprudent Proceeding furnish'd the *Moors* with an Opportunity of conquering *Spain*, and the *Anglo-Saxons* of subduing *Britain*. Hence it appears how dangerous a Thing it is to invite into a Kingdom an Army of Foreigners, which one is not sure of being able to drive out again with the same Ease.

1171.

Domestick
Dissenti-
ons.Ireland
parcell'd
out into
seven King-
doms.

An. 1066.

(a) These seven Kingdoms were reduc'd to four large Provinces, into which the Island is at present divided, *Ulster*, *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*. * To which formerly was added *Meath*, now reckon'd Part of *Leinster*. These four Provinces are divided into thirty one *Counties* or *Shires*, four *Archbishopricks*, and nineteen *Bishopricks*.

1171.
The King
of Leinster
desires Aid
of Henry.

Among the Sovereigns then reigning in *Ireland*, *Dermoth* King of *Leinster*, was one of the most considerable, for Extent of Dominions. From the Time of this Prince's Accession to the Throne, he had acted in so arbitrary a Manner that he was become extremely odious to his Subjects. But he made very slight of his People's Hatred, as he was at Peace with his Neighbours, who had no manner of Concern in what pass'd in his Kingdom. However in process of time he himself drew them upon him, by carrying off by Force, the Wife of *O-Rorick* King of *Meath*. *O-Rorick*, willing to revenge the Affront, levied an Army, and with the Help of *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, attack'd *Dermoth*; who finding himself abandon'd by his Subjects, was forc'd to leave *Ireland*, for fear of falling into the Hands of his Enemy. As he had nothing to trust to in the Island, where the Rest of the Kings refus'd to engage in his Quarrel, he went and apply'd for Protection to the King of *England*, who was then in *France*. After he had acquainted him with his Case, he promis'd to become his *Vassal*, if by his Aid he shou'd be restor'd to his Throne. Nothing cou'd be more grateful than this Proposal to a Prince who had been considering for several years, of the Conquest of *Ireland*, and wanted only an Opportunity to interpose in the Affairs of that Island. However as the War he had then with *France*, permitted him not to lend the depos'd King immediate Succours, he contented himself with assuring him that as soon as the War was over, he wou'd assist him to the utmost of his Power. Nevertheless he thought it his Interest to perswade *Dermoth* to begin a War, from whence he hop'd himself to reap great Advantage. With this View, he advis'd him to go over into *England*, and endeavour in the mean Time to obtain what Assistance he cou'd from some *English* Barons. *Dermoth* follow'd his Advice, and relying on *Henry's* Word, came into *England*, where *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Richard Strongbow* enter'd into his Alliance, upon certain Terms. The former was prevail'd upon in hopes of making a considerable Fortune in *Ireland*. The Latter, who held large Possessions in *England* and *Wales*, was gain'd by *Dermoth's*

Henry
promises
him Aid.

Two Eng-
lish Lords
make an
Alliance
with *Dermoth*.

moth's promising to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, and to settle the *Succession* upon him. 1171.

These two Lords having drawn together some Troops among their Friends and Vassals, *Fitz-Stephen*, who was ready first, accompanied *Dermoth* into *Ireland*, with 400 Men. Being landed near *Waterford*, the King of *Leinster* lead them to the City of *Wexford*, which is not far from thence. The City being presently taken, was given to *Fitz-Stephen*, who settled there a Colony of *English* *. After this Exploit, the Adventurers having made up an Army of 3000 Men, by the coming in of the People of the Country, march'd against the King of *Offery*. This Prince, who did not expect to be attack'd, being unprovided for his Defence, was forc'd to submit to what Terms the Conquerors were pleas'd to impose upon him. They arrive in Ireland, and take Wexford. They subdue the King of Offery.

In the mean time, *Roderick*, the Monarch had conven'd the *States* of the Island, and brought them to a Resolution of warring against *Dermoth* and the *English*. Indeed, 'twas no hard Matter to perceive that their Designs were not wholly confin'd to the assisting the King of *Leinster*: But as the Adventurers were already grown formidable, he was willing, before he ran any Hazard, to try by way of Negotiation, to get them to depart the Island. He address'd himself first to *Fitz-Stephen*, and order'd him a considerable Sum to retire. His Offer being rejected, he turn'd to *Dermoth* and endeavour'd to perswade him to send away the *English*, by assuring him he wou'd restore him to his Kingdom. *Dermoth* immediately clos'd in with his Proposal; but when they came to talk of performing the Articles of their Agreement, each mistrusting the other, they cou'd agree neither upon the Time nor the Manner of doing it: Whilst their Thoughts were taken up in devising some Expedient for their mutual Security, the Earl of *Pembroke* arriv'd from *England* with The King of Connaught tries in vain to send back the English.

* These were the first *English* settled in *Ireland*, where they have continued ever since, retaining still our antient Garb, and much of our old Language, with a Mixture of *Irish*. *Camden* has given us a List of such as went into *Ireland* with *Dermoth*. The Earl of Pembroke arrives.

1171. 1200 Men: His first Enterprize was the taking of *Waterford*, the Inhabitants whereof he put all to the Sword.

Dermoth dies, and is succeeded by the Earl.

This Conquest having broke off the Negotiation, the Earl of *Pembroke* married the Daughter of *Dermoth*, and quickly after he took possession of the Kingdom of *Leinster*, which fell to him by the Death of his Father-in-law. The *Irish* gave that Prince the Surname of *Ningal*, as much as to say *a Friend to Foreigners*.

The English take Dublin.

After the Death of *Dermoth*, the Adventurers prepar'd to push on their Conquest: As they saw that the Terror of their Arms was spread over all *Ireland*, they took the Advantage of it, and marching on became Masters of *Dublin*, and some other Places. *Roderick*, and the rest of the Kings were in such Confusion, that they made but a very faint Resistance. It is almost incredible that the *Irish*, who were exceeding numerous, shou'd suffer themselves to be thus over-run by a Handful of *Englishmen*; the Reason of it is imputed to their great dread of the *English* Bows, the Use of which 'till then was to them unknown.

The Reason of their swift Progress.

Henry jealous of the Adventurers.

Upon the News of these extraordinary Successes, *Henry* grew jealous of the Adventurers. He had been in hopes they wou'd have stood in need of his Assistance, and by that means furnish'd him with a Pretence to go over in Person into *Ireland* and subdue the Island; but finding by reason of the faint Resistance of the *Irish*, his Aid was become needless; he was afraid that the Conquerors wou'd render themselves Masters of the whole Country, which he had design'd for himself. Possess'd with this Fear, he thought it necessary to oblige them to apply to him. To this end, he forbids all his Subjects exporting Provisions or Ammunitions to *Ireland*; and commands all those that were already in that Island to return Home forthwith. These Orders, which were issued on pretence that the Adventurers had engag'd in their Undertaking without his Leave, had the Effect he expected. As soon as the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Fitz-Stephens* were inform'd of the King's Edict, they sent Deputies to him to assure him of their Obedience; and to tell him that all their present and future Conquests shou'd be at his Command.

He calls them Home.

They treat with Him.

This

This Submission readily appeas'd the King, who had no further Thoughts of recalling them. Some time after he made an Agreement with them, whereby he was to be put in Possession of all the *Sea-Ports*; and the rest of the Conquests they had already made, were to remain in their Hands, on Condition they did Homage for them to the King and his Successors. Matters being thus settled, *Henry* went over himself into *Ireland* with a formidable Army, and landed at *Waterford*. The *Irish*, who had not been able to stand against a few private Persons, and consequently were in no Condition to resist so great Forces, chose to submit themselves voluntarily. During *Henry's* stay at *Waterford*, he saw all the Kings of the Island arrive at his Court, who, in emulation of one another, press'd to swear *Fealty* to him.

1171.

1172.

Henry goes to Ireland. Chron. Camb. The whole Island submits.

Thus *Henry*, without spilling one drop of Blood, became Master of *Ireland* in less Time than a Man wou'd take up in travelling over it. After he had plac'd fresh Garrisons in *Waterford*, *Wexford*, and some other Maritime Towns, pursuant to his Agreement with the Adventurers, he came to *Dublin*, where he made some Regulations for the better governing his new Conquest. Shortly after he set out for *England*, leaving at *Dublin*, *Hugh Lacy* to govern the Island in his Name, with the Title of *Grand Justiciary of Ireland*.

Henry comes to Dublin, from whence he returns to England.

If they, who are acquainted with the Largeness and Importance of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, are surpris'd at the ease wherewith the *English* subdued it, they will have no less Reason to wonder, when they shall see, in the Course of this History, how much it cost them to keep it. There are those who make no Scruple to say, that, considering the Blood that has been spilt, and the Money that has been expended to maintain the *English* in their Conquest, it had been better for them if the Island had been in the bottom of the Sea. It is certain, their keeping it at present is not so much on the Score of any Benefit they receive from thence, as to prevent its falling into the Hands of a foreign Power. The Truth is, it can't become sub-
ject

1172. ject to a new Master without great Detriment to the Trade and Commerce of *England*.

He meets
the Pope's
Legates in
Norman-
dy.
Bromp.
Hoved.

He swears
to his In-
nocence of
Becket's
Murder,
and is ab-
solv'd.

The Terms
of his Ab-
solution.

Henry had not Time to make any longer stay in *Ireland*; he was in haste to go to *Normandy*, in order to meet the Legates the Pope had sent to examine into *Becket's* Murder. Four Months were spent in debating this Matter: Tho' the Legates had Orders to give the King *Absolution*, they however took, from all Hands, *Depositions* in order to try to prove him guilty, that they might enhance the Favour he was going to receive from *His Holiness*. In fine, after abundance of affected Difficulties and Delays, he was permitted to clear himself by taking a solemn Oath that he neither commanded nor consented to *Becket's* Assassination. He publicly declared, That he was extremely sorry for having been the Occasion of it, by the rash Words he had imprudently drop'd; and that he was ready to undergo what *Penance* the Legates shou'd enjoin him. Upon his taking this Oath, and making this Declaration, he was absolv'd from his pretended Crime, on Terms which display'd his Innocence less than the Favour done him by the Pope. To obtain his *Absolution* he bound himself in the following Articles: I. Never to oppose the Pope's Will, so long as he own'd him for a *Catholick* Prince. II. That he wou'd not hinder *Appeals* to the *Holy See*. III. That he wou'd lead an Army to the *Holy Land*, against the *Infidels*, and remain there three Years successively. However, he was at liberty to send thither only 300 Men at his own Charges; in Case he chose rather to go in Person and wage War with the *Saracens* in *Spain*. IV. That he wou'd recall all that had suffer'd Banishment for the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and restore to them their Estates and Revenues. V. Lastly, That he wou'd abolish all Laws and Customs which had been lately introduc'd to the prejudice of the *Church of England*. To these, which were made publick, was added a *Secret* Article, whereby the King oblig'd himself to go bare-foot to *Becket's* Tomb, and receive the *Discipline* from the Hands of all the Monks of *St. Augustin's*. Thus ended

ended that Affair, which notwithstanding *Henry's* Resolution in the Beginning, turn'd at length to the Pope's Advantage, and carried his Power and Authority to a greater height than ever. Indeed, this Instance was exceeding proper to strike a Terror into all Sovereigns, being an evident Demonstration, how dangerous a Thing it was to contradict the Pleasure of the Court of *Rome*. How great Reason had they to stand in fear of so formidable a Power, which had just treated with such Indignity, one of the most potent Princes in *Europe*?

1172.

In the beginning of the Year 1173, *Roger*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, was chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after the *See* had been vacant a little above a Twelve-month.

1173.

Roger
elected
Archbi-
shop.

Henry imagin'd, that after having master'd so many Difficulties he shou'd pass the Residue of his Days in Peace, amidst the Grandeur and Glory he was encircled with: But he quickly found, that the Vexations he had endur'd in *Becket's* Affair were not the only ones capable of disturbing his Felicity. During his Absence, a Conspiracy had been forming against him, which was so much the more dangerous, as the Queen his Wife, and his own Sons were the Authors of it. Besides, it was countenanc'd by one of the principal Barons of the Realm, and several foreign Princes. Queen *Eleanor* was spurr'd on to this by her extreme Jealousy, which the King had given her but too much Reason to entertain. Among the many *Mistresses* he kept, *Fair Rosamond*, Daughter to the Lord *Clifford*, having the greatest Ascendent over him, became the principal Object of the Queen's jealous Rage, who cou'd not forbear threatening her. *Henry* fancied he had secur'd her from all Attempts, by keeping her in a certain *Labyrinth* he had built on purpose at *Woodstock*: But his great Care prov'd all in vain. Whilst he was gone to *Normandy*, the Queen, taking the Advantage of his Absence, had found the means to dispatch out of the way this hated Rival, that had created her so much

A great
Conspiracy
against the
King
Hoved.
Hygd.
Paris.
The Au-
thors and
Causes of
it.

The Queen
puts Rosa-
mond the
King's
Mistress to
death.

un-

1173.

*Reasons
of the Dis-
contents of
the King's
Sons.*

uneasiness *. After this Act, despairing of ever being able to regain the King's Affections, she had carried her Revenge farther, and spirited up her Sons to revolt against him. *Henry*, his eldest Son, a young Prince of an exceeding haughty Temper, was grown weary of bearing the Title of *King* without the Authority. *Richard*, naturally turbulent and restless, was tired with being under the Discipline of the King, who indeed had made him Earl of *Poictou*, but suffer'd him not to enjoy the Benefit of it. *Geoffrey* had still greater Reason to complain than his Brothers: He saw himself depriv'd of the Government of *Bretaign*, under the specious pretence of a *Guardianship*, which he thought there was no manner of Occasion for any longer. 'Twas no hard Matter for these young Princes to draw into the Conspiracy several *English* Barons, who were in hopes of enjoying a greater share of Credit and Authority under the young *Henry* than under his Father. The King of *France*, ever jealous of *Henry's* flourishing Condition, very readily made one in the Project of dethroning him. He was not satisfied with assisting the Princes himself, but got the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bulloign*, and *Blois* his Vassals (the last of whom was his Brother-in-law) to enter into the League. *William*, King of *Scotland*, was prevail'd upon also to have a Hand in an Undertaking, which might furnish him with an Opportunity of recovering the Dominions his Brother *Malcolm* had deliver'd up to *England*. This Confederacy broke out on a sudden, when *Henry* least expected it. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Bretaign* were attack'd all at once by the Arms of the Confederates. The King of *Scotland* invaded *Cumberland*, and *England* was divided into two Parties

* *Tyrrel* observes that our Historians are wholly silent as to the Queens getting at *Rosamond*; so that the Story of her making her drink Poyson has no better Foundation than the old Ballad made upon it. It is certain she did not live long, tho' the Time of her Death is not mention'd. She was buried in the Chapter-house of *Godstow* Nunnery, near *Oxford*, where her Epitaph, which *Brompton* gives you, was to be seen in his Time. There are no Remains of the *Labyrinth* at this Day.

Parties, one for the young, and the other for the old King. But before I enter upon the Particulars of this War, it will be necessary to see what Measures *Henry's* Enemies had taken to surprize him.

1173.

After the Conquest of *Ireland*, *Henry*, intending to go to *Normandy*, pass'd thro' *England* in order to take the King his Son along with him, being entirely ignorant of the Plots that had been contriving in his Absence. Upon his Arrival at *Reas*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King of *France*, importing his earnest Desire to see his Daughter and Son-in-law, and intreating him to let them come and spend a few Days at *Paris*. The young Prince, having obtain'd leave, forthwith repair'd to the King his Father-in-law, with whom he concerted Measures, that the Confederates might all enter upon Action at the same Time. In the mean while, as he put off his Return under divers Pretences, *Henry* grew somewhat uneasy at it; perhaps he had receiv'd some confus'd Hints of what was brewing; or, it may be, he was apprehensive that by too long conversing with *Lewis*, ill Impressions might be made in the Mind of the young Prince. Be this as it will, he sent for him, and the young King durst not refuse to go, for fear of giving him a Suspicion of the Conspiracy, which it greatly behov'd him to keep secret. As soon as he came back, the King, together with his Son, set out for *Montferrand*, a small Town in *Auvergne*, where he was to hold a Conference with *Hubert* Earl of *Maurienna*, *Alphonfus* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, *Girard* Earl of *Vienna*, and *Raymond* Earl of *Tbolonse*: What Business he had with these Princes, except the Earl of *Marienna*, I know not. He was to treat with this last about a Marriage between *John* his fourth Son, and *Alice* the Daughter of that Earl. This Affair was begun at *Montferrand*; but as it cou'd not be brought to a Conclusion there, *Hubert* accompanied the King to *Limoges*, where he press'd him to declare what he wou'd do for the Prince his Son, on the Score of his Marriage. *Henry* offer'd to settle on *John* the Cities of *Lodun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebel*, which the young King, who was

Henry the Son visits the King of France, and concert's Measures with him against his Father.

The King sends for him.
Virg.
Bromp.
Diceto.

Project of a Marriage between Prince John and the Daughter of the Earl of Maurienna.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 33.

1173.

Falling out
between
the King
and his
eldest Son.

The King
is suspici-
ous of him.

He with-
draws to
the King of
France.
Diceto.
Eleanor
sends away
Richard
and Ge-
offrey, for
which she
is impris-
on'd.
Virg.

The King is
attack'd
in several
Places.

present, oppos'd to the utmost of his Power, He alledg'd 'twas very strange the King shou'd be willing to assign an *Appenage* to his youngest Son, whilst he refus'd to give one, during his Life, to the eldest, who bore the Title of King without having wherewithal to support the Dignity. This Opposition created a great Coldness between the Father and Son, which was still increas'd by the young King's demanding *Normandy* of his Father, 'till such time as he shou'd come to the Crown of *England*. His Aim in making this Demand was only to come at a Pretence to complain in order to open the *Scene* he had concerted with the King of *France*.

Henry began from that Time to suspect his Son had some Design in his Head. As he did not question but that he had been corrupted by the King of *France*, he caus'd him to be so narrowly watch'd, that 'twas easy to see he was afraid of letting him go away. On the other Hand, the young Prince, dreading some unlucky Turn, in Case the King shou'd discover his Intentions, was resolv'd to prevent the Danger. What Care soever the Father might take, he cou'd not hinder his Son from privately withdrawing from Court, and going over to the King of *France*. This entirely confirm'd the old King in his Suspicions: But however, he was still ignorant what his Son's Design might be. As soon as the Queen, who resided at *London*, had intelligence of the King her Son's Arrival at *Paris*, she sent thither likewise *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, before *Henry* cou'd have Time to give any Orders about them. Thus the old King saw himself deserted on a sudden by his whole Family, without knowing what all these Proceedings tended to. His Wrath, which he cou'd not then vent upon his Sons, fell upon the Queen, whom he caus'd to be closely confin'd; but he reap'd no other Benefit from thence, but the Pleasure of being reveng'd. Quickly after, the Confederate Princes having attack'd him in several Places, he stood in need of all his Resolution to bear up under so many Vexations, and of all his Prudence, to make Head against so many Enemies. *Richard* repair'd to *Gnienne*, where he caus'd

caus'd the greatest Part of the Country to revolt. *Geoffrey* 1173.
 having rais'd an Insurrection in *Bretaign*, put himself at
 the Head of it, with design to wrest from the King
 his Father the Government of that Dukedom. *Norman-*
dy was attack'd by the King of *France*, assisted by the
 Earls of *Flanders*, *Bulloign* and *Blois*. The King of
Scotland made an Irruption into the *Northern* Parts of *Eng-*
land. The Earl of *Leicester* landed at *Southampton* an
 Army he had levied in *France*, in hopes of stirring up
 all the *Englisb* to revolt against the King. Thus *Henry*
 saw in all Parts of his Dominions hostile Armies, against
 whom he had made no Preparations.

In the mean while *Henry* the Son, who continued at *Paris*, acted as if he had been sole King of *England*. He receiv'd the Homage of the *Vassals*: He made Grants and Donations of the Crown Lands: He assign'd Pensions out of the publick Revenues, and had his Seal apart, as if the King his Father had no manner of Right to intermeddle in the Government of his Kingdom. He wou'd not keep so much as a single Person about him that did not swear *Fealty* to him without any Reservation of the like Duty to the old King. The young Prince thought he had taken such sure Measures, that he look'd upon the Downfall of the King his Father as infallible. The King of *France* willing to sooth him up in this Notion, affected continually to throw out satyrical Jests against old *Henry*, and wou'd hardly bear that any one shou'd call him *King* in his Presence. The Truth is, the Ruin of that Monarch seem'd to be very near, since he had so many Enemies to deal with at once. But if he had shown some want of Resolution, when he had to do with the Pope, he was far from any such Thing upon this Occasion. Never did his Virtues shine with so bright a Lustre than at the Time when he saw himself as it were compell'd to give way to his Ill-fortune; and, as one may say, reduc'd to Extremity. Animated with fresh Courage at the sight of the impending Danger, he manag'd his Matters with so much Resolution, Prudence, and Forecast, that, in spite of the Obstacles which started up incessantly,

Henry the Son acts as sole King. Walsing. Paris. Hoved.

The old King defends himself vigorously and successfully.

1173.

cessantly, and from all Quarters, he obtain'd in the End a glorious Advantage over all his Enemies. The King of *France* found himself constrain'd to abandon *Vernueil*, which had cost him a long Siege. An Army of *Brabançons*, sent by *Henry* into *Bretaign*, vanquish'd the revolted *Bretaigns*, upon which they return'd to their Duty. The Earl of *Leicester* was defeated in *England*, and taken Prisoner by *Humphrey Bohun*, General of the *English* Army, who took the Opportunity of a Truce he had made with the King of *Scotland*, to go and give the Earl Battle. As soon as the Truce was expir'd, *William* renew'd his Ravages in *Northumberland*: But whilst he was intent upon the Plunder, he unluckily, or rather imprudently suffer'd himself to be surpriz'd unawares by the *English* General, who put his Army to rout, and took him Prisoner. The *Scotch* pretend this was done during the Truce; but the *English* affirm 'twas after the Truce was out. Be this as it will, the King being fallen into the Hands of the *English*, was carried first to *Richmond* Castle, from whence he was convey'd into *Normandy*.

The Earl of Leicester defeated and taken Prisoner.

The King of Scotland made Prisoner.

Henry's great Success in France.

Whilst the Arms of *Henry* were thus crown'd with Success in *England*, he was taken up in *France*, in reducing the Cities and Provinces that had revolted against him. Tho' 'twas not possible for him to be every where, he order'd his Matters so well, that in a few Months either by Himself or by Others, he became Master of the principal Places in *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Bretaign*. These good Successes, which quite broke the Measures of his Enemies, entirely dissipated the Fears he had been justly seiz'd with in the beginning of the War.

Contrary Winds prevent the young King from leading an Army into England.

In the mean Time, the King his Son, perceiving him thus embroil'd in *France*, took that Opportunity of raising an Army of *Frenchmen* and *Flemings*. As soon as the Troops were ready for Action, he put himself at their Head, and march'd towards *Gravelin*, where he design'd to embark. His Project was to pass over into *England*, and join the King of *Scotland* and Earl of *Leicester*, who had not been yet defeated. Cou'd he have cross'd the

Sea

Sea at that Juncture, he wou'd undoubtedly have been Master of *England*. But he was detain'd so long by contrary Winds, that it was too late to put his Design in Execution. Whilst he was waiting in vain for a favourable Gale, the King his Father had Time to restore his Affairs in *France*; after which, he went and embark'd at *Barfleur*, from whence he safely arriv'd in *England*. From *Southampton*, where he landed, he proceeded directly to *Canterbury*, in order to do *Penance* at *Becket's Tomb*, to which he had oblig'd himself upon receiving *Absolution*. As soon as he came in Sight of the Town, he alighted from his Horse, tho' he was then three Miles off, and having pull'd off his Boots, he walk'd Bare-foot, in extreme Pain, till he came to the *sacred Tomb*. There it was, after he had rested himself a little, that he submitted to the shameful *Discipline* impos'd upon him. He was scourg'd by the Hands of the *Prior* and Monks of *St. Augustin's*, and spent the Night in Prayer in the *Cathedral* lying on the cold Pavement. On the Morrow, after having assisted at a *solemn Procession* round the *Tomb*, he departed for *London*. They have not fail'd to remark, in order to enhance the Credit, which this *new Saint* had in the Court of Heaven, that *Henry* was indebted for the Victory, his Arms obtain'd over the King of *Scotland*, to the Intercession of *the Blessed St. Thomas* *. 'Tis further affirm'd, that the King himself was so perswaded of This, that he publickly return'd him Thanks, thereby acknowledging he did not in the least question his *Sanctity*.

The old King arrives in England, and does Penance at Becket's Tomb. Hoved. Gervaf.

He is scourg'd by the Monks.

Walt. de Heming.

After the Defeat of the Earl of *Leicester* and of the King of *Scotland*, the young King's Party not daring to keep the Field any longer, were retir'd to their Strong-Holds and Castles. The King's Impatience to see them entirely reduc'd, suffer'd him not to make any Stay at *London*. A few days after his Arrival, he march'd with his Army to besiege the Castles which were still in the Hands of his Son's Partisans. But the greatest Part surrender'd them.

He reduces all the Rebels in England.

* It happen'd that the very Day the King left *Canterbury*, being the 13th of *July*, the King of *Scotland* was taken Prisoner, which the *Monks* imputed to the Merits of *Becket*.

1173.

Lewis be-
siegues
Roan.

themselves upon his Approach, and the Rest held out but a few days. In the mean Time, the King of *France* despairing of any Assistance from *England*, after the Defeat of the Confederates, recall'd his Troops from *Gravelin* and went and laid Siege to *Roan*. He was in hopes of being Master of that City before *Henry* cou'd come to its Relief. But the brave Resistance of the Inhabitants baffled his Designs. Upon the first Notice of the Siege, *Henry* put to Sea with a good Body of Troops, and made such Speed, that he arriv'd in *Normandy* before *Lewis* had made any great Progress. His sudden Coming struck such a Terror into his Enemy, that he rais'd the Siege, and retreated in the utmost Confusion, leaving all his Baggage behind him. Some even assert, he cou'd not get off but by the Means of a Treaty, which he made no Manner of Account afterwards.

Henry
forces him
to raise the
Siege.

Hoved.

Henry's
prosperous
State.

1174.

Henry's Affairs were then in the most flourishing Condition he had ever seen them in. Absolute Master in *England*, he beheld the *Scots* cast down and disheartned by the Imprisonment of their King. *Ireland* continu'd in Obedience. The *Welsh* remain'd quietly within their own Bounds. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and the other Provinces beyond Sea, were entirely reduc'd, except a few Castles in *Poitou* in possession of Prince *Richard*. 'Tis no wonder therefore that *Lewis*, now above sixty Years of Age, shou'd despair of compassing the Ends he had propos'd to himself in the Beginning of the War. He found that the Confederacy, which he had fancied capable of pulling down *Henry*, had, on the contrary fix'd him the firmer in his Throne. On the other hand, he was apprehensive, that in Case he shou'd die during the War, *Philip* his Son, who was not above ten years old, wou'd be hard put to it to carry it on. These Considerations inspir'd him with a Desire to make Peace. *Henry* was of the same Mind. He ardently wish'd to deprive his Sons of the Protection of *France*, which was the only Thing they had left to depend upon. *Richard* his second Son, a Prince of a fiery and restless Temper, was the only Person that oppos'd the so much wish'd-for Peace. But neither his Brothers, nor the

Richard
in vain op-
poses the
making
Peace.
Hoved.

King

King of *France* thought proper to continue the War for his Sake. They agreed therefore to a Truce, during which they oblig'd themselves to give him no Assistance. *Henry* his Father laid hold on this Juncture, and went and reduc'd to Obedience this obstinate Son of His; who at length, seeing himself destitute of all Support, came and threw himself at his Feet, humbly imploring his Pardon. He met with a better Reception than he expected, and attended his Father to the Place where the two Monarchs had agreed to meet in order to treat of the Terms of Peace. In the Mind they both were in, 'twas no difficult Matter for them to settle the Articles. *Henry* granted a general Pardon to all that had revolted against him, without any Exception. The young King, his eldest Son, promis'd to be obedient for the future, and to let Prince *John* his Brother enjoy the *Appenage* which had been granted him. *Geoffrey* and *Richard* were satisfied with what the King their Father allotted them, or pretended to be so. In fine, the King of *France* promis'd to surrender to *Henry* what Castles he had taken in the Beginning of the War. To make the Reconciliation between the two Kings the stronger, a Marriage was resolv'd upon between *Richard* and *Alice* Daughter of *Lewis*. The Princess, who was very young, [was put into the Hands of *Henry* the Father, in order to be educated in *England*, till she came of a fit Age to marry. But he abus'd this Trust, as will be seen in the Sequel.

1174.
A Truce between the two Kings.

Follow'd by a Peace. Moved.

It was further agreed on by this Treaty, that all the Prisoners on both Sides shou'd be set at Liberty. But in order to exclude the King of *Scotland*, *Henry* had inserted a Clause, importing that such as had already treated with him about their Ransom were not to have the Benefit of this Article. *William* was of this Number, and perhaps the only One among all the Prisoners. His Impatience to be releas'd had caus'd him to submit to very hard Terms. He was to make Restitution of all he had taken from *England*, and do Homage for his Kingdom to that Crown. Upon his having sworn to perform these Engagements, he had been set at Liberty. As soon as *Henry* had settled all his

The King of Scotland is releas'd upon hard Terms. Act. Pub. Tom. I. p. 37. Diceto. Virg.

1174.
He does
Homage to
both the
Henries
for Scot-
land.
Hoved.
p. 311.

He delivers
up several
Castles.

Henry the
Son goes to
France.

1175.
Henry con-
firms the
Laws of St.
Edward.
Paris.

his Affairs in *France*, he repair'd to *York*, attended by the King his Son, and a numerous Train of Nobility. Here it was that before a great Number of Barons of both Realms, *William* did Homage to the two Kings of *England* for the Kingdom of *Scotland* in general, and for the County of *Galloway* in particular. This Homage was confirm'd by the solemn Oaths of the Barons of *Scotland*, that in case their King shou'd recede from what he had done, they wou'd withdraw their Obedience, and consent that the Kingdom of *Scotland* shou'd be put under an *Interdict*. But as *Henry* did not much rely on these Engagements, *William*, for his further Security, put into his Hands the Castles of *Roxborough*, *Barwick*, *Sterling* and *Edenburg*. This Affair being concluded, the young King went back to *France*, where he remain'd three years, laying out his Time in improving in all the *Exercises* of the Body and Mind, proper for a Prince.

Peace being again restor'd to *England*, from whence it had been long banish'd, *Henry* took this Opportunity to enact new Laws, and revive others that had lain neglected. Generally the Laws, which are for the Advantage of the Sovereigns, are very strictly observed, because they themselves take Care to see it done; but it too frequently happens that they are apt to neglect Those that are beneficial to the People. By this Means it is, that they continually enlarge their Power. But then this is also what often occasions Revolts, which prove sometimes more prejudicial to Kings than the Laws they have neglected or evaded. *Henry* had just experienc'd, in a sensible Manner, how dangerous it is to have to do with a discontented Nation. Besides, his three Sons, who had found the Means to make an Advantage of the People's Discontents, were full of Life, and in all Appearance, not much alter'd by the Peace he had lately made with them. He thought therefore, that, in order to prevent them from engaging in a fresh Rebellion, the best Way wou'd be to gain the People's Affections by renewing the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*. As these Laws were very advantageous for the Subject, in Comparison of Those of the *Norman* Kings, the only End of which

which was the augmenting the Revenues of the Prince, and the stretching the Royal Prerogative. Both *Nobles* and *People* passionately long'd for their Re-establishment. They had even us'd some Endeavours in the preceeding Reigns, to get them in Force again, but to little Purpose. Nothing therefore cou'd be more grateful to the *English* than to see them restor'd. But this Condescension was a mere Flourish only, and went no farther than some publick Orders, which were never executed.

About this Time also *Henry* divided *England* into six Parts or Districts, which were assign'd to so many Judges*, who were to go, at certain Times, and hold the *Affizes*, that is, to minister Justice to the People. This is what is still practis'd at this very Day. At certain Seasons of the Year stil'd *Terms*, the *Chancellor* sends the Judges into the several *Counties* to do Justice, each in his own *Circuit*; which is the Name given to the Counties assign'd him*.

Henry made use likewise of these peaceable Times, to demolish all the fortified Castles which still remain'd in private Hands, and were a great Check to the Power of the Sovereign.

Whilst the King was thus employ'd in the Affairs of the Publick, the Princess *Joanna* his Daughter was demanded in Marriage by *William the Good*, King of *Sicily*. This Match seeming to him advantageous for his Daughter, he dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Sicily* to settle the Marriage Articles; after which he sent away the young Queen with a splendid Retinue.

Prince *John*, his fourth Son, who of all his Children was his greatest Favourite, being arriv'd to the Age of ele-

* *Hoveden* says, Three Judges to each *Circuit*; his Words are These, *Justiciarii itinerantes constituti per Henricum secundum, qui divisit Regnum suum in sex partes, per quarum singulas tres Justiciarios itinerantes constituit, &c* p. 313.

* Mr. *Rapin* is here mistaken; for 'tis not in Term-Time, but immediately after *Hilary-Term* and *Trinity-Term* that the twelve Judges go the *Circuit* two by two; whence the *Affizes*, which are held but twice a Year, are call'd *Lent-Affizes*, and *Summer-Affizes*.

1176.
Institution
of the itin-
erant Judges.
Hoved.

The King
razes the
Castles.

The Prin-
cess Joan-
na is mar-
ried to the
King of Si-
cily.

He has a
Mind to di-
rect Ire-
land into
a Kingdom
for Prince
John.
Brompt.
Hoved.

1176. ven years, he resolv'd to erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom on Purpose to bestow it on his beloved Son. As the Pope's Consent was necessary, he sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to negotiate the Affair. But how impatient soever he might be to see this done, it cou'd not be brought about till some years after, when it was no longer in his Power to make an Advantage of the Pope's Favour.

1177. About this Time the King of *France* perceiving him-
The King of self to be much broken with Age, form'd the Design of
France vi- procuring his Son *Philip* to be crown'd according to the
sis Beck- Custom of his Predecessors: But a violent Distemper,
et's Tomb. which seiz'd the young Prince, obstructed Proceedings,
Mezeray. and made him almost despair of his Life; *Lewis* was so af-
 1178. fected with the Danger his Son was in, that it induc'd him
 1179. to go in Pilgrimage to *Becket's Tomb*, to obtain the Inter-
 cession of that *Saint* for the Prince's Recovery. *Henry*
 met him at *Dover*, and conducted him to *Canterbury*,
 where they both offer'd up their Prayers. When *Lewis*
 left the City, he gave considerable Presents to the *Church*,
 where the *Saint* lay interred *.

The Assizes I have slightly pass'd over the Occurrences of these last
of Nor- seven Years, as seeming to me of little Consequence to Fo-
thampton. reigners: However the *English* Reader might meet in
 this Interval, with some Things worth his Notice. For
 Instance, the *Assizes of Northampton* make a very conside-
 rable Article. This was the renewing of the *Constitutions*
of Clarendon, except such as related to the *Clergy*, which
 had been the Rise of the Contest between the King and
Becket. We find also that during this Time, *Henry* made
 several Regulations for the better ministring of Justice and
 governing the State, which may be of some Use to the
English, but undoubtedly signify but little to Foreigners.
 For which reason I thought it needless to give an Account
 of these Matters. However I must not omit one Particu-
 lar which greatly redounds to the Glory of that Monarch.

Alphonso

* He offer'd at *Becket's Tomb* a massy Cup of pure Gold, and gave to the Monks 7200 Gallons of Wine yearly, and freed from all Toll or Custom whatsoever they shou'd buy in his Kingdom. All which he confirm'd by a Charter under his Seal. *Hoved.*

Alphonso King of *Castile*, and *Garcias* King of *Navarre*, 1179.
 having several Contests about certain Castles and Ter- *The Kings*
 ritories, sent Ambassadors to *Henry* to entreat him to be *of Castile*
and Na-
varre make
Umpire between them, promising to stand by his Judg- *Henry Ar-*
 ment. So great a Trust redounding very much to that *bitrator of*
 Prince's Honour, he thought himself oblig'd to use all *their Dis-*
 possible Precautions to give Content to both Parties, or at *ferences.*
 least to avoid the Imputation of having pronounc'd an un- *Hoved.*
 just Sentence. To that End, he conven'd at *London* all
 the Barons and Judges of the Realm in order to have their
 Advice. The Affair being maturely examined into, he *Aet. Pub.*
 pass'd a *Judgment*, in which both Kings thought proper *T. I. p. 33.*
 to acquiesce (a).

We have an Account in *the Collection of publick Acts* 1180.
 of an Agreement between *Lewis* and *Henry*, whereby
 these two Monarchs bound themselves to go together to
the Holy Land. But as this *Record* is without Date, there
 is no setting down the precise Time of it. In all proba-
 bility, it was made whilst *Lewis* was at *Canterbury*. The *Lewis dies,*
 Death of that Prince, which happen'd in 1180, prevented *and is suc-*
 their intended Expedition. *Philip* his Son, who was af- *ceeded by*
 terwards surnam'd *the August*, mounted the Throne of *his Son*
France after him. *Philip.*

Pope *Alexander III.* departed this Life also, in the 1181.
 Year 1181, and was succeeded by *Lucius III.*

How great a Tranquillity soever, to all outward Appear- *Lucius*
 ance, there might then be in the Court of *England*, Am- *made Pope.*
 bition, Lust, Jealousy, in a word, all the Passions that *The State*
 raise the strongest Emotions in the Hearts of Men, rul'd *of the Court*
 with an absolute Sway over the whole Royal Family. *of Eng-*
 Young *Henry* was exceedingly disgusted at his having the *land.*
 bare Title of King without the Power. The King his Fa-
 ther, who had been all his Life a Slave to his Lust, had not
 lost his amorous Inclinations, tho' he was in his fiftieth
 Year. He was fallen in Love with *Alice* of *France*, de- *Brompt.*
 sign'd for *Richard* his Son, and Historians for the most *p. 1151.*

(a) You have the Particulars of this Controversy and the King's
 Judgment in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, Tom. I. p. 42.
 and 40.

1182.

Part, give us to understand, that the young Princess was but too obliging to him. *Richard* demanded Leave to consummate his Marriage. But he did this more for the Sake of having a Handle to complain, than out of any Desire to espouse a Princess whom all the World suspected of holding a criminal Commerce with her Father-in-law that was to be. *Geoffrey* being now in his four and twentieth Year, was tir'd with being under the Guardianship of the King his Father, who on the specious Pretence of Protection, with-held *Bretaign* from him. *John* was still less satisfied at his having nothing settled upon him, whilst his Brothers were so well provided for. However, as the King show'd a great deal of Affection for him, 'twas very probable, that before his Death he wou'd settle an *Appenage* on a Son he lov'd so tenderly. Queen *Eleanor* was still kept in Confinement, notwithstanding the Intercession of her Sons for her being set at Liberty.

Henry
sows Dis-
sention a-
mong his
Sons.

Henry was not unacquainted with the Sentiments of his three eldest Sons. Altho' he carefully conceal'd his Fears, he was apprehensive however that another Conspiracy, like the former, wou'd wrest the Crown from him in his old Age. To screen himself from their Practices, he believ'd the best way wou'd be to sow Dissentions among them, least their Union shou'd one day prove fatal to him. With this View, he put it in the Head of his eldest Son, that his Brothers ought to do him Homage for the Dominions they were possess'd of, or at least, bore the Titles of. The young King gladly embrac'd this Proposal, and resolv'd to demand Homage of his Brothers. But the two younger ones were not at all dispos'd to comply. *Richard* affirm'd, that the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which was to be his Portion, was not a *Fief* of the Crown of *England*; and in That he was very right. *Geoffrey* had not altogether the same Reason to alledge, since he was not ignorant that the Dutchy of *Bretaign* was held of *Normandy*. But then it was necessary that the King shou'd deliver up *Normandy* to his eldest Son, otherwise this Last cou'd have no manner of Right to demand Homage. In the mean time 'twas far enough from the Father's Intention, to divest himself

himself of that Dutchy before his Death, especially on the Score of a Son, whose Ambition he was but too well acquainted with. By this Means *Geoffrey* shifted off his Brother's Demand. He feign'd however to remain respectfully attach'd to the King his Father, tho' in private there was a good Understanding between him and *Richard*, who was in the same Case. Young *Henry*, whom the King his Father had politickly engag'd in this Dispute, was not long in perceiving what he drove at. However he us'd a profound Dissimulation. Whilst he made as if he was incens'd against his Brothers, he privately concerted Measures with them how to bereave the King of the Supreme Power, which he had earnestly long'd, for many Years to be invested with. But God permitted him not to push on any farther the Execution of his unjust Design. A Distemper, which took him out of the World, in the 28th Year of his Age, freed the King his Father from the impending Danger. Already the young Prince had repair'd to *Guienne*, with Design to stir up the *Gascoigns* to a Revolt, when he was seiz'd with a slow Fever, which constrain'd him to remain in the Castle of *Martel* in *Quercy*. As soon as he perceiv'd that his Illness grew every Day worse, and that in all appearance he shou'd never recover, he express'd great Concern for all he had done or projected against the King his Father. He even desir'd to see him, that he might give him Marks of his Repentance. Before he died, he had the Satisfaction of receiving a Ring which the King sent him in Token of his Pardon. If Historians have not carried Matters too far, the Prince's Repentance appears to be very sincere. He shed abundance of Tears upon Receipt of the Ring; and as he found himself then at the Point of Death, he caus'd himself to be laid on a Bed strew'd with Ashes, habited in Sackcloth, and a Cord about his Neck, and in that Posture gave up the Ghost. The Father's Tenderness was awaken'd upon News of his Son's Death. Tho' he had no Reason to be satisfied with his Conduct, he was extremely afflicted for his Loss. But in all Appearance he was soon comforted.

1182.

Walsingham

1183.

Death of
King Henry
the Son.
Hoved.

p. 354

1183.

It is certain, that this young Prince was endow'd with excellent Qualities; perhaps he wou'd have behav'd more to his Father's Satisfaction, had he been less indulg'd in his Childhood. As there is no doubt but that he was spoil'd at first by his Father's extraordinary Fondness; so on the other Hand, the Constraint he was kept under after his Coronation, made him look upon his own Father as his Enemy. This was what put him upon plotting to dethrone him, till at length Death caus'd him to behold Things in quite another Light. *Margaret of France*, his Wife, by whom he had a Son which died an Infant, was sent home to King *Philip* her Brother, who gave her in Marriage some time after to *Bela* King of *Hungary*.

1184.

The Death of young *Henry* put a Stop for a time to the Troubles that were just going to distract the Royal Family. *Richard*, tho' naturally of an impetuous Temper, remain'd for some Time in quiet, in order to see how the King wou'd behave in relation to him, since he was become his *Heir Apparent*.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem comes and demands the King's Aid.
Bromp.
Diceto.

During this Tranquillity, arriv'd at Court *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who was come to entreat the King's Aid in behalf of the Christians of the *Holy Land*. He presented him with the Keys of the *Holy Sepulcher*, and of the *Tower of David*, in Token of their Desire of having him for their Sovereign, as being Grandson to *Fulk* of *Anjou*, who had been King of *Jerusalem*. Before he return'd an Answer to the Patriarch, *Henry* conven'd an Assembly of the Barons at *Clerkenwell* near *London*, where that Prelate set forth with Tears in his Eyes, the Calamities the Christians of *Palestine* groan'd under. Then he endeavour'd to perswade the King, that he had an undoubted Right to the Crown of *Jerusalem*. But this Compliment was too gross, since it was notorious that *Fulk*, Grandfather to *Henry*, had worn that Crown in Right of his second Wife, whereas *Geoffrey*, Father to *Henry* was born of the First. To this Harangue, the Patriarch added a Letter from the Pope, address'd to all Christian Princes, to exhort them to assist their Brethren in *Palestine*. *Henry* having ask'd the Opinion of his Barons in

in relation to what the *Patriarch* had said, They told him, they did not judge it proper for him to venture his Person in an Expedition of that Nature, but that it was sufficient to grant a Supply of Money towards it. The King follow'd their Advice; and having furnish'd the *Patriarch* with a considerable Sum, he contented himself with giving his Subjects leave to undertake the *Crusade*, without embarking himself in the Enterprize. Pursuant to the King's Permission, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, several Earls, Barons, Knights, and vast Multitudes of People of a lower Rank, prepar'd for this Undertaking. But the *Patriarch*, willing to make his Court to the King, told him, when he took his leave, that he shou'd have preferr'd his single Person before all the *English* that had engag'd in the Service *.

1184.
*The King
furnishes
him with
Money.*

*Abun-
dance of
People un-
dertake the
Crusade.*

The Pope was not at all pleas'd with *Henry's* refusing to undertake the *Crusade*: He even testified his Resentment by denying in his turn certain Requests which he wou'd have granted him, had he not been disgusted. However, not to discourage him entirely, he gave him leave to Crown his youngest Son Prince *John*, King of *Ireland*, to whom he sent for that purpose, a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold. In granting this Favour, he took care to reserve a *Penny* from every House in *Ireland* yearly, and several other Advantages, procuring by that means, in exchange for his Leave, which cost him nothing, a considerable Addition to his Revenues. As soon as the King had receiv'd the Pope's Answer, he knighted Prince *John*, and sent him Governor into *Ireland*, not daring to have him crown'd there, lest he shou'd

1185.
*The Pope
sends a
Crown to
Prince
John.
Hoved.*

*John made
Governor
of Ireland.*

give

* *Brompton* says, that the *Patriarch* gave the King very hard Words when he went with him to the Sea-side; and upon the King's Will excusing himself from going to the *Holy-Land*, because his *Sons* wou'd rebel against him in his Absence; the *Patriarch* in great Anger replied, *And no wonder, for from the Devil they came, and so the Devil they wou'd go.* This he said, reflecting on an old Story of a certain Countess of *Anjou*, the King's Great Grand-mother, who being reckon'd a *Witch*, was said to have flown out of Window while she was at *Mass* against her Will, and was never seen afterwards. *Brompt.* p. 1145.

1185.

He is re-
call'd.

Gir. Camb.

Urban III.
Pope, and
Baldwin
Archbi-
shop.Richard
raises
Troubles in
Guienne.

1186.

He makes
War with
the Bre-
tains.
Moved.Henry
prepares
to chastise
him.

give *Richard* a Handle to ask the same Favour in *England*. *John* was very well receiv'd in the Island, where he was look'd upon as the Person that was one Day to be their Sovereign. But suffering himself to be guided by the Advice of some young Gentlemen who attended him thither, he so alienated the Affections of the *Irish*, that the King was forc'd at length to recall him.

Pope *Lucius* III. dying this Year, *Urban* III. his Successor, appointed the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Legate in *England*. *Baldwin*, a *Cistercian* Monk, was then Archbishop, having succeeded *Richard* who died in 1184.

The Affairs of *Ireland* created the King but little Uneasiness, in comparison of the Troubles caus'd by the violent Temper of his Son *Richard*. This young Prince having lain quiet ever since his elder Brother's Death, was at length grown weary of a State so little agreeable to his Humour: He had made a Journey to *Guienne*, where he had taken upon him to rule with an absolute Authority, without any Regard to the Orders of the King his Father. In this he was supported by the *Gascoigns* themselves, who chose much rather to have a Sovereign of their own, than to depend on the Crown of *England*. After *Richard* had labour'd some time to secure that Province in his Interests, he went into *Poitou*, where he drew some Troops together in order to war against the *Bretains*, who had given him some Disgust. *Geoffrey* his Brother, who was then in *Bretaign*, surpris'd at this unexpected Attack, speedily levied a small Army and went and gave him Battle: But as his Forces were inferior in Number, he was easily defeated. *Richard* wou'd have push'd his Design further, if the Dread he was in of his Father, who was preparing to come and chastise him, had not oblig'd him to retire into *Poitou*, where he pretended to stand upon his Defence. In the mean time, *Henry*, perfectly well acquainted with his Son's Temper, which cou'd not be tam'd but by force, had got ready an Army capable of taking from him all Hopes of making any Resistance: But before he brought things to Extremity, he sent him Word, it was his absolute Command that he shou'd not

consider

concern himself any more with the Affairs of *Guienne*, which he cou'd not enjoy till after the Death of the Queen his Mother ; and upon that Condition, he wou'd leave him in Possession of *Poictou* ; but in Case he refus'd to obey, he wou'd not only compel him to it, but likewise disinherit him of the Crown of *England*. *Richard*, terrified at these Menaces, and at the King's great Preparations, thought fit to comply with his Will ; but as his Submission was constrain'd, he was dissatisfied in his Mind, the Effects of which soon became visible. The Example of *William the Conqueror*, who had preferr'd his second before his eldest Son, seem'd in some Measure to authorize the King to threaten *Richard* in this manner. Accordingly the young Prince cou'd not forbear being concern'd at it, in the Dread he was in, that one of his Brothers might supplant him. The Thoughts of this made him keep fair with the King his Father, and endeavour to curb the natural Impetuosity of his Temper. But he was freed in part from his Fears by the Death of *Geoffrey* his Brother, at *Paris*, where he was gone to assist at a *Tournament* *. This Prince, who had already a Daughter call *Eleanor*, left *Constance* of *Bretaign* his Wife big with Child, who was quickly after deliver'd of a Son, whose Name was *Arthur*.

1186.

Richard
submits.Death of
Geoffrey
Duke of
Bretaign.

Henry was mighty desirous of having the Guardianship of these Infants; that he might have a Pretence of keeping *Bretaign*. With this View he took a Journey thither, in hopes of obtaining the Consent of the *States* : But *Constance*, his Daughter-in-law, strongly oppos'd him. She affirm'd, that being Mother of the Children, it was her Business to take Care of their Education. Moreover, she maintain'd that they had no claim to any Thing till after her Death ; seeing their Father had been Duke of *Bretaign* only in her Right. But *Henry*, as Grandfather, pretended he had an unquestionable Title to the Guardian-

The Af-
fairs of
Bretaign.
Argente,

* Our Historians say, that being flung from his Horse, he was unluckily trampled to death before he cou'd be taken up. But the *French* Writers, who shou'd know best, tell us he died of a Fever. He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church.

1186. ship of his Grandchildren. The *States of Bretaign*, who were more afraid of his Power than convinc'd by his Reasons, were in great Perplexity what to do. Justice and their own Interest requir'd, that *Constance*, to whom the Dutchy belong'd by Inheritance, shou'd have the Government of it: But on the other hand, it was dangerous to send away the King without some Satisfaction. In fine, they pitch'd upon an Expedient with which the King was well enough pleas'd, because he plainly saw 'twou'd be very difficult to get a better. The Dutcheß was made Guardian to her Children; and it was decreed, That all Orders and publick Acts shou'd run jointly in her's and her Son's Name; but with this Proviso, that nothing of Moment shou'd be transacted without the Advice and Consent of the King of *England*. Before he quitted *Bretaign*, *Henry* caus'd the *States* to swear *Fealty* to young *Arthur* as their Sovereign. He was apprehensive, that in case *Constance* shou'd marry again, and have Children by a second Husband, she wou'd prefer them before those by her first.

Philip
forms De-
signs a-
gainst
Henry.

Henry wou'd not perhaps have been satisfied with what he had obtain'd of the *Bretaigns*, had he not been afraid that *Philip*, King of *France*, wou'd have interpos'd in the Matter. This Prince, young as he was, had vast Projects in his Head: He cou'd not help showing his Uneasiness at so many fine Provinces of his Kingdom being in the Possession of the *English*. Since his Accession to the Throne, he had form'd a Design to wrest them out of their Hands, and to make use, for that Purpose, of all Opportunities that shou'd offer. Pursuant to this Resolution, he imagin'd that the Dissention between *Henry* and his Son *Richard*, wou'd furnish him with a favourable Juncture, which he ought not to let slip. He was perswaded that these Princes being at Variance, and without Armies, and not suspecting they were going to be attack'd; it wou'd not be impossible for him to take from them some Part of their Dominions in *France*. In this Belief he made extraordinary Preparations, giving out they were design'd

He com-
mences a
War.

design'd for such Uses as serv'd best to conceal his real Intent. As soon as he was in a Condition to act, he summon'd *Richard* to appear and do him Homage for *Poitou*, and requir'd King *Henry* to deliver up the Country of *Vexin*, and all that he had receiv'd as *Margaret's* Dowry, Widow to his eldest Son. But he found he had not taken right Measures for that time: *Henry* and *Richard* being united for their common Interest, kept him so well employ'd, one in *Normandy*, the other in *Guienne*, that he was fain to sue for a Truce, which was granted him for two Years.

Truce be-
tween the
two Kings.
Diceto.

Having experienc'd how difficult it wou'd be for him to compass his Ends, unless he fomented the Discord which had already begun to break out between *Henry* and *Richard*, he forthwith set about that Work. To accomplish his Design the more easily, he order'd it so, that, during the Truce, *Richard* came and paid him a Visit at *Paris*, where he gave him seemingly a very hearty Welcome, even to the very letting him lye in the same Bed with him. These Caresses wrought a sudden Effect in the Mind of the *English* Prince, who never once suspected the Motive of them. In a little time he entertain'd so strong an Affection for *Philip*, that he communicated to him all the Reasons that he imagin'd he had to be dissatisfied with the King his Father. *Philip*, making an Advantage of this Confidence, made as if he pitied his Case, and had his Interests very much at Heart: He wonder'd with him, that the King his Father shou'd deal so hardly by him; and that after having caus'd his elder Brother to be crown'd long before he was come to his Years, he shou'd refuse him the same Favour. He slyly intimated, that there was Reason to fear he had some design to place on the Throne his youngest Son *John*, of whom he was exceeding fond. From these Considerations it was natural to infer, that there was a Necessity of taking Care before-hand to prevent so unjust a Proceeding. *Richard* receiv'd these Marks of Affection with that Earnestness and Confidence, that *Philip* was in great hopes of attaining his Ends.

1187.
Philip se-
duces Rich-
ard.

1187.
Complaints
of Richard
against his
Father.

In the mean time, *Richard's* long stay at *Paris* made the King his Father extremely uneasy, who never ceas'd sending for him. He was quickly sensible that his Suspicions were not without Grounds. At the time the Truce was about to expire, *Richard*, without quitting the Court of *France*, openly complain'd of his Father's preventing him from consummating his Marriage with the Princess that was design'd for his Wife. But as *Henry* might recall him on pretence of solemnizing the Nuptials, he had another excuse ready for his not returning home. He pretended to have had private Intelligence that the King had a Mind to apprehend him, and keep him in Custody, that he might with the greater Ease place his younger Son on the Throne. These Proceedings of *Richard* threw *Henry* into great Perplexities ; he perceiv'd that this Affair might be attended with ill Consequences, if he found not the Means to get his Son out of the Hands of *Philip* : But 'twas no easy Matter to do this, if *Richard* himself was unwilling. As the main Business therefore was to gain his Son, he privately dispatch'd a trusty Messenger, who made him sensible that he had imprudently fallen into the King of *France's* Snare, whose sole Aim was to sow Dissention between him and the King his Father, in order to make his Advantage of their Misunderstanding. *Richard* being prevail'd upon by these Remonstrances, abruptly left the Court of *France*, and return'd to the King.

He returns
Home.

The taking
of Jerusa-
lem by the
Saracens.
Hoved.
Diceto.

The Truce being expir'd, the two Monarchs took up Arms again. But just as they were renewing Acts of Hostility, they receiv'd a melancholy Piece of News, which suspended their Animosity for a Time. This was that the City of *Jerusalem* was taken by *Saladin* Sultan of *Babylon*, and that *Guy de Lusignan*, who was the last that sway'd the Sceptre of that Kingdom, was in the Hands of the *Infidels*. As the Union of the *Christians* had formerly been the means of conquering the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. So their Dissentions were the Occasion of its being taken. This Union had lasted very near a whole Century.

This

This News, which put the Princes of *Europe* under a great Consternation, was particularly fatal to Pope *Urban III.*, who died with Grief. He was quickly followed by *Gregory VIII.* his Successor, who having sat in the *Papal Chair* but three Months, made Room by his Death for *Clement III.*

1187.
Clement
III. Pope.

The two Kings of *France* and *England* were very sensibly affected with the Loss the Christians had lately suffer'd in the East. Their Zeal being rous'd upon that Occasion, they resolv'd with one Consent to drop their private Quarrel in order to espouse *the Cause of God* (for so they term'd it in those Days) and to have a Meeting at *Gisors*, to consult about the means how to remedy this Misfortune. At this Interview, their first Business was to renew the Truce: Then the two Monarchs, as well as the Earl of *Flanders*, who was present at the Conference, took upon them the *Cross*, distinguishing themselves by three different Colours. *Philip* chose a Red, *Henry* a White, and the Earl of *Flanders* a Grey *Cross*. The Subjects of each Prince that engag'd in the *Crusade*, imitated them in this Distinction.

Philip and
Henry
make a
Truce, and
undertake
the Cross.
Mezeray.

But the Zeal the two Kings had shown, was not long-liv'd. Their Ardor quickly gave way to an Animosity so much the more surprising, as the Occasion of it was very slight and of little moment. Prince *Richard*, who was to make one in the Expedition to the *Holy Land*, having occasion for Money to defray his Expences, was come to *Poitou* in order to raise some. Whilst he was employ'd in this Affair, one of *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouse's* Officers, who was passing thro' his Territories, having given him some cause of Disgust, he clapt him up in Prison. *Raymund* having Notice of it, order'd by way of Reprisal, two *Poitouin* Gentlemen to be taken up, as they were going by *Tholouse*, in their return from a Pilgrimage to *St. James of Compostella*. These Acts of Violence having rais'd a very warm Quarrel between the two Princes, *Richard* took occasion from thence to revive the Pretensions of the House of *Poitou* to the Earldom

1188.
Quarrel
between
Richard
and the
Earl of
Tholouse.
Diceto.

of

1188. of *Tholouſe*. This furniſh'd him with a Pretence to enter Earl *Raymund's* Country with a powerful Army, where he became Maſter of *Moiffac*, and ſeveral other Places. *Raymund* finding himſelf thus engag'd in a War, of which he did not queſtion but the King of *England* was the Author, demanded the Aſſiſtance of *France*. Tho' *Philip* knew better than the Earl of *Tholouſe*, and was very ſenſible that *Richard* might very poſſibly undertake the War without the Knowledge of the King his Father, he pretended however to believe it was done by *Henry's* Orders. Accordingly, under pretence of aſſiſting the Earl of *Tholouſe* his Vaſſal, he made a Diverſion in *Berri*, where he took *Iſſoudun*. This was the Occaſion of the freſh Rupture between the two Kings, when they ſeem'd to breath nothing but Death and Deſtruction againſt the *Infidels*.

The War
renewed
between
Philip
and Henry.

Richard
goes over
to the
King of
France.

Richard's
Com-
plaints.

The beginning of this War having nothing remarkable in it, it will be needleſs to relate the Particulars. 'Tis ſufficient to take notice of its Conſequences, which prov'd very fatal to the King of *England*. Whiſt it was vigorously carried on by both Parties, all on a ſudden, when *Henry* leaſt expected it, *Richard* his Son left him and went over to the King of *France*. It is very probable, this was brought about by *Philip's* Intrigues, which the Hiſtorians have not taken care to clear up. Be this as it will, *Richard* pretended to have two Occaſions of Complaint againſt the King his Father. The firſt was, that he detain'd from him the Princeſs *Alice*, and had offer'd *Philip*, who preſs'd him to order his Nuptials to be ſolemniz'd, to marry her to Prince *John* upon more advantageous Terms. Whether this was Fact, or whether *Philip* had imparted a Falſhood to him by way of Secret, in order to ſet him at Variance with *Henry*, he believ'd, or feign'd to believe, that a Project was on foot to deprive him of his Birth-right, and to place his younger Brother on the Throne. The other Occaſion of Complaint was, that *Philip* having offer'd to conſent to a Truce, *Henry* had refus'd to comply, affirming 'twas more proper to conclude a Peace, whereby the Pretenſions of each Party might be

be adjusted, before they engag'd in their Expedition to the *Holy Land*. This was what *Richard* did not like : His Reason was, because by a Peace he wou'd have been oblig'd to yield up all his Conquests in the Earldom of *Tholouse*, whereas by a Truce he wou'd have kept Possession of them.

1188.

As much as *Richard's* Revolt disquieted the King his Father, so much did it rejoice *Philip*, who, from that time had a great Advantage over his Enemy. In going off, *Richard* had set against the King part of his Provinces in *France*, and by that means had almost disabled him from carrying on the War. For this Reason *Henry* hasten'd to the utmost of his Power, the Conclusion of the Peace : But *Philip* propos'd such hard Terms, that there was no accepting them. He requir'd, that the Marriage between *Richard* and *Alice* shou'd be consummated ; and that the Prince shou'd be crown'd before his Father's Death, to the end no one for the future might dispute his Right to the Crown. *Henry* cou'd not relish either of these two Conditions : His Love for *Alice* wou'd not suffer him to see her in the Arms of another, and perhaps there were very strong Reasons against his giving her to his Son. On the other Hand, he had experienc'd too much to his Cost, the ill Consequences of having crown'd *Henry* his eldest Son, to be willing to run the same risk with regard to this, who seem'd to him no less dangerous than his Brother. This first Attempt having fail'd, *Henry* made another Effort towards obtaining a Peace : But he found that *Philip*, grown more untractable, added a third Article. He demanded that *Henry* shou'd carry Prince *John* with him to the *Holy Land*, least in the Absence of *Richard*, he shou'd seize upon the Crown in case their Father died in the Expedition. *Henry*, incens'd at *Philip's* intermeddling so far in his Family-Affairs, broke off the Negotiation. This Rupture confirm'd *Richard* in his Suspicion that he had a mind to deprive him of the Crown, in order to set it on the Head of his younger Brother.

1189.
Henry
tries in
vain to
make Peace.
Hoved.

All

1189.
Philip re-
ceives
Richard's
Homage.

All Hopes of Peace being vanish'd, *Philip* receiv'd the Homage of *Richard* for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, pretending that *Henry* had incurr'd the Guilt of Rebellion, in warring against his Sovereign.

Henry is
deserted by
his French
Subjects.
Hoved.
p. 371.

He is every
where de-
feated.

He applies
to the Pope.

Philip's
Reply to the
Legates.
Hoved.

Henry is
sain to
comply
with Phi-
lip's Terms.

The Arti-
cles of the
Peace.
Diceto.
Brady.

This Step being taken, they return'd to the shedding of Christian Blood with greater Fury than ever, and the Zeal they had express'd against the *Infidels* insensibly cool'd. *Henry* lay under a great Disadvantage in this War. His Subjects in *France*, for the most Part, had abandon'd him and sided with his Son. This Revolt was so general, that being gone to keep his *Christmas* at *Saumur*, he had the Mortification to see himself attended but by three or four Nobles. His Vexation was still encreas'd by the ill Success of the following Campaign. His Troops, every where defeat- ed, were at length reduc'd to so small a Number, that it was not in his Power to continue the War. His Af- fairs being in this wretched Posture, he desir'd the Pope to interpose his Authority to procure him a Peace. But this Method prov'd ineffectual. 'Tis true, the Pope sent *Legates* into *France*, who threatned *Philip* with Excom- munication, in Case he prevented the King of *England* from accomplishing his Vow. But these Menaces had not the Effect that was expected from them. The *French* Mo- narch boldly replied, that the Pope had nothing to do to intermeddle in the Affairs of his Kingdom, especially when the Business in hand was the chastising one of his *Vassals* who had been so audacious as to take up Arms against him. And added, with an insulting Air, *He did not question, but that the Smell of [the King of England's] Sterlings made the Legates talk in that Strain.* *Henry* dreading the Consequences of so unfortunate a War, and finding the Pope cou'd do him no further Service, was sain at length, to agree to the Terms *Philip* was pleas'd to impose upon him, the Principal of which were These :

That all *Henry's* Subjects, as well *English* as *French*, shou'd swear Fealty to *Richard*; and that Those who had sided

sided with the Son, shou'd not return to the Father; 'till within one Month at furthest before he set out for the *Holy Land*. 1189.

That the two Kings, with Prince *Richard*, shou'd meet at *Vezelay* in *Nivernois*; in order to begin their Journey.

That all the Subjects of the King of *England* shou'd have free Passage all over *France*; paying only the old Customs.

That *Henry* shou'd be oblig'd to pay to the King of *France* twenty thousand Marks for the Damages he had sustain'd in the War.

That all the Barons subject to the King of *England* shou'd swear that in Case he violated the Treaty they wou'd assist the King of *France* against him.

That the Cities of *Tours* and *Mans* shou'd remain in the Hands of *Philip*, untill the King of *England* had perform'd all these Articles*.

'Twas with extreme Reluctancy, that a Prince of so high a Spirit as was *Henry*, stoop'd to such hard Conditions. The Remembrance of the Advantages, he had all along obtain'd over *France* before this fatal War, instead of comforting him, serv'd only to render his Cup the more Bitter. Close at the Heels of this Mortification follow'd another, which he cou'd not bear up under. He discover'd, that during the late War, his beloved Son Prince *John* had held Intelligence with *Philip*, and was concern'd in all his Brother's Plots to dethrone a Father who had always shown a tender Affection for him. His Grief threw him into so violent a Passion, that he curs'd the Day in which he was born, and utter'd Imprecations against his Sons, which the Bishops then present cou'd never bring him to revoke. Quickly after, he fell sick at *Chinon*; and perceiving his End was at Hand; he caus'd himself to be carried into the Church before the Altar,

Henry finds that his Son John had held Intelligence with Richard.
Brompt.
He curses his Sons.

He dies at Chinon.

* The first Article was, that *Alice* shou'd be deliver'd to one Person in five whom Earl *Richard* shou'd chuse, and that She shou'd be married to him at his Return from *Jerusalem*. Hoved. p 372.

1189. where after he had confess'd himself and shown some Signs of Repentance, he expir'd. His Eyes were no sooner clos'd but his Domesticks all left him, some of whom had even the Insolence to strip him and leave him quite naked in the Church. His Corps was remov'd to *Fonteverard*, where he was buried according to his own Order *. An extraordinary Accident render'd this Removal of his Body very remarkable. *Richard* his Son being come to meet the Funeral Pomp, in order to attend his Father to his Grave, as soon as he approach'd, the Blood in great Abundance gush'd out of the Mouth and Nostrils of the Corps. *Richard*, tho' naturally very hard-hearted, was so mov'd at this Sight that he burst out into Tears, and openly accus'd himself of having been the Occasion of his Father's Death.

*His Corps
bleed at the
Approach
of Rich-
ard.*

*Character
of Henry
II.*

Such was the End of *Henry II.* one of the most illustrious Princes of his Time, both for Greatness of *Genius* and Extent of Dominions. The Mixture of Vices and Virtues which met in this Monarch makes it a hard Matter to give him a general Character which will exactly suit with him. He was Valiant, Prudent, Generous, Politick, Studious, Learned, and of an exalted Genius. On the other Hand, he was excessive Haughty, of an immeasurable Ambition *, and a boundless Lust: Never satisfied with Love or Empire, he spent his whole Life in Pursuit of new Conquests in Both. He attempted the Chastity of all that came in his way, not excepting the Princess design'd for his own Son: Failings, which in a great Measure

* He was interr'd in the Choir of the Nunnery which he himself had founded with Design to be buried there. A stately Tomb hath been since erected for him and *Eleanor* his Queen, as also for his Son King *Richard* and his Queen, at the Charge of the Lady Abbess *Jeane Baptiste de Bourbon*, natural Daughter to King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; their Effigies in Brass, which before lay in other Parts of the Church, being remov'd and plac'd together in one Monument. See *Stanford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, p 64, 65.

* He said in his Prosperity, *The whole World was but sufficient for one Great Man.*

sure balance all his noble Endowments. In the Beginning of his Reign, which was one of the happiest for some years, there was not in *Europe* a King more fear'd or respected. Encircled with Glory and Honour which seem'd to promise him great Prosperity, he was look'd upon as the happiest Prince in the World, before *Becket's* Affair interrupted his Felicity. But that fatal Quarrel, which created him so many Uneasinesses, being follow'd by Dissensions in his own Family, he beheld the Reverse of the good Fortune which till then had attended him. However, if this Prince was unhappy, his Misfortunes fell only on his own Head and not on his Kingdom, which had never been in so flourishing a Condition as in his Reign. By his Accession to the Crown, *England* became one of the most powerful States in *Europe*, and began from thenceforward to be on an equal Foot with *France*, to which before it was very much inferior. Besides the large and rich Provinces which were annex'd, in his Time, to the *English* Monarchy, the Conquest of *Ireland* is what gives a great Lustre to his Reign, and ought to render his Memory precious to the *English*. He died on the 6th of *July* in the Year 1189, in the 57th year of his Age, after having reign'd thirty four Years, eight Months and twelve Days.

Of the five Sons, which he had by *Eleanor* of *Guienne* His law-ful Issue. his Wife, *Richard* and *John* only surviv'd him: But *Geoffrey*, his third Son, had left behind him a Son and a Daughter, of whom I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter. *Matilda* his eldest Daughter, who had been married to the Duke of *Saxony* *, died immediately after him. *Eleanor* was Wife to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and *Joanna* to *William* II. surnam'd *the Good*, King of *Sicily*.

Besides

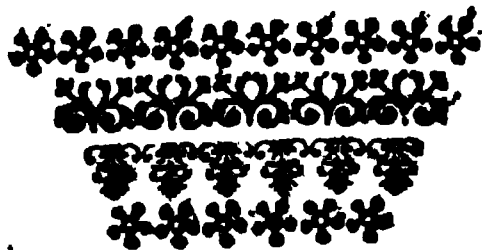
* *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* King *Henry's* Son-in-law, having been accus'd of Treason against the Emperor *Frederick*, was condemn'd to Banishment for three Years, and depriv'd of his Dominions. Some Years after the Emperor restor'd to him that Part of them, containing at this Day the Dutchies of *Hanover*, *Zell*, and *Wolfen-buttle*. From this Duke *Henry* by *Matilda* is descended his present Majesty King *G E O R G E*.

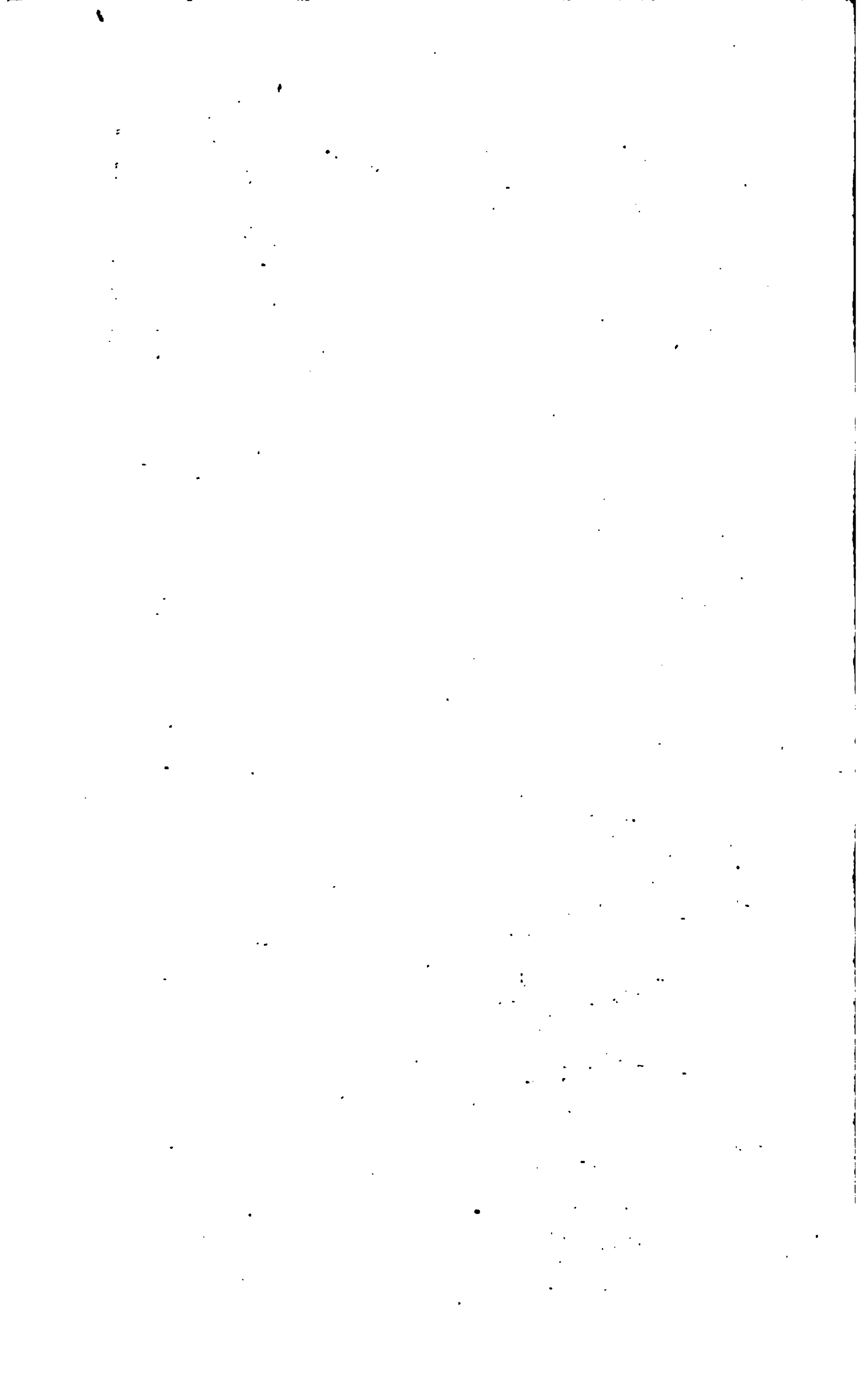
1189.
His base
Issue.

Besides his lawful Issue, *Henry* had two natural Sons by *Rosamond Clifford*; namely, *William*, surnam'd *Long-Sword*, who was Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Geoffrey*, who was Archbishop of *York*. By a Daughter of *Sir Ralph Blewit*, *Henry* had also another natural Son call'd *Morgan*, who, having been elected Bishop of *Durham*, cou'd not obtain the Pope's Confirmation, because he refus'd to take the Name of his Mother's Father.

'Tis pretended
that the
Corps of
the Great
Arthur
was found
in this
Reign.
Brompt.

Some Historians relate that in the Reign of *Henry II.* was found in the Church-Yard of *Glassenbury-Abbey*, a Grave wherein were three Bodies, laid one upon another, each in a Coffin by it self. 'Twas pretended that the First was *Genevieve's*, second Wife of the Great *Arthur*, the Second, *Mordred's* his Nephew, and the Third, *Arthur's* himself, which was distinguish'd by a leaden Cross, whereon were these Words: *Here lies the illustrious King Arthur in the Isle of Avalon.* What is further asserted, that his Legs were a Third longer than Those of the largest Men, and that there was the Distance of a Span between his Eye-brows, renders this Relation somewhat doubtful. However this Discovery, whether Real or not, serv'd to undeceive some weak simple People among the *Welsh*, who were still in Expectation of the Return of their Heroe.





S E C T II.

6. RICHARD I. *Sirnam'd*
CŒUR - de - LION.

S soon as *Henry* was laid in his Grave, 1189.
 every one plainly perceiv'd that *Rich-* Richard
ard's Complaints had been nothing has no
 more than mere Pretences to colour his thoughts of
 Rebellion. He had earnestly desir'd marrying
 leave to consummate his Marriage with Alice;
Alice of France, and complain'd of the

King his Father's great Injustice in obstructing his Hap-
 piness. And yet, when it was in his Power to make
 himself Happy, as he pretended, he dropp'd all Thoughts
 of it. On the other Hand, his Jealousies and Fears, on and shew'd
 account of Prince *John* his Brother, vanish'd on a sudden. no Jealousy
 Instead of returning forthwith into *England*, as he wou'd of his
 doubtless have done, had he been apprehensive of the Brother
 Cabals of the Prince his Brother, he staid above a Month John.
 in *France*, after the Death of *Henry*, without having the
 least

1189.
He does
Homage to
Philip, and
is crown'd
Duke of
Norman-
dy.

He releases
the Queen
his Mo-
ther.
Hoved.

He banishes
from his
Presence
such as
had sided
with him.
Hoved.
P. 373

least Uneasiness on that Score. His first Care was to do Homage to *Philip*, and return him Thanks at the same time for the Protection he had granted him. This Visit procur'd him the Restitution of the Places that Monarch had taken during the late War. Then he went and receiv'd the *Ducal Crown of Normandy* at *Rean*, where he remain'd some time, which was a clear Evidence he was not afraid that his Absence might cause any Prejudice to his Affairs in *England*. And indeed, so far were the *English* from disputing his Right to the Crown, that they perform'd his Orders as if he had been already invested with it. The first he sent thither was to set at Liberty Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, who had been confin'd 16 Years. At the same Time he entrusted her with the Administration of the Government during his Absence, and empower'd her to release what Prisoners she thought fit. The Queen, whose Sufferings had made her sensible of those of other People, us'd with Pleasure, for the Relief of the Unfortunate, the Power the King her Son had given her. She was even observ'd, during the Residue of her Life, to omit no Opportunity of exercising her Charity towards such as were debarr'd the Sweets of Liberty, the Value of which she had been but too well acquainted with during her long Confinement.

Eleanor's Compassion for Prisoners had nothing in it but what was very natural: But *Richard's* Treatment of those that had for his sake expos'd themselves to the Resentment of the King his Father was something very surprising. Instead of rewarding them, as they expected, he forbid them ever appearing in his Presence. At the same time he affected to load with Favours all that had stood out against his Sollicitations. Thus was seen, on that Occasion, an Instance of what has been often remark'd, that such as make use of indirect Means to compass their Ends, detest in their Hearts the Instruments they employ, and approve of the Conduct of those who are not to be diverted from their Duty.

After

After *Richard* had settled all his Affairs in *France*, he came to *London*, where he was solemnly crown'd by *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who administred to him the Customary Oath. Ever since *William the Conqueror*, there had been no King but what had taken the same Oath; tho' not one of them had made a Conscience of keeping it. This was what the Archbishop took the freedom to represent to *Richard*, conjuring him at the same time, in the Name of God, to be mindful of the Engagements he was enter'd into upon his taking upon him the Royal Dignity. *Richard* made Answer, that by God's Assistance he wou'd punctually perform them all*.

1189.
He is
crown'd at
London.
Diceto.
Gervas.
Hoved.

The Ceremony of the Coronation was somewhat disturbed by the Massacre of some *Jews*, who by striving too eagerly to get into the Church to see the Solemnity, gave Occasion to the People to fall upon them and kill several before their Fury could be restrain'd. But the Authors of this Disorder were not suffer'd to go unpunish'd: The King having order'd a strict Enquiry to be made, some of the chief Ring-leaders were put to death.

Some Jews
slain.
Nubrig.
l. 4.

VOL. III.

O 2

It

* It may not be amiss from *Hoveden* and *Diceto* (who were Eye-witnesses) to set down the Ceremonies at large, since we may learn from thence the whole Form of an ancient Coronation: The Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Triers*, (who came over with the King) and *Dublin*, with other Bishops and Abbots in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy-water, and Censers carried before them, receiv'd the Duke at the Door of his Privy-chamber, and conducted him with a Solemn Procession to the Abby Church of *Westminster*. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy went four Barons, each carrying a Golden Candlestick, with a Taper; after whom came *Geoffrey de Lucy*, bearing the Royal Cap, and *John the Marshal* next, with a massy pair of Gold-Spurs: Then *William Earl of Pembroke*, with the Royal Sceptre: After him *William Fitz-Patrick Earl of Salisbury*, with a Golden Rod, having a Dove on the Top: Then three other Earls, *David* Brother to the King of *Scotland*, as *Earl of Huntingdon*; *Prince John Earl of Lancaster* and *Derby*, with *Robert Earl of Leicester*, each bearing a Sword upright, the Scabbards richly adorn'd with Gold: After them six Earls and Barons bearing a checker'd Table, on which were laid the Royal Robes, and other Regalia: Then came *William Maudewil Earl of Albemarle*, bearing a large Crown of Gold set with precious

It is not to be wonder'd at, that the People shou'd fall foul of the *Jews* upon so slight an Occasion. Ever since the News of the taking of *Jerusalem* was spread over *Europe*, nothing but Vengeance was breath'd against the Enemies of Christ: Tho' the *Jews* had no Hand in the *Revolution* that had just happen'd in the *East*, their not being *Christians* was enough to render them Objects of Hatred. At such a Juncture, they wou'd doubtless have found themselves expos'd to worse Persecutions, if the Preparations which were making for the *Crusade*, had not turn'd

ous Stones: Then Duke *Richard* himself (between the Bishop of *Durham* and *Bath*) over whom a Canopy of State was born by four Barons: Then followed a great Train of Earls, Barons, Knights, &c. In this Order he came into the Church, where before the *High-Altar*, laying his Hand on the *Evangelists* and *Relicks* of *Saints*, he took a Solemn Oath to endeavour to his utmost, 1st. That the Church of God and Christian People might enjoy Peace. 2^{dly}, That he would prohibit all Rapine and Violence. 3^{dly}, That he wou'd command just Judgments to be given with Equity and Mercy. Then they put off all his Garments from his Middle upwards, except his Shirt, which was open on the Shoulders, and the Archbishop anointed him on the Head, the Breast, and the Arms; then covering his Head with a Linnen Cloath, he set the Cap thereon, which *Geoffrey de Lucy* carried; and when he had put on his *Dalmatic*, or Upper-Garment, the Archbishop deliver'd to him the Sword of the Kingdom; which done, two Earls put on his Shoes, and he was led, with the Royal Mantle hung on him, to the Altar, from whence the Crown was taken and given to the Archbishop, who set it upon the King's Head, delivering the Sceptre into his Right Hand, and the Rod-Royal into his Left. Thus crown'd, he was brought back to his Throne with the same Solemnity as before. Then *Mass* began, and when they came to the *Offertory*, the King offer'd a Mark of pure Gold, as his Predecessors were wont to do. After *Mass*, he was attended thus royally array'd, to a Chamber adjoining in like Procession as before; Whence (after a short Repose) he with the same Procession return'd into the *Choir*; and having put off his heavy Crown and Robes, he went to Dinner. At the *Coronation Feast*, which was kept in *Westminster Hall*, the Citizens of *London* were his Butlers, and those of *Winchester* serv'd up the Meat. Then the Archbishops and Bishops sate down with the King, whilst the Earls and Barons serv'd in the King's Palace as their Places and Dignities requir'd. *Hoved.* 373. *Diceto*, p. 647.

turn'd the Fury of the People against the *Saracens* *. Their Zeal, especially in *France* and *England*, ran so high, that the Number of the *Croises* was prodigious. Every one gloried, either in lifting himself to go in Person against the *Infidels*, or in advancing Money towards carrying on the War. *Richard* had bound himself by a Vow to this Expedition, before the Death of the King his Father. He had renew'd his Engagement at the last Interview between him and *Philip*, where these two Monarchs had agreed to join their Forces, and go to the Assistance of the Christians in *Palestine*. *Richard* was hardly on the Throne, when, for fear he shou'd forget his Promise, *Philip* sent to put him in mind of it. There was no need to use much Sollicitation to incline him to that Undertaking. So far was he from desiring to be excus'd, that his Thoughts were wholly employ'd in making Preparations for his Journey, and all his other Affairs laid aside for the Sake of that. Whether he acted from a pure Principle of *Zeal* and *Devotion*, or from an eager Desire of acquiring Fame, is what I dare not determine. However, if one may be allow'd to pass a Judgment from the Character of *Richard*, it may be presum'd that he was sway'd more by the Motive of *Glory* than of *Religion*.

1189.
The Ardor
of the
Christians
for the
Crusade.

Philip puts
Richard in
mind of his
Vow.
Hoved.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 63.

As

* The Example of the *Londoners* was follow'd in the Towns of *Norwich*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stanford*, and *Linn*, where the Rabble rose upon the *Jews*; but their greatest Fury was exerted against them at *York*, where 500 Men, besides Women and Children, having prevail'd with the Governor to let them into the Castle to avoid the Rage of the Populace; the *High-Sheriff* came and requir'd them to deliver it up, which they refusing to do, the People drew up in a Body and attack'd the Castle. At last, the *Jews* offer'd a great Sum of Money to go off with their Lives; but the People denied to give them Quarter. Upon which an ancient *Rabbin* propos'd the killing themselves, rather than fall into the Hands of the *uncircumcised Christians*. This Motion was unanimously agreed to, and their Method in putting their tragical Resolve in execution was thus: Every Master of a Family cut his Wife's and Children's Throats first, then dispatch'd his Servant's, and concluded with the Slaughter of himself. *Will. of Newburgh*. p. 4. c. 9.

1189.
*The Means
 us'd by
 Richard to
 raise Mo-
 ney.*

Hoved.

Nubrig.
 c. 5.

Hoved.

Rich. of the
 Devises.

As this Prince had great Designs in View, and as his Aim was to lead a powerful Army into *Palestine*, there was a Necessity of his raising vast Sums of Money for its maintenance. Accordingly he was wholly intent upon that Business, till the time came that he was to set forward. The late King had left in his Coffers above a hundred thousand Marks, and *Richard* had drawn almost the like Sum from the High-Treasurer, and others, who had had the Management of the *Treasury* in the late Reign. But as these Sums did not seem to him sufficient for the Charges of his Voyage, there were no Ways and Means but what he made use of to increase them. He sold almost all the *Crown-Lands* to such as had a Mind to purchase them. The Bishops and Abbots, as they had the most ready Money by them, made a greater Advantage of this Juncture than other Men. The Bishop of *Durham* purchas'd the Earldom of *Northumberland* for himself and Successors; upon which the King said merrily, That *He had made a young Earl of an old Bishop*. But this new Dignity was not capable of satisfying the Ambition of the Prelate, he gave moreover ten thousand Marks to be appointed *Regent* during the King's Absence. As it evidently appear'd that *Richard* was unwilling to omit any Means that might procure him ready Money, to defray the Expences of his intended Voyage, the King of *Scotland* was of Opinion, he ought to lay hold on this Opportunity. To that Purpose, he made him an Offer of ten thousand Marks to deliver up *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, and to desist from his Claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*. *Richard*, very readily closing with this Proposal, gave up the two Places, and by an *Authentick Charter*, discharg'd the King of *Scotland*, and his Successors from the Homage *Henry II.* had extorted from him.

Abundance of People were very uneasy at these *Alienations*. There were even some that took the Liberty to represent to the King the ill Consequences of Them. But he stopp'd their Mouths with this Reply; *I won'd sell London itself cou'd I meet with a Chapman able to purchase it*. The Sums he had amass'd by these extraordinary Ways,
 not

not answering yet to the Vastness of his Projects, he be-
 thought himself of a new Expedient to augment them. As there were great Numbers, who had hastily and unad-
 visedly engag'd in the *Crusade*, he procur'd from the Pope
 a Power to dispense with such as repented of their Vow.
 By that means, he levied large Sums of Money. After he
 had practis'd these general Methods, he proceeded to exact
 Money from the richest of his Subjects. He borrow'd
 of Those who led unblameable Lives: But for such as
 gave him any Handle, he threatned to call them to a strict
 Account, and so put them under a Necessity of saving
 themselves harmless by making him Presents. It was by
 this Means that he compell'd *Glanville* a rich Lawyer, whom he had clapt up in Prison, to purchase his Liberty
 with fifteen thousand Pound *Sterling* *. Tho' he had re-
 solv'd to leave the *Great Seal*, in his Absence, in the Hands
 of *Langchamp* his Favourite, whom he had just made *High-
 Chancellor*, he demanded of him however a large Sum to
 continue him in that Post. Whilst he was thus heaping up
 Money, the *Clergy* were exerting their utmost Endeavours
 to procure him Soldiers. The *Pulpits* resounded with the
 great Merit of serving in the *Holy War*. The *Confessors* en-
 join'd no *Penances* but what tended to promote the grand
 Design of recovering the *Holy Land*. By this Means the
 Army quickly became very numerous, and so much the
 better provided with all Things, as there was not an Officer
 or common Soldier but what had furnish'd themselves with
 Necessaries.

In

* This was *Ranulph de Glanvil* whom *Henry II.* made chief
Justiciary of all England, *Cujus sapientiâ* (says *Hoveden*) *condita
 sunt Leges subscripta quas Anglicanas vocamus*, after which he gives us
 the Laws of *Edward the Confessor* and *William I.* as if these had ne-
 ver been brought into any regular Form before his Time. The
 Book that now carries his Name has kept the same Title in its se-
 veral Editions, viz. *Tractatus de Legibus & consuetudinibus Regni
 Angliæ, tempore Regis Henrici II. composuit*, &c. In which we
 have *Forms* of such *Writs* as were then (and are mostly still) in
 use, upon all the several Occasions there treated on. He is said to
 be the Inventor of the famous Writ of *Assize*, or *de novel Disseisin*.
 He died in his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, being very aged.

1189.
Richard
uneasy on
Account of
his Brother.
Gervaf.
Hoved.
Paris.

Gives him
six Earl-
doms, and
the Heirefs
of Glocest-
er in Mar-
riage.

In the midst of the King's Satisfaction at seeing the Preparations for his Voyage in so great Forwardness, there was one Thing that gave him some Disquiet: As in all Probability, he shou'd be gone a good while, he was apprehensive that the Prince his Brother might take the Advantage of his Absence and seize the Crown. He wou'd very fain have carried him along with him. But as *John* shou'd no Inclination for the Expedition, he wou'd not compel him to make a *Vow* against his Will. To get rid of his Fears, he resolv'd to load with Favours the young Prince, whose Ambition he was not yet throughly acquainted with. He was perswaded, that the Grants he shou'd make him wou'd engage him to a suitable Return of Gratitude. In this Belief, he invested him with six Earldoms, *Cornwal, Dorset, Sommer/et, Nottingham, Darby,* and *Lancaster*, and gave him to Wife *Avisa*, Heirefs of the House of *Glocester*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* forbade the Marriage, on the Score of their being too near a-kin (a.) But there was a Sort of Necessity for it. The late Earl of *Glocester*, Father of *Avisa*, for Reasons unknown, had made Prince *John* his Heir. This Settlement wou'd infallibly have caus'd a great Law-Suit, wherein it was to be fear'd the Prince wou'd be cast, and from thence take Occasion to raise Disturbances. The Death of his Wife, who was Daughter of the Earl of *Morton*, made the King easy in that Respect. By her Death a very natural Way offer'd of making up Matters, by joining the two Parties in Marriage. Accordingly, the Prohibition of the Archbishop, tho' founded on the *Canons*, gave place for once to Reasons of State, and *John* became also Earl of *Glocester* in Right of *Avisa* his Wife. In the mean Time, altho' *Richard* had, as I may say, shar'd his Kingdom with his Brother, he wou'd not however let him have any Hand in the Government, during his Absence, least he shou'd make him too Powerful. His Fear of This had even induc'd him to cause him to swear that he wou'd remain in *Normandy*; but before his Departure he releas'd him from his

(a) Henry I. was Great Grand-father to Both.

his Oath. It was to *Longchamp* his Favourite, that he committed the *Regency*, jointly with the Bishop of *Durham*. *Longchamp* was a *Norman* of mean Extraction, who, by his Interest with the King, was become Bishop of *Ely*, *High-Chancellor*, and the Pope's *Legate* over all *England*. All these Dignities, together with the *Regency*, render'd him the most powerful Subject that had ever been in *England*. So that 'twas not without Reason that a Historian gives him the Titles of *Prince* and *Pontiff* of the *English*, since all the Power *Spiritual* and *Temporal* was united in his Person.

1189.
Long-
champ
and the Bi-
shop of
Durham
made Re-
gents.
Paris.

After *Richard* had taken all the Measures he thought necessary for the well governing the State, he was willing to secure its Tranquillity by renewing his Alliances with the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*. With this View, he desir'd these two Princes to come into *England* in order to regulate all the Affairs ne might have with them, and to take from them all Pretence of disturbing the Peace of his Subjects. The former, who had reason to sit down contented, made a strict Alliance with him, and as some affirm, sent Prince *David* his Brother to attend him in his Expedition, with 500 *Scotchmen*. *Griffin* King of *Wales*, had sent into *England* *Rees* his eldest Son : But some Difference in Point of Ceremony arising, that Prince return'd home without seeing the King. However as *Richard's* Business with the *Welsh* was of no great Moment, that Accident caus'd him not to delay his Voyage.

Richard
makes an
Alliance
with the
King of
Scotland.

All Things being ready for his Departure, *Richard* pass'd over into *France* with all his Troops, and march'd for *Mar-seilles*, where his Fleet had orders to wait for him. The two Armies of *France* and *England* join'd at *Vezelai*, as had been agreed upon. As soon as the two Kings arriv'd there, they renew'd their Alliance, and oblig'd themselves to protect and defend one another upon all Occasions. They agreed moreover that all Quarrels which might happen in their Absence between their Subjects, shou'd be superseded till their Return. The Bishops that had attended them thus far, promis'd to excommunicate all that shou'd attempt to disturb the Peace of the two Kingdoms.

1190.
He goes in-
to France
and joins
Philip at
Vezelai.
Paris.
Gervas.
Hoved.

1190.

*They part
at Lyons.**Richard
finds not
his Fleet at
Marseilles.*

After the two Monarchs had concerted every thing that was thought necessary towards accomplishing their Designs, they march'd together as far as *Lyons*, where they parted, *Philip* set forward for *Genoa*, and *Richard* for *Marseilles*, where he was to meet his Fleet. But he waited there a long Time to no Purpose. A violent Storm had so dispers'd his Ships, that they had not been able as yet to join again. It had even happen'd that Part of them having been driven by Stress of Weather into *Portugal*, the King of that Country [had made use of the Assistance Providence had sent him, to relieve the City of *Santaren*, besieg'd at that Time by the *Miramolin* [or Emperor] of *Africa*. These Hindrances having prevented the Fleet from arriving at *Marseilles* by the Time the King expected it, he cou'd not prevail with himself to wait any longer. His Eagerness to be at *Messina*, the General Rendezvous of the *Croises*, made him fit out some Vessels at *Marseilles*, and having embark'd Part of his Troops he set sail for *Sicily*. Some Accident having oblig'd him to come to an Anchor at the Mouth of the *Tybur*, the Pope sent the Bishop of *Ostia* to invite him to come and refresh himself a few days at *Rome*: but he wou'd not go. Quickly after he had the Satisfaction to see his Fleet arrive with the rest of the Army, and continuing his Course towards *Messina*, he arriv'd there the 20th of *September*. The Sight of so vast an Armament caus'd no less Admiration in the *Sicilians* than Jealousy in the King of *France*, who beheld with Regret the Forces of his *Vassal* superior to his Own. As the Stay these two Monarchs made in *Sicily* occasion'd some remarkable Occurrences, it will be necessary, for the better clearing up Matters, to trace them to their first Rise.

*The Affairs
of Sicily.
Fasello.
Buonfiglio*

Tancred, who reign'd then in *Sicily*, was base Son of King *Roger*, who had left Issue, *William* surnam'd the *Bad*, and *Constantia*, a Nun at *Palermo*. To *William the Bad*, succeeded *William the Good*, his Son, who having married *Joanna* of *England*, Sister of *Richard*, died without Heirs. After his Death, Pope *Clement III*, who sat then in the *Papal Chair*, pretended that *Sicily* as a *Fief* of the *Church*, was devolv'd to the *Holy See*. In the mean Time, *Tancred*
the

the Bastard found the Means to get himself elected, on Pretence that there was an actual Necessity of a King to defend *Sicily* against the *Saracens* who had got Footing there. *Clement* dying in the Interim, *Celestine* III. his Successor kept up the same Pretensions, and treating *Tancred* as an U-surper, he resolv'd to exert his utmost to wrest the Crown from him. But as he was sensible he cou'd not do this alone, he applied to the Emperor *Henry* VI. of the House of *Swabia*, and gave him the Kingdom of *Sicily*, in Case he cou'd conquer it. To give him another Right besides that of *Donation*, he caus'd the Princess *Constantia* to be taken out of the Nunnery of *Palermo*, and after he had dispens'd with her *Vow*, married her to *Henry*, tho' she was then fifty Years old. How little Appearance soever there might be of their having any Heirs, *Constantia* prov'd with Child in the two and fiftieth Year of her Age. And to remove all Suspicion of foul Play, she was brought to Bed publickly in a Tent of a Son call'd *Frederic*. The Queen Dowager of *Sicily* having in all Appearance sided a little too far with the Pope, *Tancred* had shut her up in Prison, where she had been detain'd ever since. But upon *Richard*'s Arrival she was set at Liberty, and sent to the King her Brother, who wou'd not take up with so slight a Satisfaction. He demanded for the Queen his Sister, the *Dower* that had been assigned her by King *William* II. her Husband, and threatned to use Force in Case *Tancred* refus'd to comply. This Demand and the Menaces it was attended with made the King of *Sicily* look upon *Richard* as his real Enemy. *Richard* finding that *Tancred* was very backward in giving him the Satisfaction he required, and fearing perhaps some Treachery from him, thought it best to provide for his Safety. To that End, he seiz'd upon a Castle and Monastery not far from *Messina*, where he laid up his Stores under a strong Garrison. *Tancred*, who was naturally mistrustful, did not question but that the King of *England* was come at the Instance of the Pope, and sought only an Opportunity to deprive him of his Crown. In order to frustrate this imaginary Design, he manag'd it so that the Inhabitants of *Messina* took Occa-

Richard
seizes a
Castle near
Messina.
Hoved.

1190.
The Eng-
lish drove
out of
Messina.

Richard
takes Mes-
sina.

Affronts
Philip;

Who com-
plains of it,
and Rich-
ard gives
him Satis-
faction.

Moved.

sion from some Disorder that happen'd in their City, to expel thence all the *English*, which cou'd not be done without the loss of some Lives. *Richard*, incens'd at this Outrage, resolv'd to attack *Messina* forthwith: But *Tancred*, who was at *Palermo*, having protested to him that he had no hand in the Riot, and that he wou'd punish the Authors of it, he took Patience, waiting for the Performance of his Promise. In the mean Time the *Messinians* continuing to shut their Gates against the *English*, and *Tancred* putting off too long the promis'd Satisfaction, *Richard* perceiv'd at length that he sought only to amuse him. His Indignation at this Usage was so great, that without demanding any more a Reparation, which he had in his Power to procure himself, he resolv'd upon entering *Messina* by Force of Arms. Pursuant to this Resolution, he attack'd the City so furiously, that he became Master of it in the first Assault. He was no sooner enter'd but he order'd his Banners to be display'd on the Walls, even in that Part of the Town which had been allotted to the *French*. Upon their Arrival at *Messina* the two Kings had agreed, that in order to prevent any Disputes which might arise among the Soldiers, the City shou'd be divided into two Parts, and that each Nation shou'd have one half to themselves for their necessary Occasions. It was therefore manifest that by setting up his Banners in the Division assign'd to the *French*, *Richard* broke the Agreement he had made with *Philip*. Accordingly he complain'd so bitterly of it, that the two Monarchs wou'd have come to an entire Rupture, had not the Matter been made up by the Mediation of the Great Men on both Sides. *Richard* at length took down his Banners, and protested that he had no manner of Design to affront *Philip*, but that his only Aim was to compel the King of *Sicily* to give him Satisfaction for the Injury done to the *English*. To make appear that he really meant as he said, he deliver'd the Custody of *Messina* to the *Templars*, till the Difference between him and *Tancred* shou'd be decided. Matters being thus adjusted, *Tancred*, who till then had kept at *Palermo*, came to *Richard* at *Messina*, and chose to satisfy his Demands in a handsom Man-
ner.

ner. He made a Treaty with him, whereby he bound himself to pay to the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, Sister of *Richard*, twenty thousand Ounces of Gold for her Dow-er, and the same Number to *Richard* in lieu of certain *Le-gacies*, which *William the Good* had left *Henry II.* his Fa-ther-in-law in his *Will*. By this same Treaty, a Match was agreed upon between *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, Ne-phew to *Richard*, and *Tancred's* Daughter. Moreover, *Tan-cred* promis'd to fit out ten Gallies and six large Ships for the Service of the *Croises*. Upon these Terms, *Richard* desisted from all other Demands whatsoever, and subjected his Domi-nions to the Pope's *Censures*, in Case he violated his Oath. These two Princes being in Appearance perfectly reconcil'd, *Richard* made a Present to *Tancred* of King *Arthur's* Sword, to which the *Britons* had given the Name of *Caliburn*.

1190.
Treaty be-
tween
Richard
and Tan-
cred.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 66.
Hoved.

Altho' outwardly *Tancred* seem'd satisfied, he cou'd not away with his inward Vexation at a Treaty which Force alone had compell'd him to sign. He wou'd very fain have engag'd the King of *France* in his Quarrel, and made a League with him against *Richard*. But his Proposal ha-ving been rejected, he went another way to work. As it was not in his Power to be reveng'd separately, either of *Richard* who had offended him, or of *Philip* who had de-nied him his Assistance, he attempted to revenge himself upon Both at once, by sowing Dissention between them. To that Purpose, he privately warn'd the King of *Eng-land*, that *Philip* was brewing ill Designs against him. He even show'd him a Letter which he said he had from the Duke of *Burgundy*, wherein it appear'd that what he told him was not without Ground, *Richard* gave Ear to his Information, and complain'd of *Philip*, who on the other Hand accus'd him of seeking Pretences to dissolve their Union. This Quarrel went so far, that the two Monarchs came at length to an open Rupture, *Philip* sent *Richard* word, that unless he consummated his Marriage with *A-lice*, as he had promis'd to do, he shou'd look upon him as his mortal Foe. *Richard* as boldly replied, that he cou'd by no means marry a Princess, of whom the King his Father had begotten a Son, and offer'd to prove it by Wit-

1191.
Tancred
sows Dis-
sention be-
tween
Richard
and Philip.
Hoved.
p. 392.

1191.

*Agreement
between
the two
Kings.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 69.*

Witnesses who were there upon the Spot. *Philip* not thinking proper to push this Matter any further, perswaded as he was, that the Honour of the Princess his Sister might greatly suffer by it, he desisted from his Demand. After several Conferences, he agreed that *Richard* shou'd have Liberty to marry whom he pleas'd; a Liberty which that Prince had already taken of himself, by concluding a Marriage with *Berenguella* of *Navarre*. *Philip's* Moderation seem'd to cause an entire Reconciliation between the two Kings: But *Tancred's* late Information had made so deep an Impression on the Mind of *Richard*; and what *Richard* had offer'd to prove concerning *Alice*, had so exasperated *Philip*, that from thenceforward they were never more Friends. However, they prepar'd themselves for the Continuation of their Voyage.

* Hoved.
p. 388.
p. 402.

An *English* Historian * assures us, that whilst they were making ready for their Departure, *Richard*, touch'd with remorse of Conscience, made a *general Confession* of all his Sins, which was follow'd by a very visible Reformation and Amendment of Life. It were to be wish'd that this Author had given a more particular Account of this Matter, and shown what were the Fruits of his Repentance. One is surpriz'd to find he mentions no other Effect of it, but his Desire to confer with one *Joachim*, a *Cistercian* Abbot, whom he sent for to come to him. This Abbot pass'd all over *Italy* for a *Prophet*; and from thence in all likelihood, sprung *Richard's* Desire to see him. 'Tis said, that Preaching one Day before that Prince, he asserted that *Antichrist* was already born, that he was at *Rome*, that he wou'd be plac'd in the *Papal Chair*, and exalt himself *above all the Gods*; that is, above all the Princes of the Earth. Quickly after, the Emperor and Empress went and receiv'd on their Knees the *Imperial Crown* from the Hands of the Pope; who after he had set it on their Heads, kick'd it off with his Foot to show his Superiority. This Action afforded ample Matter for Reflection, to such as were prepossess'd in Favour of *Joachim*. They maintain'd that this Prediction was accomplish'd by that Proceeding of the Pope's.

The

1191.

The two Monarchs having spent the Winter at *Messina*, made themselves ready for their Voyage as soon as the Season permitted. *Philip* set sail first, *Richard* not being able to go with him, because he expected *Eleanor* his Mother, who was bringing along with her the Princess of *Navarre* his Bride. Accordingly these two Princesses arriv'd a few Days after *Philip* sail'd; but *Eleanor* return'd home forthwith, leaving *Berenguela* with the Queen Dowager of *Sicily* her Daughter, who was to accompany the King her Brother to the *Holy Land*. Immediately after *Eleanor's* Departure, *Richard* put to Sea with a Fleet of 150 Sail, 52 Gallies, 10 large Ships of Burthen loaded with Provisions, and abundance of small Vessels for the Service of the Fleet. It is no where said how many Men were embark'd on this Occasion; but by the Number of Ships employ'd in the Expedition, it is easy to guess that the *English* Army must needs have been very numerous. Whilst the Fleet was rowing between the Islands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, a sudden and violent Storm arose, which dispers'd the Ships, and drove part of them on Shore on the Coast of *Cyprus*. That Isle was then under the Domination of *Isaac* of the *Comnenian Race*, who, after having been Governor of it under the Emperor of *Constantinople*, had usurp'd at length the supreme Power, and assum'd the Title of Emperor. He was a covetous and brutish Man, that by his continual Cruelties and Extortions had drawn on himself the hatred of his Subjects; but they durst not openly show it. They waited for a favourable Opportunity to free themselves from his Tyranny, which his own Avarice, and the Arrival of the *English* Fleet furnish'd them with sooner than they had expected. This inhuman Prince, instead of assisting the *English* that were stranded just by the Port of *Limisso*, imprison'd those that had escap'd the Shipwreck, and seiz'd their Effects. He wou'd not so much as suffer the Ship, which had the Princesses on board, to enter into his Harbour, but was so cruel as to leave them expos'd to the Wind and Seas. The Fleet, which had been separated, being at length join'd again on the Coast of *Cyprus*, *Richard* heard, with extreme Indig-

Isaac King of Cyprus, was Cruel and Avaricious.

He treats the English ill.

1191.
Richard
becomes
Master of
Cyprus.

Indignation, the Barbarity of *Isaac* towards the *English*. However, not to retard his Voyage, he was contented with sending to demand the Prisoners, and all that he had plunder'd them of. The insulting Answer he receiv'd from him having made him resolve upon another Course, he set about landing his Men, and so furiously attack'd *Isaac*, that he compell'd him to abandon the Shore, after having made great havock of his Troops. The *English*, improving their Advantage, went directly and assaulted the City of *Limisso*, which they carried by the first Attack; and *Isaac* with his only Daughter were made Prisoners. A few Days after, the pretended Emperor found the Means to escape; but as no one wou'd harbour him, he chose to surrender himself voluntarily to the King of *England*, whom he earnestly besought not to put him in Irons. *Richard* insulting over his Misfortune, granted him his Request in a literal Sense, by commanding him to be bound with Silver Fetters.

Guy of
Lusignan
comes to
Richard.
Hoved.
Richard
consum-
mates his
Marriage
with Be-
renguella.
Hoved.

The taking of *Limisso* having inspir'd *Richard* with the Thoughts of subduing the whole Island of *Cyprus*, he met with very little Difficulty in that Undertaking. The *Cypriots* were so well pleas'd to find themselves freed from their Tyrant, that without making any Resistance they submitted themselves to a Prince whom they look'd upon as their Deliverer, and who confirm'd to them all the Privileges they had enjoy'd under the Emperors of *Constantinople*. During his Stay in that Island, arriv'd the *Guy* of *Lusignan* King of *Jerusalem*, who had procur'd his Liberty by delivering up the City of *Ascalon* to the *Sultan*, *Geoffrey* his Brother, *Raymond* of *Antioch*, *Boamond* his Son, and some other Princes and Lords of *Palestine*, attended the dispossest King, who was come to implore the Protection of the King of *England*. Here it was also that *Richard* consummated his Marriage with *Berenguella*, and not at *Messina*, as some have affirm'd. Before he left *Cyprus*, he sent *Isaac* his Prisoner to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, to be confin'd there; but for his Daughter she was to go with him to *Palestine*. The Regard he show'd for that beautiful Princess, gave some Occasion to suspect that

Com?

Compassion was not the sole Motive of his keeping her near him. This Suspicion was confirm'd, when 'twas perceiv'd he cool'd by degrees in his Affection to his new Queen. But these are Particulars more proper for a *Romance* than a *History*.

Whilst *Richard's* Affairs went on thus prosperously Abroad, *England* began to suffer by his Absence. He had no sooner cross'd the Sea, but the two Regents, not being able to agree together, came at length, after several Disputes, to an open Rupture. *Longchamp* had a great Advantage over his Colleague, as well by the high Posts he was in, as by his Abilities, which gave him a Superiority, which he knew very well how to make the best of. By pretending that their Dissention was very prejudicial to the Affairs of State, he found the Means to exclude him by degrees from the Administration, and to assume the whole Power to himself. Such an Arbitrary Act might have been colour'd with the Pretence that the King's Service necessarily requir'd it, had it been done by one of another Character : But *Longchamp* was known to be a Man of a proud and imperious Temper, and of a boundless Ambition, which made him look upon all his Dignities, how high soever they were, as below his Deserts. He affected to appear in Publick with a Retinue more numerous and splendid than that of a King. This exorbitant Magnificence made an Historian say, that when he lodg'd but one single Night in a Monastery, he consum'd three Years Revenue *. He treated all Persons with an insupportable Insolence, using his Power with a Haughtiness scarce to be borne in a crown'd Head. Besides, he was a *Norman*, and exceeding partial to *Foreigners* ; Qualities which alone were sufficient to render him odious to the *English*. The outed Bishop had writ to the King, who upon the Receipt of his Complaints at *Marsellies*, had sent him, with all Dispatch, *Letters Patents*, by which he committed to him the Government of the *Counties* lying

Troubles in England.
Hoved.
Paris.
Neubrig.
The haughty Conduct of Longchamp.

Hoved.

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North

* He had usually 1500 in his Retinue. He was originally but a Farmer's Son.

1191. North of the *Humber*. The *Letters* being arriv'd, the Bishop was so unwise as to give them into *Longchamp's* Hands, who under pretence of examining them, refus'd to restore them, and by that Means render'd them of no Effect. To this he added another, and no less bold Act: He order'd the Bishop to be apprehended, and detain'd him in Prison till he had deliver'd up certain Castles which gave him too great Power in the Northern Parts.

*He despises
the Coun-
sellors ap-
pointed by
the King.*

*They com-
plain to
Prince
John.*

Richard had appointed six Lords to serve as *Counsellors* to the *Regents* *. But *Longchamp*, who was not willing to take Council of any Person, never communicated any Affairs to these Lords. On the contrary, he affected to treat them with extreme Contempt. These arbitrary Proceedings oblig'd at length the Bishop of *Durham* and the six *Counsellors* to carry their Complaints to Prince *John*, who had all along been stil'd *Earl of Morton*, a Title he bore during his first Marriage. The young Prince readily promis'd them his Protection, being very glad that their Disgust furnish'd him with an Opportunity and Pretence of interposing in the Administration, from which he thought himself unjustly debarr'd. From that Time, making an Advantage of the Temper the *Nobles* for the most part were in, with regard to the *Regent*, he manag'd them so dexterously that each of them promis'd to back him; and the Downfal of *Longchamp* was resolv'd upon. There was nothing wanting but a Pretence, which quickly after offer'd.

*The Occa-
sion of
Long-
champ's
Downfal.*

Some time before *Richard's* Departure for the *Holy Land*, *Geoffrey*, his Bastard Brother, had been elected Archbishop of *York*; whether they had neglected to ask his Consent, or whether he had design'd that Dignity for another, this Election was displeasing to the King. In the Passion he was in with *Geoffrey*, he was just upon the Point of ordering him to be taken into Custody. However, upon *Geoffrey's* protesting to him that he did not intend to take advantage of his Election, he pardon'd him on Condition he

* Their Names were, *Hugh Bardolf*, *William Earl Marshal*, *Geoffrey Fitz Peters*, *William Brewer*, *Robert de Whirefield*, and *Robert Fitz Reinfield*. Brompt. p. 1162.

he wou'd never apply to the Pope for his Confirmation. Moreover, he enjoin'd him, on pain of his Displeasure, to remain in *Normandy* till the Expedition to the *Holy Land* was over. After the King was gone, *Geoffrey*, contrary to his Promise, demanded and obtain'd the Pope's *Bull*, which confirm'd his Election; and without vouchsafing to give the Regent notice of it, he design'd to repair into *England* and take possession of his Dignity. *Longchamp* having receiv'd Intelligence of what was doing, had sent Orders to *Dover* to apprehend him. Accordingly, upon his Arrival, the Bishop had but just time to get into a Church *, where he thought himself safe from all In-sults. But this Precaution not being able to prevent the Execution of the Regent's Orders, *Geoffrey* was drawn from the Altar and imprison'd in *Dover-Castle*. Prince *John* made this Outrage a Handle to act openly against *Longchamp*. As he found himself supported by all the Lords, he sent him positive Word to release the Archbishop. *Longchamp* not being dispos'd to receive such absolute Orders from a Prince who had no right to command him, refus'd to comply. This was directly what *John* wanted. A few Days after, the Regent was summon'd to appear before an Assembly of Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, conven'd at *London*, in *St. Paul's Church*. The Combination was so strong, that *Longchamp* saw himself on a sudden deserted by all the World, and constrain'd to appear before the Assembly, which was bent upon his Ruin. He was charg'd with having exceeded his Commission in divers Particulars, chiefly with having usurp'd the sole Power, which ought to have been shar'd between him, the Bishop of *Durham*, and the six *Counsellors*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* * and Earl of *Pembroke* complain'd

*He is cited,
accus'd,
and con-
demn'd.*

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also

* He chang'd his Cloaths, and mounting a swift Horse got to the Monastery of *St. Martins*, and taking Sanctuary in the Church, he was dragg'd from the Altar in his Episcopal *Vestments* through the dirty Streets, and deliver'd to *Matthew le Clerk*, Constable of *Dover-Castle*.

* *Canterbury* is here put by mistake for *Roan*; for 'twas the Archbishop of *Roan* and not of *Canterbury* that was join'd in Com-mission

1161. also, that having receiv'd a *Patent* from the King, dated at *Messina*, whereby they were made joint Commissioners with *Longchamp* in the Government, that Prelate wou'd never consent they shou'd have any Hand in the Administration. Some Historians however affirm, that these two Lords durst not show their *Patent* to the *Regent*, for fear he shou'd serve them as he had done the Bishop of *Durham*.
Hoved. Be this as it will, upon these Accusations *Longchamp* was turn'd out of the *Regency*, which was lodg'd in the Hands of the Archbishop of *Roan* till the King's Pleasure shou'd be known *¹. They took from him likewise the Custody of the *Tower of London*, and of *Windsor-Castle*, which the said Archbishop was invested with. Not content with these rigorous Proceedings, his Enemies compell'd him by Threats to lay down his *Legate's Cross* in the Church of *Canterbury*, after which he was thrown into Prison. Some Days after he found the Means to escape; but he was seiz'd again on the Sea-side, disguis'd in a Woman's Habit, with a Bundle of Linnen under his Arm. In this Garb he was carried to *Dover-Castle* with a great Mob at his Heels *². However, Prince *John* dreading the Pope's Resentment, if he detain'd his *Legate* in Prison, order'd him to
He is outed of all his posts;
and imprison'd.
He escapes, and is taken again;
and set at Liberty.

mission with the Earl of *Pembroke*. *Baldwin*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, went with the King and died during the Siege of *Acon*.

*¹ *Diceto* says, that the King ordain'd in his *Letters Patents*, that in Case *Longchamp* did not faithfully manage the Affairs of the Kingdom, according to the Advice of his *Counsellors*, they might act without him; particularly he enjoin'd that nothing shou'd be transacted without the Archbishop of *Roan*. whom as he said, he had sent over for the better defence of the Kingdom; which if true, vindicates the Proceedings of that *Assembly*. *Dic.* p. 659.

*² As he was sitting on a Rock, waiting for a Boat, with an Ell in his Hand, and a parcel of Linnen, as if he had been a *Pedlar*; a Seaman came by, and taking him for a Woman went to kiss him; and then offering at farther Indecencies, discover'd him to be a Man, but however march'd off without saying any thing. A little after some Women coming by began to cheapen his Linnen, but being a *Frenchman*, and understanding little *English*, he cou'd make them no Answer. Finding he wou'd not speak, they pull'd up the Hood which was over his Face, and then presently saw his black Beard; upon which crying out, the People came running in, and us'd him in the Manner above. *Hoved.* p. 400.

to be set at Liberty, and gave him leave to retire into *Normandy*. As soon as he found himself safe, he writ to the Pope and the King, setting forth the ill Treatment he had met with. 'Twas a good while before his Letter came to the King's Hands: But the Pope, who was much sooner inform'd of the Affront done his *Legate*, was extremely incens'd at their having thus disgrac'd the *Legantine Character*: Without staying to hear what Prince *John* cou'd alledge to justify his Conduct, he sent express Orders to the Bishops to excommunicate him. *John*, terrified at the Pope's Menaces, wou'd have restor'd *Longchamp*, if the Bishops themselves, who dreaded to be again in the Power of that imperious Prelate, had not declar'd against it. Thus the Pope's Orders lay unexecuted, and *Longchamp* durst not return into *England*.

The Pope orders the Bishops to excommunicate Prince John, which they refus'd to do.

The deposing of the *Regent* having procur'd the Prince an Opportunity of having a greater Share in the Administration of the Government than the King his Brother desir'd, he made use of it to pave his Way to the Crown. If he had not then Thoughts of taking the Advantage of the King's Absence to mount the Throne in his Lifetime, 'tis certain at least that his Aim was to make sure of it in Case the King shou'd die during his Expedition. He was very sensible there was another Prince that had a better Title than himself, which was *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign* his Nephew, Son to *Geoffrey* his elder Brother. This put him upon taking before-hand such Measures as shou'd free him from the Competition of that Rival. He made it his only Business to become Popular in order to gain the Affections of the *English*, particularly the *Londoners*, whose *Rights* and *Privileges* he got confirm'd by an Assembly General. This won him the Hearts of the *Citizens* to such a degree, that when they swore *Fealty* to the King, they voluntarily made a solemn Promise to receive *John* for their Sovereign Lord, in case the King died without Issue. In this manner did the Prince gain Ground by degrees, and endeavour'd, by secret Practices, to secure a Party capable of supporting him against his Nephew, and whom he wou'd even have made instrumental in much blacker

John interposes in the Administration.

Forms Projects to secure the Crown. Hoved.

1191.

blacker Designs against the King his Brother. In the mean time; *Richard*, by his valiant Atchievements, which attracted the Admiration of the whole World, was rendring his Name immortal, and inspiring the *Saracens* with a dread that the Downfall of their Empire was at hand. But before I relate that Prince's Actions in *Palestine*; it will be proper briefly to lay down the State the *Holy Land* was then in, and what had been transacted there ever since the Recovery of it by the *Christians*.

The Affairs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

All the Conquests the *Christians* had made in the *East*, had been erected into a Kingdom, of which *Godfrey* of *Balloin* was the first King. This Kingdom consisted of *Palestine* and Part of *Syria*, which had been taken from the *Saracens*. *Godfrey* reign'd but one Year *. *Baldwin* his Brother succeeded him, and govern'd eighteen Years, leaving the Crown by his Death to *Baldwin* II, his Cousin, who held it three Years. *Fulk*, Earl of *Anjou*, having married his Daughter, became King of *Jerusalem* after his Father-in-law's Decease, and reign'd eleven Years. He had by his first Wife, *Geoffrey*, who was Earl of *Anjou*, and Father of *Henry* II, King of *England*. By his second Wife, *Fulk* had Issue two Sons, of whom *Baldwin* the Eldest sat on the Throne of *Jerusalem* 24 Years, and was succeeded by *Almerick* his Brother, who reign'd 12 Years. *Baldwin* IV, his Son and Successor, finding himself Childless, and without hopes of having any, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, Son to his eldest Sister *Sybil*, by *William* of *Montferrat*, his Heir. He died after a Reign of 12 Years, leaving the Guardianship of young *Baldwin* V, and the Regency of the Kingdom, to *Raymond* Earl of *Tripoli*. In the mean time *Sybil*, Mother of the King, married *Guy* of *Laufignan*, who in right of the Princess his Wife, claim'd the Guardianship of the King and the Government of the State. The Earl of *Tripoli* in vain oppos'd his Pretensions by urging the late King's Will. *Guy*, supported by his Wife, seized upon the Regency, and quickly after became King himself by *Baldwin*'s Decease.

* He was crown'd with a Crown of Thorns in the Year 1099.

Decease, not without Suspicion of having hasten'd his Death by Poison, in order to mount the Throne. This *Revolution* soon prov'd the Occasion of a more fatal one. The Earl of *Tripoli* preparing to try to dethrone *Guy*, whom he look'd upon as an Ulurper, and as the Murderer of the late King, unfortunately for the *Christians* of that Country, *Guy* bethought himself of applying to *Saladine* Sultan of *Egypt* for Aid. The *Infidel* Prince gladly embrac'd so favourable an Opportunity of recovering a Country from whence his Predecessors had been expell'd 90 Years before. Under Colour of assisting the King of *Jerusalem*, he enter'd *Palestine* at the Head of a formidable Army, and forthwith took *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, *Asotus*, *Berytus*, and some other Places. At first he pretended that he conquer'd only for the King; but at length he thought he might safely pull off the Mask, and openly show, that his Design was to drive the *Christians* out of *Palestine*. In vain did *Guy*, who was not sensible of his Erroor till 'twas too late, shut himself up in his Capital. As the City was but ill provided with Stores, it was not possible for him to hold out above a Month, or to escape falling into the Hands of his Enemy; upon which he was fain to deliver up *Ascalon* to the Sultan, to procure his Liberty. Thus *Saladine* found the Means to destroy at once both the Competitors, whose Quarrel had furnish'd him with an Opportunity to carry his Arms into *Palestine*.

1191.
The Cause
of the Loss
of Jerusa-
lem.

Saladine
becomes
Master of
Palestine,

and of Je-
rusalem.

For the Recovery of this lost Kingdom it was that the Kings of *France* and *England* had undertaken the present Expedition, with numerous Armies made up of all the Nations in *Europe*, but chiefly of the *French* and *English*. Before *Philip's* Arrival in *Palestine*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*, *James* of *Avernes*, and several other Princes and Lords, with some *German*, *Flemish*, and *Italian* Troops had begun the Siege of *Acres*, which had already lasted a whole Year. As soon as *Philip*, who had sail'd first from *Messina*, had landed his Men, he encamp'd round the City, and continued the Siege, tho' with little Success. *Richard* arriving afterwards with fresh

The Chri-
stians be-
siege *Acres*

Philip ar-
rives, and
then *Rich-*
ard,

1191.
*The City
surrenders.*

fresh Troops, vigorously carried it on ; and at length, after *Saladin* had made divers fruitless Attempts to raise the Siege, the City surrender'd upon Terms *.

Richard
*affronts the
Duke of
Austria.*

Among the Occurrences of this famous Siege, I must not omit one, which, tho' of no great Importance in itself, was attended with Consequences very remarkable, and at the same time very fatal to the King of *England*. In an Assault made by the Christians, *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, having carried one of the Towers, forthwith order'd his Banner to be erected there. *Richard* taking this Action as an Injury done to the two Kings, who commanded in chief, sent some of his Men to pull it down and tread it under Foot. *Leopold* resented this Affront very heinously ; but as it was not then in his Power to be reveng'd, he stifled his Resentments, till he shou'd meet with a proper Season to show them. Unluckily for *Richard*, an Opportunity offer'd when he least expected it, and you'll find in the Sequel, that the Duke of *Austria* was amply reveng'd.

*Dissention
between
the two
Kings.*

The taking of *Acres* seem'd to encourage the two Kings to form fresh Projects : But just as the *Christian* Army expected to march towards *Jerusalem*, the Dissention which arose between the two Leaders, frustrated their Expectations. Since they were join'd, *Richard* had acquir'd a certain Superiority, which extremely mortified the King of *France*. The Number and good Condition of his Forces, his Personal Valour, which he had given several Proofs of at the Siege of *Acres*, and the very taking of that City, of which he had all the Honour, gain'd him a particular Esteem and Regard from the whole Army. *Philip* cou'd

* The Siege is said to last above two Years, and the Author of *Richard's Travels* to *Jerusalem* affirms, That 300,000 Pilgrims perish'd in this Siege. Among whom were many Princes and noble Persons, viz. *Conrade* Duke of *Servia*, and several foreign Earls ; *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ralph de Glanville*, chief Justice of *England*, and some whose Posterity still flourish, as *Ingelram de Fiennes*, Ancestor of the Lord *Say and Seal*, the Lord *Dacres*, *Theophilus Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, whose Arms retain the Badge of the Holy War, Stars, Cressants and Crosses ; as also *St. John Minshul*, *Tilney*, &c.

cou'd not bear to see a Distinction so much to the Advantage of the King of *England*. His Jealousy was visible on all Occasions; but as he durst not openly complain that his Rival was more respected than himself, he sought some other Pretences to colour his Resentment. The first he made use of was, to demand of *Richard* half the Isle of *Cyprus*, pretending that their Agreement was equally to share all their Conquests. *Richard* made Answer, that the Articles of their Convention related only to what shou'd be won from the *Infidels*: And added, that it was plain *Philip* understood them in that Sense, since he had taken to himself what belong'd to the Earl of *Flanders*, who died at the Siege of *Acres*, without ever having the least thought of giving him a Share. To this was added another Occasion of quarrelling. The Crown of *Jerusalem* was in dispute between *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*. *Richard* took *Guy*'s part, and *Philip* openly declar'd for the Marquis. The Grounds and Reasons of their respective Pretensions were briefly These.

Almerick, King of *Jerusalem*, had by his first Wife, who was of the House of *Courtenay*, *Baldwin* IV. his Successor, and a Daughter call'd *Sybilla*. By his second Wife, Niece to *Emanuel* Emperor of *Constantinople*, he had a Daughter nam'd *Isabella*. *Sybilla* was married first to *William* of *Montferrat*, by whom she had *Baldwin* V. who was Heir to *Baldwin* IV. his Uncle. *Sybilla*'s second Husband was *Guy* of *Lusignan*, by whom she had several Children who all died before their Mother. *Isabella*, Sister of *Sybilla*, but by a second Venter, had also two Husbands. The first was *Humphrey de Toron*, who refus'd the Crown offer'd him by the Barons of *Jerusalem*, after the Death of *Baldwin* V. Her second Husband was *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrat*, who claim'd the Title of King of *Jerusalem* in Right of his Wife, whose eldest Sister was lately dead without Issue. The Business therefore was to know, whether *Guy* of *Lusignan* ought to keep on the Title of King of *Jerusalem*, after the Decease of *Sybilla* his Wife; or whether he ought to resign it to

The State of the Case between Guy of Lusignan, and the Marquis of Montferrat.

1191.

the Marquis of *Montferrat*, whose Wife was then sole Heiress to the Kingdom. 'Tis true indeed, they were disputing about an empty Title, since *Saladine* was Master of the Capital City, and almost all the Country. But however the Title was of some Consequence, at a Juncture wherein 'twas expected that the Kingdom wou'd be restor'd by the Arms of the *Croises*. *Philip* had espous'd the Cause of the Marquis of *Montferrat*; and it was perhaps for that very Reason that *Richard* stood by *Guy* of *Lusignan*; so jealous were these Monarchs grown one of another: Scarce a Day pass'd, but what something or other happen'd which serv'd to inflame their mutual Animosity. *Philip* was jealous of *Richard's* Glory, who in his Turn complain'd that *Philip*, out of Spite and Envy, obstructed the Progress of the Arms of the Christians. In the midst of these Heats and Contests, they were both seized with the same Distemper, which had like to have carried them off: But they got over it with the loss of their Hair.

1192.
Philip re-
turns
Home.

After their Recovery, *Richard* appear'd more eager than ever to push on his Conquests over the *Infidels*. But *Philip* resolv'd upon returning to *France*, his Weakness caus'd by his late Illness, scarce permitting him any more to enter upon Action. But he had another Reason, which sway'd no less with him: That was, his extreme Impatience to go and take Possession of *Artois*, fallen to him by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*. He imparted his Resolution to *Richard*, who seem'd very much surpriz'd at it, being apprehensive that *Philip* in returning to *Europe*, had some Design on his Dominions in *France*. One of the Articles of their Agreement was, that Neither of them shou'd desert the Cause without the other's Consent. *Richard* insisted upon that Article, and refus'd to agree to *Philip's* Departure, till such Time as they were Masters of *Jerusalem*. However, as he cou'd not constrain him to stay, he left him to do as he pleas'd. But before he did so, *Philip* was as it were forc'd to take a solemn Oath, in the Presence of the Bishops and Principal Officers of both Armies, not to attack any Place belonging to *Richard*, either in *France* or in *England*, till forty Days after the Re-

Philip's
Oath to
Richard.

turn

turn of that Prince into his own Territories. Upon quitting *Palestine*, he left 10,000 of his Men under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and publicly order'd him to pay the same Obedience to the King of *England* as to himself. But, in all appearance, he gave him other Instructions in private. This is what *Mezeray* does as good as own, when he says that *Richard* wou'd have become Master of *Jerusalem*, had not the Jealousy of the Duke of *Burgundy* laid Obstacles in his Way.

A little after the Departure of the King of *France*, *Richard* and *Saladine* exhibited a Spectacle of Horror to their Armies, by commanding the Prisoners Each had in his Power, to be put to Death. It is difficult to determine which of the two Princes was the first Author of this Barbarity. Some Historians lay the blame on *Saladine*, others accuse the King of *England*. These last seem'd to me to have the best Ground for what they say. The *Saracen* Monarch refus'd to perform the *Articles* of the Surrender of *Acres**; whereas no other Reason is alledg'd that might induce the *Infidel* to this Piece of Cruelty but his natural Fierceness, tho' he appears upon other Occasions to have been of a very generous Temper. Thus much is certain, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, following *Richard's* Example, order'd also what Captives were in his Hands to be beheaded. I don't take upon me to set out the Bounds of the Power which the *Laws of War* give over Prisoners whose Sovereign refuses to perform the *Articles* of a Surrender, or how far the *Law of Retaliation* may extend. But methinks one can hardly be mistaken in saying, that whoever goes to the Extent of his Power, on such Occasions, runs the Risk of committing a very great Injustice. Be

Richard and Saladine kill their Prisoners.

Hoved. Vinsanf.

* It was articled that 3000 *Christian* Captives shou'd be deliver'd, and that the *Turks* shou'd redeem their Heads by paying a certain Sum of Money, and remain in Custody till payment was made. And that in Case these *Articles* were not made good within 40 Days, they shou'd be at the King's Mercy for their Lives. *Saladine* pretending these Conditions were not with his Approbation, wou'd not perform them. Upon which 'tis likely *Richard* began with beheading the *Turkish* Captives, *Hoveden* says, to the number of 5000, but *Vinsanf* reckons but 2700.

1192. this as it will, Instances of the like Barbarity are very rarely to be met with in *History*.

*The Siege
of Ascalon
resolv'd
upon.*

*Richard
obtains a
great Victo-
ry over Sa-
ladine.*

*Descripti-
on of the
Battle.*

After the Departure of the *French*, *Richard* had held a great *Council of War*, wherein the Siege of *Ascalon* was resolv'd upon. To execute this Project, he march'd along the Sea-Side, whilst his Fleet, freighted with all manner of Stores, row'd in Sight of the Troops, and furnish'd them with Necessaries. *Saladine* having had Intelligence of the *Croises* Designs, posted himself in an advantageous Manner in the Way they were to pass, with an Army of three hundred thousand Men. How great Disproportion soever there might be between their Forces, *Richard* resolv'd to attack him thus posted. He was very sensible, that if he cou'd defeat that Army, not only the taking of *Ascalon* wou'd be the Fruits of his Victory, but even the Siege of *Jerusalem* wou'd become a much less difficult Task; but on the contrary, if he declin'd the Fight, such a numerous Army of *Infidels* wou'd continually obstruct the Execution of his Designs. Pursuant to this Resolution, he approach'd the Enemy, and having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he march'd up to them with an undaunted Countenance. *James* of *Avesnes* commanded the Right Wing; the Duke of *Burgundy* led up the Left, and the King headed the main Body of the Army. *Saladine* had conceal'd Part of his Troops on his Right Hand, behind some Hills, which prevented the *Christians* from seeing them. As he expected mighty Matters from this Ambuscade, he was resolv'd not to lose the Advantage, which the Ground gave him. Accordingly, without stirring from his Post, he waited the coming of the Enemy to attack him.

The Right-Wing of the *Christians* having begun the Fight, the *Saracens* receiv'd *James* of *Avesnes* with a Resolution, which back'd by the Superiority of their Numbers, put that Body in such a Disorder that they cou'd not recover themselves for a considerable while. *James* of *Avesnes* was slain whilst he was endeavouring to animate his frighted Troops and bring them to charge again. At the same Time, the Duke of *Burgundy* furiously attack'd the Right Wing of the *Saracens*, which, pursuant to the General's

General's Orders, having retreated as they fought, caus'd the Duke to advance, with more Courage than Conduct, a good way from the Body of the Army. *Saladine*, finding that Matters went very well with his Left Wing, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* with his Wing was detach'd from the rest of the Army, order'd the Body that lay conceal'd to move forwards. These Troops descending down the Hills, in great Multitudes, surrounded on all Sides the Wing commanded by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. 1192.

It depended then on *Richard*, to save the Honour of the *Christians*, and to repair their Loss. He had fought on his Side with better Success, and tho' he had met with a stout Resistance in the Body that oppos'd him, yet he had compell'd them to retreat in Disorder. He was still engag'd in the Pursuit of his Enemies, when he was inform'd of the ill State of his Right-Wing, and the Danger his Left was in. Upon which, he gave over pursuing the flying Enemy, and marching to the Relief of the Duke of *Burgundy*, he pour'd upon the victorious Troops of *Saladine*, in order to snatch from them a Victory, they thought themselves sure of. On this famous Occasion it was, that He was seen to perform such astonishing Acts of Valour, that Those who envied him most, cou'd not forbear having him in Admiration. Some tell us, he was personally engag'd with *Saladine*, and having dismounted him wou'd have taken him Prisoner, had not the *Saracens* us'd their utmost Efforts to rescue him out of his Hands. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that *Richard's* Valour made such an Alteration in the Face of the Battle, that *Saladine* saw himself oblig'd to reinforce his Right-Wing with Part of the victorious Troops of the Left. As this Detachment cou'd not but Occasion some Disorder, it gave the Right-Wing of the *Christians* Time to come to themselves. Finding they were not so hard press'd as before, they quickly rallied, and falling furiously on the *Saracen* Troops that oppos'd them, they forc'd them at length to take to Flight.

1192.

In the mean Time, *Richard* maintain'd the Fight on the Left, with a Constancy and Courage which seem'd somewhat more than *Natural*, maugre the Superiority of his Enemies, who had drawn all their Forces against him. 'Twas however to be fear'd, that he wou'd have been overpower'd by Numbers, had not his Right-Wing, which met with no longer Resistance, come in to his Aid. Then the *Saracens*, finding they were attack'd on the *Flank* by these fresh Troops, began to break their Ranks, with such Confusion, that it was out of *Saladine's* Power to rally them. The *Christians* taking the Advantage of their Disorder, press'd them so briskly, that they put at length that prodigious Army entirely to rout. Thus *Richard* by his Valour and Conduct, obtain'd a compleat Victory over the Enemies of the *Christian* Name, of whom forty thousand lay dead in the Field of Battle. *James of Avesnes* was the only Officer of Distinction that fell that Day on the Side of the *Christians*.

Richard
repairs the
Cities Sala-
dine had
dismantled.

After this important Victory, *Richard* continued his March towards the maritime Cities of *Ascalon*, *Joppa*, and *Cesarea*, which *Saladine* had thought fit to abandon, after having demolish'd their Walls. It was of the utmost Consequence to the *Christians* to repair the Cities, that they might erect there Magazines for the Army, when they shou'd advance further into the Enemy's Country. This in all Probability was the sole Reason, which oblig'd the victorious Prince to stay some Time at *Joppa*. Some however have tax'd him with not having known how to make the best of his Victory, by marching directly to *Jerusalem*. But I can't tell whether he is to be blam'd upon their Authority. There are so few capable of judging rightly in these Matters, especially when the Circumstances are but very imperfectly known, that I don't think it the Part of a prudent Man, to pass his Verdict about them.

A great
Deliver-
ance of
Richard.
Itin. Hier.

During *Richard's* Stay at *Joppa*, an Adventure beset him, which had like to have been very fatal to him, and from which he was not deliver'd but by a kind of Miracle. One day, after having very much tir'd himself with Hunt-
ing,

ing, as he was lain down under a Tree to sleep, with only six Persons about him, he was rouz'd by the sudden Approach of some *Saracen* Horsemen, who were near the Place where he slept. As they were but few in Number, he had no manner of Dread upon him, but immediately mounting his Horse he rode after them, which they perceiving, feign'd to fly before him, and by that Means drew him into an Ambuscade, where he saw himself surrounded on a sudden by a Party of the Enemy. He defended himself a long Time with a wonderful Bravery, without any Thoughts of retreating, notwithstanding the Odds against him. At length, Four of his Attendants being fallen, he was upon the Point of being slain or taken, when *William Despreaux*, one of his Company, cried out in the *Saracen* Language, *I am King of England*. At which Words, those that were upon *Richard*, left him to have their Share in the taking of *Despreaux*, whom they imagin'd to be the King. This Device gave *Richard* Time to ride off full speed, whilst the *Saracens* content with their Success, conducted their Prisoner to *Saladine*. *Despreaux* had the Prudence not to discover himself till he came before the Sultan, to whom he ingenuously confess'd what he had done to save his Master. *Saladine* commended his Fidelity, and did him a great deal of Honour. But as he was very sensible *Richard* wou'd never suffer One that had done him so signal a Service to remain long a Captive, he set so high a Value on his Head, that he procur'd ten *Emirs* or *Saracen* Princes in Exchange for that Faithful Servant.

As soon as the maritime Places were sufficiently repaired, *Richard* march'd towards *Jerusalem*, which he had resolv'd to besiege. In his Way, he had the Good-Fortune to meet the *Babylon-Caravan*, which was carrying to *Jerusalem* a prodigious Quantity of rich Merchandises and Provisions of all Kinds. The *Caravan* was guarded by ten thousand Horse, who finding themselves near the *Christian* Army, wou'd immediately have retreated. But *Richard*, taking with him five thousand chosen Horsemen, fell upon them with great Fury, and having put them to Flight, became Master of the *Caravan*. He took on this Occasion

*He takes
the great
Babylon-
Caravan.
Itin. Hier.*

1192.
He comes
within
View of Je-
rusalem,
and puts
off the Siege
till the
Spring.

The Dukes
of Austria
and Bur-
gundy de-
sert.

The Italian
Troops re-
fuse to
serve any
longer.

Vindicati-
on of Rich-
ard.

3000 loaded Camels, and 4000 Horses or Mules, with an inestimable Booty which he order'd to be distributed all among his Soldiers. After this lucky Rencontre, having continued on his March towards *Jerusalem*, he came to a Hill, from whence he had the Pleasure to survey that famous City, the Taking of which was the chief End of his Expedition. In the mean Time, as the Country round about was destitute of Forrage, he saw himself under the fatal necessity of putting off the Siege till the Spring. This Delay furnish'd his Enemies and Those that envied him, with a Pretence to desert him. The Duke of *Austria* led the Way, and the Duke of *Burgundy* quickly follow'd him, not being able to bear the Thoughts of contributing any longer to the Glory of a Prince whom he look'd upon as the King of *France's* Rival. His Death, which happen'd at *Acres* just as he was going to embark, prevented not the *French* Troops from sailing for *Europe*. The going off of the *Germans* and *French*; the Marquis of *Montferrat's* refusing to assist with the *Italian* Troops in a Conquest, which he laid Claim to, but was design'd for Another; The News *Richard* receiv'd of what was doing in *England*; The Apprehensions he was in that *Philip* wou'd take the Advantage of his Absence and declare War against him; The diminishing of his Troops, as well by Sicknes as Battles; All these Things together were but too capable of making him think of returning Home, and are Reasons sufficient to justify the Truce he made with *Saladine*, notwithstanding the vain Declamations of Those who have had the Confidence to blame him for deserting the Cause, when within View of *Jerusalem* *. It is easy to see, that with the few Troops which were left him, it was not possible for him to go thro' with an Enterprize of so difficult a Nature as was then the Siege of that City. During the whole Winter they had found Time to lay in all Manner of warlike Stores, and the Garrison was scarce inferior in Number to the *Christian* Army. *Saladine* having

* The *French* Historians have cast many false and rude Aspersions upon King *Richard*, as if it had been his Fault that *Jerusalem* was not taken.

having Notice of *Richard's* Design to return home, thought it his Interest to hasten the Departure of so formidable an Enemy, by offering him a three Years Truce. All the Principal Officers of the *Christian* Army joyfully embrac'd his Offer. Every one was very glad, after so many Hardships, to go and enjoy some Tranquillity in his own Country. *Richard* therefore accepted of the Truce which was propos'd upon these Conditions : That the City of *Ascalon* shou'd be dismantled, and not fortified again by either Party during the Truce ; That *Joppa* or *Jaffa*, and *Acres* or *Ptolemais*, shou'd remain in the Hands of the *Christians*, with the rest of the Cities they were possess'd of in *Palestine* ; That the *Christians* shou'd have Liberty to go in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem* without paying any Thing for it, and free Commerce throughout all *Saladine's* Dominions. The Treaty being concluded, *Richard* sent *Saladine* Word, that he might depend upon seeing him again, to try once more to wrest the *Holy Land* out of his Hands. The *Sultan*, with a Politeness which had nothing of the *Barbarian* in it, return'd in Answer, That if it must be his Fate to lose that Part of his Dominions, he had rather it shou'd be to the King of England, than to any other Monarch in the World. Thus ended the famous *Crusado*, which had drain'd France and England both of Men and Money. It prov'd of very little Benefit to the *Eastern Christians*, whilst it ruin'd those of *Europe*, by the prodigious Sums therein expended. But that was not all ; it became the Occasion of destructive Wars between France and England, as we shall see presently.

1192.
Richard
makes a
Truce with
Saladine.

Articles of
the Truce.
Itin. Hier.

Richard, fearing that in his Absence *Saladine* wou'd break the Truce, conven'd the Principal Officers of the Army, in order to elect a General capable of commanding the Troops that were design'd to be left behind in *Palestine*. The Choice fell upon the Marquis of *Montferrat*, to *Richard's* great Surprise, who had openly declar'd against him. However he gave his Consent to the Election, and sacrific'd his private Resentments to the publick Good of the *Christians*. Shortly after the Marquis was stabb'd by two Villains, sent for that Purpose by the Old Man of the

The Mar-
quis of
Montfer-
rat elected
General of
the Chri-
stians in
Palestine.

He is assas-
sinated.

1192.

Mountains: That was the Title they gave the Head or chief Master of a Sort of People inhabiting about *Antioch*, call'd *Chassins*, or by some such Name. The *Old Man of the Mountains* always kept in his Service a Set of People devoted to his Will, whom he dispatch'd into all Parts of the World upon the like Occasions. Hence the *French* call'd him the Prince of the *Assassins*, or perhaps the Word *Assassin* is derived from the Name of these People *. As it was not known at first who was the Author of this Murder, *Richard*, as being no Friend to the Marquiss, was by some suspected of it. But the Marquiss himself was so far from having any such Thoughts, that just as he died, he order'd his Wife to deliver into the Hands of the King of *England* the City of *Tyre*, which he was in possession of. After the Death of the Marquiss of *Montferrat*, *Richard* manag'd it so that in his Place was elected *Henry* Earl of *Champaign*, who was Nephew to him as well as to the King of *France*. Then he caus'd him to marry *Isabella* the deceased's Widow, who brought him for her Dowry the *Titular Kingdom of Jerusalem*. As for *Guy* of *Lusignan*, the King made up his Loss of an empty Title with the real Donation of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, tho' he had sold it before to the *Templars*. Upon the repeated Complaints of the *Cypriots*, to whom the Tyranny of their new Masters was become insupportable, *Richard* thought he had a Right to revoke the *Sale* he had made. Whether this was consistent with Justice, is needless now to enquire. 'Tis sufficient to observe, that *Guy* was put in Possession of his Kingdom, which remain'd in his Family near two whole Centuries.

Henry
Earl of
Champaign
chosen in his
Place.

Giblet.
Hist. de
Re Lusig.
l. 1.

The

* These *Assassins* were a precise Sect of *Mahometans* dwelling in six Cities near *Antaradus* in *Syria*, being about 40000 in Number. They were ready to stab any Prince whom the *Old Man of the Mountain* shou'd appoint them, or to go upon any other dangerous Attempt. *Conrade* Marquiss of *Montferrat* was murder'd in the Streets of *Tyre* by two of them, whom he entertain'd in his Service, they having pretended to turn Christians. *M. Paris.*

The Affairs of the *East* being settled in this Manner, Richard, impatient to return to *England*, went and embark'd at *Ptolemais*, from whence he sail'd to *Corfu*, an Island situated at the Entrance of the *Adriatick Gulph*. In all Appearance, his Design was to land somewhere in the Bottom of the *Gulph*, in order to continue his Journey by Land thro' *Germany*. However some tell us, that he was driven against his Will, by Strefs of Weather into those Parts. Whatever his Design might be, he was expos'd to a violent Storm, which forc'd him on the Coast of *Istria*, and from thence between *Aquileia* and *Venice*, where the Galliot he was on board split upon a Rock. 'Twas not without great Difficulty that he escap'd that Danger, in order to run forthwith into another. Whether for want of knowing the Country better, or for some other unknown Reason, he enter'd the Territories of the Duke of *Austria*, and took the Road to *Vienna*. If this was not done thro' Ignorance, it will be a difficult Matter to dive into what he cou'd possibly design by it. Besides that this was by no Means his Way to *England*, it was a great Piece of Imprudence to hazard his Person in the Dominions of a Prince, whom he had so mortally offended at the Siege of *Acres*. Be this as it will, he kept on his Journey disguis'd like a Pilgrim, well knowing he had every Thing to fear from his Duke's Resentment, shou'd he happen to be discover'd. His lavish Expences, and the Indiscretion of some of his Attendants were the Occasion of a Rumour's being quickly spread that the King of *England* was in those Parts. The Duke of *Austria*, having Notice of it, caus'd the pretended Pilgrim to be watch'd so narrowly, that he was seiz'd at a small Village near *Vienna* *. The News having reach'd the Emperor *Henry VI*, he sent and demanded the Prisoner of the Duke of *Austria*, who delivered

Richard
embarks
for Europe,
Paris.
Hoved.

against his
Will.

Is Ship-
wreck'd
near Aquileia.

Goes into
the Domi-
nions of the
Duke of
Austria.

Is discover'd,
taken, and
given up to
the Emperor.

V O L. III,

S 2

vered

* Having travelled some Time with his Attendants like so many Pilgrims with their Hair and Beards grown to a great length, he dismiss'd them all, and taking Horse with one Servant came to the Village, where sending out his Servant to buy Provisions, he was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Austria*, and being seized, was forc'd to tell where the King was, who was taken as he lay asleep.

1193. vered him up, upon his being assur'd he shou'd have a good Share in his Ransom. Thus *Richard*, whose Fame fill'd the whole Earth, and whose noble Actions had given him the Pre-eminence above all the Princes of his Time, lost his Liberty, and saw himself in the Power of the most sordid and ungenerous of Princes.

*The Effects
of the
King's Im-
prisonment
in Eng-
land.
Hoved.
Gervas.
Paris.*

The News of *Richard's* Imprisonment quickly flew over all *Europe*, and particularly into *England*, where it caus'd a great Consternation. Queen *Eleanor*, his Mother, immediately took all possible Precaution to prevent this Accident from occasioning some fatal Revolution. She represented to the principal Barons, that they cou'd not give the King any effectual Proofs of their Fidelity, but by opposing, to the utmost of their Power, the Attempts of Prince *John*, whose ill Designs were not to them unknown. That it was chiefly with that they must begin, in order to preserve the Peace of the Realm; and that afterwards the other Affairs might be taken Care of. The Exhortations of the Queen, the unfortunate Condition the King was in, and the Fame he had acquir'd in the *East*, concurr'd to keep up in the *English* Barons the Fidelity which was due to their Sovereign. As they did not question but *John* wou'd lay hold on this Juncture to disturb the State, they enter'd into an *Association* to exclude him from the Government, at the very time he was taking Measures to seize it. The Opportunity appearing to him very favourable, he had form'd a Design to take the Administration of Affairs into his Hands, that he might with the greater Ease wrest the Crown from the King his Brother; but he was prevented by the Diligence of the Queen his Mother, and the Barons. He had the Mortification to see other *Regents* appointed, during the King's Imprisonment. However, he forbore not to use his Endeavours to break an *Association* so prejudicial to him. He affirm'd that his sole Aim was to secure himself from the Pretensions of the Duke of *Bretaign*, his Nephew, in Case *Richard* shou'd die in Prison: But all his Proceedings plainly show'd, that his Design was rather to obstruct the King's Return, supposing he shou'd be so fortunate as to obtain his Liberty.

*John tries
to lay hold
on his Bro-
ther's Mis-
fortune to
mount the
Throne.*

erty. Accordingly he left no Stone unturn'd to become Master of the Strong-holds, or to gain the Governors to his Interests. It is no wonder if at such a Juncture he prevail'd with some of them ; but in general, he met with so great Opposition, that he found at length there was no Possibility of compassing his Ends without the Assistance of the King of *France*. As soon as he was determin'd to apply to *Philip*, he departed in order to go and confer with him. As he went through *Normandy*, he staid some Days at *Roan*, where he tried all sorts of ways to corrupt the Loyalty of the *Normans*; but not succeeding he set forward for *Paris*, where he made a Treaty with *Philip*, who wanted nothing more than to embroil *Richard's* Affairs.

1193.
He meets
with Ob-
stacles.

Makes a
League
with Phi-
lip.
Hoved.

If we may credit certain Historians, *John* oblig'd him- self to marry the Princess *Alice*, whom *Richard* had re- fus'd, and to do Homage to the Crown of *France* for the Kingdom of *England*. I don't know whether these Au- thors had good Authority to assert these two Particulars. It is certain that the Treaty it self, which is in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, says nothing like it: Neither is it probable that *John*, who was already married, shou'd promise to espouse another Wife. It seems more likely therefore, that *Philip*, as the Treaty imports, was satisfied with admitting *John* to do Homage for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, which as Sovereign Lord he pretended to have a Right to dispose of.

Hoved.
P. 412.

Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 85

As soon as *John* had finish'd his Matters in *France*, he embark'd for *England*, with Design to use his utmost Endeavours to gain the King of *Scotland* to his Side ; but *William* remembring the generous Usage he had met with from *Richard*, wou'd give no Ear to his Sollicitations, what Means soever *John* employ'd to make him believe that the imprison'd King wou'd never recover his Liberty. All his Endeavours, as well with regard to the *Normans* as the King of *Scotland*, proving of no Effect, he bethought himself of another Expedient. He caus'd a Rumour to be spread that *Richard* was dead in Prison, and upon that

He tries in
vain to
gain the
King of
Scotland.

Pretends
the King is
dead, and
demands
the Crown,
but is re-
fus'd.

Foundation

1193.
Hoved.

Foundation demanded the Crown. But as there was no Advice of the King's Death from any other Hands, the *English* were not inclin'd to comply too hastily with his Demand, without further Confirmation. In the mean time, their Refusal furnish'd him with a Pretence to seize some Places of Strength, as willing to take by Force what he cou'd not obtain by fair Means. But his Party was so inconsiderable, that it was not possible for him to make any great Progress.

Philip at-
tacks Nor-
mandy.
Hoved.
Nubrig.

Whilst these Things were transacting in *England*, *Philip* was not idle in *France*. Perswaded as he was, that the *English*, taken up at Home with *John's* Pretensions, wou'd not be able to send any Succours beyond Sea, he resolv'd to seize the Provinces which *Richard* held in *France*. Pursuant to this Resolution, unmindful of the Oath he had taken upon quitting *Palestine*, he made himself Master of *Gisors*, *Eureux*, and the Country of *Vexin*, after which he laid Siege to *Roan*. He was in hopes to surprize that City, the taking of which wou'd have drawn after it all the rest of *Normandy*; but he had the Mortification to miss his Aim. The Earl of *Leicester*, who had got into the City some Days before, made so brave a Defence, that after an Assault, wherein the *French* were repuls'd with great Loss, *Philip* was constrain'd to break up the Siege.

He besieges
Roan.

Is repuls'd.

Eleanor
applies in
vain to the
Pope.

A& Pub.
T. I. p. 72.
74. 76.
Her Letter
to the Pope.

In the mean Time, Queen *Eleanor*, not content with having rais'd a strong Barrier against the Ambition of her younger Son, labour'd with all her might to get the King releas'd. As the Emperor had no plausible Colour to detain him in Prison; she imagin'd that a Powerful Mediation, such as the Pope's, might have a good Effect. In this Belief, she had frequently writ to his Holiness, to entreat him to take in Hand the Cause of the King her Son. All her Sollicitations not having been able to prevail with him, she sent him at length a very expostulatory Letter, which plainly show'd how highly she was provok'd at his Indifference. She complain'd, that he was unwilling to stir the least Step in Behalf of the imprison'd King: That he had refus'd to send a *Nuncio* to the Emperor, tho'

tho' he had often sent *Legates* to all the *Christian* States, in Matters of much less Moment: *That* this Behaviour was so much the more strange, as that it wou'd be no Disparagement at all to his Dignity, were he to go in Person and sollicite the Release of so great a King, who had just been exposing his Life in the Service of the *Church*. In fine, she represented to him, *That* the many good Offices which the *Holy See* stood indebted to the Kings of *England* for, well deserv'd some Return; and *that* the Services done the Popes, during the *Schisms*, cou'd not be forgotten without Ingratitude: But all these Instances were to no Purpose. The Pope did not think fit to concern himself about an unfortunate Prince, for fear of displeasing the King of *France*, who press'd him on the other Hand not to interpose in that Affair.

Whilst the Queen labour'd in vain to move the Pope, Richard is the Emperor, who was desirous to have some Cloak for his Injustice, order'd *Richard* to be conducted to *Hague-*
now, where the *Diet* of the Empire was assembled. The Deputies, sent by the Queen and Council to the King to acquaint him with what was doing in *England*, met on the Road their unfortunate Prince conducted in an ignominious Manner like a Criminal. This melancholly sight drew Tears from their Eyes, which the King seeing, cou'd not forbear weeping in his Turn. After they had, by many affectionate Expressions, let him see how much they were concern'd at his Misfortune, and assur'd him of the Loyalty of his Subjects in general, they inform'd him of the Attempts of the Prince his Brother; and of his strict Alliance with the King of *France*. These Informations made him sensible, that in the present Posture of Affairs, he shou'd be very much in the wrong to stand disputing with the Emperor about the Terms of his Freedom. In this Mind he was brought before the Assembly of the *German* Princes, where the Emperor charg'd him with six *Articles*, whereof there was but one, which he himself ought to have concern'd himself about, and none at all relating to the *German* Nation in particular. I. He accus'd *Richard* for making a League with *Tancred* to sup-
 port

Richard is carried before the Diet of the Empire;

and accus'd by the Emperor of six Particulars.

1193.

port that Usurper in the Possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily*. II. He alledg'd, that by his Contests with the King of *France* he had obstructed the taking of *Jerusalem*. III. He charg'd him with having unjustly taken by Force the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; and employ'd the Arms of the *Croises* in deposing a *Christian* Prince. IV. He tax'd him with the Affront done the Duke of *Austria* at the Siege of *Ptolemais*. V. He charg'd him with having a Hand in the Murder of the Marquis of *Montferrat*. VI. and *Lastly*, He laid to his Charge, as a great Crime, the Truce he had concluded with *Saladine*; and accus'd him of having held Intelligence with that *Infidel* Prince, to the great Detriment of *Christendom* in general.

He vindicates himself.

Though neither the Emperor nor the Princes of *Germany* had any manner of Right to sit as Judges over the King of *England*, *Richard* did not think proper to dispute their Authority. He was too much afraid of giving any Handle for Delays, which cou'd not but be very prejudicial to him: In all appearance, that was the only Aim the Emperor propos'd to himself. He was contented therefore with briefly saying, that altho' he look'd upon himself as accountable to none for his Actions, he was willing however to vindicate himself before that Illustrious Assembly; not that he consider'd the Persons there present as his Judges; but because it was of great Consequence to his Honour to let the World see his Innocence. Then he made his Defence against the Emperor's *Allegations*. To the First he replied, That his Treaty with *Tancred* in no wise related to the Emperor: That he did not make *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, but found him so; and treated with him as with a King in actual Possession of the Crown. To the Second he answer'd, That the King of *France*'s Jealousy was the sole Cause of the small Progress that was made in the Conquest of the *Holy Land*; and that the whole Blame ought to be laid on that Prince, since he first deserted the Cause. To the Third, which related to the Conquest of *Cyprus*, he made answer, That he took not that Kingdom from a lawful Prince, but from an Usurper and Tyrant; who, by his *Barbarity*

Barbarity had justly drawn down his Vengeance on his Head. That he had made appear plainly, he had not acted in that Affair from a Principle of Ambition or Avarice, since he had voluntarily resign'd the Island to *Guy of Lusignan*, to make him amends for the loss of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. As to the fourth Article, he contented himself with saying, that the Duke of *Austria* was sufficiently reveng'd of an Affront which he might have demanded Satisfaction for in a more honourable Manner. As for the Murder of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, he said, with some Emotion, That all his past Actions were so many Evidences of his being incapable of using such base Means to be reveng'd on his Enemies : And added, that the Marquis himself had clear'd him before he expir'd, by commanding the Princess his Wife to put into his Hands the City of *Tyre*, which he wou'd never have done, without doubt, had he suspected him to have been the Author of his Death (a). He spoke more largely to the Charge of his holding Intelligence with *Saladin*. He represented, tho' in a very modest Manner, the great Hand he had in the Victory obtain'd over the *Infidel* Prince. He accus'd the Duke of *Burgundy* of having deserted him purely out of Jealousy, when he was just upon the Point of laying Siege to *Jerusalem*. In fine, he added, It was easy to see that in making a Truce with the *Saracens*, he had no sordid Interest in View, since of all the Booty which he had got by taking the *Babylon-Caravan*, he had reserv'd nothing to himself but only the Ring which he wore on his Finger.

This Defence, which very much confounded the Emperor, rais'd the Compassion of the *German* Princes for *Richard*. They were so well satisfied of the great Injury done to that illustrious Prince, that with one Consent they

The German Princes intercede for Richard.

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T

be-

(a) In the *Collection of Publick Acts* (T. I. p. 71.) there is a Letter from the *Old Man of the Mountain* to the Duke of *Austria*, wherein he owns himself the Author of the Marquis's Murder : But the Authority of this Letter is doubtful upon several Accounts, particularly for being dated in the Year of the Pontificate of the Pope.

1193. besought the Emperor to deal more generously by him. But their Intreaties cou'd not induce that covetous and selfish Prince to release his Prisoner, before he had exacted from him an exorbitant Ransom. He was the more extravagant in his Demands, because the King of *France* had sent the Bishop of *Beauvais* to proffer him a large Sum to keep *Richard* in perpetual Imprisonment. The Captive King therefore was forc'd, in order to obtain his Liberty, to bind himself to pay a hundred and fifty thousand Marks of pure Silver, of which the Duke of *Austria* was to have a Third for his Share. The Emperor requir'd further, that this Sum shou'd be brought into *Germany* at the Hazard and Charge of *Richard*. To these hard Terms he added, that *Richard* shou'd cause the Emperor of *Cyprus* and his Daughter to be set at Liberty; and that he shou'd give *Eleanor* of *Bretaign*, his Niece, in Marriage to the Duke of *Austria's* eldest Son. Some say moreover, that the Emperor, not content with these advantageous Conditions, oblig'd *Richard* to make an absolute Resignation to him of the Kingdom of *England*, which however he presently re-invested him with, to hold it of him by the annual Tribute of five thousand Pounds Sterling. Indeed, one can't say that this Fact is altogether improbable, considering the wretched State *Richard* was then in. Nevertheless one can hardly believe, that, as much a Prisoner as he was, he cou'd ever bring himself to stoop to so mean an Action. Besides, we don't find that the Emperor ever laid any Claim to *England* by Virtue of this pretended Resignation. Accordingly, the same Historians which assert this Particular, add, that *Henry* before his Death renounc'd all Right to *England*. To make the Matter the more probable, it is pretended that the Emperor's Donation of the Kingdom of *Arles* to *Richard* was to make him some amends for the Sovereignty of *England* which he had just given up: But this very thing makes it presum'd, that they have confounded the Homage, which *Richard* in reality did the Emperor for the Kingdom of *Arles*, of which that Monarch had made him a Grant, with the Homage for *England*. And indeed

Philip and John make the Emperor large Offers to detain him.

He requires hard Terms of Richard.

Hoved.
p. 414.

The Emperor makes him Titular King of Arles.

indeed, it appears from the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that ^{1193.} Henry conferr'd the Title of *King of Arles* on Richard, ^{Act. Pub. T. i. p. 81,} who no doubt did him Homage for that *imaginary Kingdom*, which the Emperors had not been in possession of for many Years. ^{83.}

As soon as the Treaty was sign'd, Richard sent word of it to the Queen his Mother, desiring her to use all possible Means to raise the Money for his Ransom forthwith. This was no inconsiderable Sum at that Time in England. *Richard* himself, when he went to the *Holy Land*, had almost quite drain'd the Kingdom of all the Coin. Besides, the *Croises* had likewise carried off large Sums. For this Reason, 'twas no easy Matter to supply the present Exigency. However, the Zeal of the Lords *Justitiaries* caus'd them to find the Means to raise a hundred thousand Marks, what by Taxes *, and what by borrowing one Year's Wooll of the Abbies of the *Cistercians* and *Religious Houses* of the Order of *Sempringham* *. To this was added some *Plate*, which the Churches furnish'd, upon the Queen's Promise to make it good again, after the King's Return. ^{Money for the King's Ransom is rais'd in England.}

Whilst they were taken up in England with levying the Money for the King's Ransom, Philip and John left no Stone unturn'd to break the Agreement he had made with the Emperor. As soon as Philip had notice of it, he sent John Word, to look to himself, since the Devil was like to get loose. This News threw the Prince into a great Consternation. He saw all his Hopes vanish, and himself upon the Point of falling into the Hands of a very-justly-incens'd Brother, without knowing how to ward off the terrible Blow. In this Perplexity, he had no ^{1194.} other ^{Philip and John endeavour to get Richard detain'd in Prison. Nubrig. Hoved.}

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T 2

other

* *Hoveden* says every *Knights-Fee* was taxed 20 Shillings. p. 413.

* This Order was first establish'd at *Sempringham* in *Lincolnshire*, (now a Seat of the *Clintons* Earls of *Lincoln*) in the Year 1148. by one *Gilbert*, then Lord of the Manor, from whom they were call'd *Gilbertines*. They were a promiscuous Order of Men and Women together, who increas'd so fast, that the Founder himself liv'd to see 700 *Gilbertine Fryars*, and 1100 *Sisters*. But their Modesty was not to be bragg'd of, since 'tis said that three Parts in four of these *Sisters* were pregnant at one Time.

1194.

They make
Offers to
the Empe-
ror.

Henry
puts off the
King's De-
liverance.

He endea-
vours to
elude the
demand, but
in vain.

other Course to take, but to enter into a more strict Alliance with *Philip*, and endeavour, with his Assistance, to break the Measures *Richard* had taken for his Deliverance. As these two Princes were join'd in one common Interest, they agreed to act in Concert, in Order to engage the Emperor, by advantageous Offers, to detain *Richard* in Prison. The Bishop of *Beauvais* was again commission'd to make *Henry* the following Proposals: *That* provided he wou'd promise to detain *Richard* till *Michaelmas* following, *Philip* wou'd pay him down fifty thousand, and *John* thirty thousand Marks: *That* after that Term, they wou'd return him monthly, one thousand Pound *Sterling* all the time *Richard* shou'd remain in Durance: *That* in case he wou'd deliver him into their Hands, they wou'd pay the whole Ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks. In fine, if he refus'd to comply with this Offer, the Ambassador had Orders to tender him the same Sum, provided he wou'd keep him Prisoner one Year more. These Offers wrought so on the Self-interested Emperor, that he put off the King's Deliverance till the next *Diet*, which was to meet at *Spires* in a few Months, though *Eleanor* was come to *Worms* with a hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the Payment of the Remainder. It is easy to guess at *Richard's* Consternation, when he heard this unwelcome News. He was not ignorant of his Brother's Designs to seize his Crown, and was satisfi- ed that *Philip* wou'd assist him with all his Forces. On the other Hand, he was but too well acquainted with the Emperor's Temper, to hope to be able to soften a Heart which was an entire Stranger to all generous Sentiments. In this wretched State, looking upon himself as entirely ruin'd, the Time he pass'd till the Diet, was the most melancholly and irksome of his whole Life. 'Twas not without Reason that he was alarm'd, since the Emperor had actually determin'd to comply with the King of *France*, and sacrifice his Honour to sordid Interest. The Diet being met at *Spires* in the Month of *September*, the Emperor address'd himself to the *German* Princes in Terms which plainly imported, that he made no Account of his

Agree

Agreement with the King of *England*. Surpris'd at this Procedure, they cou'd not forbear telling him their Thoughts of the Matter. They represented to him in a forcible Manner, that as they themselves were *Guarantees* of the Treaty, they cou'd not stand by and see it violated without great Detriment to their Honour. They even gave him to understand he shou'd not break it with Impunity. Whether *Henry* stood in fear of their Threats, or whether Shame made some Impression on his Mind, he was prevail'd with to set his Prisoner free, upon receiving the hundred thousand Marks, and Hostages for the fifty thousand that were left unpaid. *Richard* no sooner saw himself at Liberty, but he set forward with all speed for the *Low-Countries*, without stopping on the Road any more than needs must. This Speed was no more than what was necessary, since *Henry*, who had repented of his having releas'd him, sent after him to seize him; but it was too late. As soon as he came to *Antwerp*, he embark'd for *England*, and safely arriv'd at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *March*, 1194. after a four Years Absence, fifteen Months whereof he had pass'd in Prison.

Richard is set at Liberty.

Brompt. He arrives in England.

Before I finish what relates to *Richard's* Imprisonment, not to return hereafter to the Payment of the Residue of his Ransom, I shall subjoin in this Place all that happen'd on that Score, as well with respect to the Emperor as the Duke of *Austria*. The Last, after having often importun'd *Richard* for the Payment of the Money, sent *Baldwin* of *Brabant*, one of the Hostages, to let him know, that he wou'd come upon those he had in his Power, if the Treaty of *Hagenau* was not speedily executed. *Richard*, who knew by Experience the cruel Temper of that Prince, forthwith sent back the same *Baldwin* with the Princess *Eleanor*, that he might cause the stipulated Marriage to be consummated, whilst the Money for the rest of the Ransom shou'd be getting ready. In all appearance, the Emperor had taken for himself the hundred thousand Marks, and turn'd over the Debt to the Duke of *Austria*. Be this as it will, *Eleanor* and *Baldwin* found, upon their Arrival at *Vienna*, that the Duke was dead of a Fall from his

Proceedings of the Emperor and Duke of Austria, relating to the rest of the Ransom.

1194.

his Horse. Before he resign'd his last Breath, he had made his *Will*, wherein he had order'd that the King of *England's* Hostages shou'd be releas'd, confessing that he had unjustly detain'd him, and that he cou'd not in Conscience demand a Ransom. Notwithstanding this exprefs Injunction, the Prince his Son, who succeeded him, wou'd have detain'd the Hostages, had not the Bishops opposed it. They plainly declar'd, they wou'd not permit the Body of his Father to be buried till his last *Will* was perform'd. To compleat the Matter, the Pope sent him a Letter, wherein he told him, that he had order'd the Archbishop of *Salzburg* to excommunicate him, if he deferr'd any longer the Execution of his Father's *Will*. Prevail'd upon by these Menaces, he releas'd the Hostages; and finding he had no great Inclination for the Princess of *Bretaign*, sent her back likewise to *England*. As for the Emperor, his Difference with the Pope, and the War he was meditating against *France*, making him sensible that he might stand in need of the King of *England*, he wish'd to be reconcil'd to him. To that purpose he sent a Bishop to beg his pardon, and to assure him that he intended to restore what he had extorted from him. But he died shortly after at *Messina*, before he had perform'd his Promise.

Richard
reduces his
Brother's
Party.
Paris.
Hoved.
Nubrig.

John cited
and con-
demn'd.

Richard was receiv'd by his Subjects with Demonstrations of Joy and Affection, which made him forget all the Disgraces he had suffer'd during his Confinement. His first Care was to discharge the Vow he had made, to offer to God the Rich *Standard* of *Cyprus*, in St. *Edmund's* Church: Which done, he march'd against some Castles still in the Hands of *John's* Adherents, of which *Nottingham Castle* was the only one that held out a Siege of some Days. In the mean time, he had order'd the Prince his Brother, who was retir'd to *France*, to be summon'd to appear within forty Days, to answer to the Accusations which shou'd be exhibited against him. *John* not appearing within the Time limited, the King caus'd a *Sentence* to be pass'd against him, whereby his Estates were all

all confiscated, and he himself excluded from the Succession to the Crown. 1194.

This Affair being over, *Richard* was crown'd a-new, for fear his Imprisonment might have rais'd any Scruples in the Minds of his Subjects. *William* King of Scotland had a Mind to assist at the Solemnity, and carry the *Sword of State* on the Coronation-day *. This piece of Deference, and his constant Attachment to *Richard* whilst in Prison, entirely gain'd him the Affections of that Prince, who omitted nothing to show him Marks of his Friendship. 'Tis true indeed, he did not think fit to give him up *Northumberland*, which he demanded with a great deal of Importunity to be put in possession of, on the Score of a very dubious Title, which even his Predecessor had thrown up. However, to soften in some measure this Refusal, he granted him a *Charter*, whereby the Kings of *Scotland* were to enjoy certain *Honours* and *Privileges* whenever they came into *England* *.

Richard is crown'd again.

Hoved. p. 420.

Act. Pub. T.I. p. 87.

Richard was too much bent upon being reveng'd of the King of *France*, to deny himself any longer that Satisfaction. The *Forgiveness of Injuries* is a Virtue too rare among Men, to be met with in a Prince who was none of the most scrupulous in Matters of Religion. To bring about his Designs, he stood in need of a powerful Army, which cou'd be neither rais'd nor maintain'd without an extraordinary Charge: His Kingdom already drain'd, was hardly in a Condition to supply his present Occasions. However, Money must be had at any Rate; and to that Purpose divers ways and means were us'd which were not very honourable. In the first Place, he demanded again all the *Crown-Lands* which he had alienated upon his going to the *Holy-Land*. His pretence for so doing, was,

1195. *Richard prepares for a War with France.*

His Means to raise Money. Nubrig.

* He did this as Earl of *Huntington*. Hoved. p. 420.

* They were to be conducted by the *Sheriffs* of every County from *Berwick* to the Court, and allow'd 100 Shillings a Day during the Journey, and 30 whilst they staid; and also 12 Loaves of fine Bread, 12 of the King's *Simmels*, with 4 Gallons of the Best, and 8 of the Ordinary, Wine, &c. See Pub. Act. Vol. 1. p. 78.

1195. was, that the Purchasers had over and above receiv'd the Money they had disburs'd, out of the Profits of the Estates, tho' they had enjoy'd them but a very few Years. He put in practice another, and no less unlawful Means, to fill his empty Coffers. The *Great Seal*, which he had carried with him, having been lost during his Voyage, he order'd a new one to be made; and oblig'd all those that had any *Patents* or *Commissions* under the old Seal, to have them renew'd, and seal'd with the new one. His sole Aim in this, was to extort Money from private Persons for the renewing their *Charters*. These two Methods not appearing to him sufficient, he invented two more. The first was to prohibit *Turnaments*, and then to grant the *Nobility* a License to hold, or be present at them, upon payment of a certain Sum of Money, in proportion to their Rank and Quality *. The second was to restore to his good Graces *Geoffrey* his natural Brother, and permit him to enjoy the Archbishoprick of *York*. The Bishop of *Coventry*, a zealous Friend of Prince *John*, who had been sentenc'd the same time with him, received likewise the same Favour: But it cost the Former two thousand Marks, and the Latter purchas'd his Pardon by a Present of five thousand.

Philip gets
the start of
him, and
besieges
Verneuil.

Walsing.
Paris.
Hoved.

Richard
makes him
raise the
Siege.

All the Forces *Richard* design'd against *France*, being ready, News was brought him, as he was sitting at Table, that *Philip* had laid Siege to *Verneuil*. His Indignation at the King of *France's* having got the Start of him, transported him so, that he swore he wou'd not turn his Face, till he came where the Enemy was. To keep his Oath, he caus'd part of the Wall of the Room where he was at Dinner to be pull'd down, and going directly out, went and embark'd immediately with his Troops which were waiting for him on the Sea-Side, and safely arriv'd in *Normandy*. Upon his Approach, *Philip* rais'd the Siege, just as he was upon the Point of becoming Master of the City. Some say, he was constrain'd to it by his Army, which

* An Earl twenty Marks, a Baron ten, and a Knight four, if without Land, two.

which being seiz'd by a Pannick Fear, betook itself to Flight, leaving the Tents and Baggage in the Camp.

1195.

Some Time after, *Richard* being at *Roan*, the Queen his Mother introduc'd Prince *John*, who throwing himself at his Feet, begg'd Pardon for his Crime. The King receiv'd him civilly, as he had promis'd the Queen, but however gave him to understand, that he was not satisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentance. *I forgive you*, (says he, raising him up) *and wish I cou'd as easily lose the Remembrance of the Injuries you have done me, as you will forget my Pardon of them.*

He pardons his Brother.

Brompt.
P. 1261.

I shall not undertake to give an exact Account of the War which was carried on by the two contending Monarchs. The Particulars of it are of too little Moment to deserve insisting upon. I shall content my self with observing that it lasted five years, and was often interrupted by Truces, constantly broken by both Parties, without any Possibility of knowing on which Side to lay the Blame. The Historians of the two Nations have to that Degree made it their Business to vindicate their respective Kings, that it is easy to see that Both of them have been too much sway'd by their Inclinations or Prejudices. Be this as it will, the Two Princes met with frequent Occasions in this War to signalize their Conduct and Courage. But as the various Success of their Arms, Fortune sometimes favouring one Side and sometimes the other, occasion'd the Continuation of the War, one may say that they Both lost more than they gain'd by it. *Philip* among others, suffer'd an irreparable Damage in the Loss of all the *antient Records* of the Crown, which were taken with all his Baggage in an Action near *Blois*. It was customary then for the King to carry along with him wherever he went, the *Archives* of the Kingdom. *Mezeray* laments the Loss *France* sustain'd on this Occasion, and deplores the great Damage done to the History of that Kingdom with respect to the Events before this Engagement.

Continuation of the War.
Hoved.
1195-9.

Philip loses the Records of the Crown.

The Advantages the two Kings obtain'd over one another not being very considerable, they agreed at length upon a Truce, that they might find, in the Interim, the

A Truce between the two Kings.

1195-9.
* Diceto.
P. 676.

Means to conclude a Peace. Some say * that *Philip* propos'd to *Richard* to decide their Quarrel by five Combatants on each Side, and that *Richard* consented to it, provided the two Kings were to be in the Number. If this be true, which however is a great Question, it is scarce probable that the Proposal was made seriously and in good Earnest. Thus much is certain, that several Attempts were made to bring the two Monarchs to a Peace, to which 'twas believ'd an Interview might conduce. But, after several Conferences, they parted without coming to any Conclusion.

Princess Alice
restor'd
to her Brother.
Hoved.

At one of these Conferences, the Princess *Alice* was restor'd to the King her Brother, who gave her in Marriage to the Earl of *Pontieu*. Upon going to the *Holy-Land*, *Richard* had committed her to the Custody of the *Seneschal* of *Normandy*, who had refus'd to deliver her up without an express Order from his Master, tho' *Philip* had often demanded her.

The Queen
of Sicily
marries
the Earl of
Tholouse.

At the same Time *Joanna* *, Sister to *Richard*, and Widow to the King of *Sicily*, married the Earl of *Tholouse*. She obtain'd from the King her Brother an entire Resignation of all Right and Title, as Heir of the House of *Poitiers*, to the Earldom of *Tholouse*.

Bishop of
Beauvais
taken Prisoner.
Hoved.
Nubrig.

It happen'd, during this War, that *Philip de Dreux*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, a near Relation to the King of *France*, being in a Battle, was taken Prisoner by the *English*. His Quality, Character, but chiefly some injurious Expressions he had made use of to *Richard*, occasion'd his Ransom to be set at so high a Rate, that he applied to the Pope for his Protection. His Holiness strongly interceded for his dearly lov'd Son, as he call'd him, in a Letter which he sent the King on his Behalf. *Richard* in Answer sent the Bishop's Coat of Armour, all bloody as it was, and ask'd him, whether he knew his Son's Coat? This clear Evidence of

* She and Queen *Berenguela* leaving the *Holy-Land* a little before the King, arriv'd at last in *Italy*, where having staid six Months for fear of the Emperor, they went to *Genoa*, and embark'd for *Marseilles*, from whence they came to *Poitiers*. It does not appear that *Berenguela*, *Richard's* Queen, ever came into *England*.

of the Warlike Temper of the Bishop, caus'd the Pope to desist from his Sollicitations, and to say, Since he had quitted the *Warfare* of *Christ* for *That* of the *World*, it was but just that he should suffer the Consequences of so ill a Choice. Upon this Answer, the Bishop despairing of any Assistance from *Rome*, compounded for his Ransom, which was set at two thousand Marks *.

In the Account Historians give of this War, the *French* talk of nothing but the Advantages gain'd by *Philip*, and slightly pass over his Losses. The *English* on the contrary, taking no Notice of several Engagements wherein Others pretend that *Richard* was worsted, mightily extol his great Success. Among other Advantages, they cry up a Victory which he obtain'd over the Enemy between *Courcelles* and *Gisors*, which the *French* mention only cursorily, as an Event of little Importance. They say, that *Philip*, having advanc'd with 500 Horse to view the Enemy, was like to have been surrounded, and forc'd to retreat to *Gisors* with some Precipitation. They add, the Bridge of that City fell down under him, and he was in danger of losing his Life by that Accident. Notwithstanding it is certain that *Richard* sent to *England*, a Letter concerning that Action, now to be seen in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, wherein he boasts of having gain'd that Day a glorious Victory. It is hardly probable that he wou'd have express'd himself in that Manner, had he only put to Flight 500 Horse-Men. Some *English* Historians even affirm that on Occasion of this Victory, *Richard* added to the *Arms* of *England* the Motto, *Dieu & mon Droit*. But I can scarce believe this *Motto* to be of so old a Date, or that it owes its Original to that Event.

The Forces of the two Kings were too much upon an Equality for Either of them to hope to make any great Progress in the War. After they had sufficiently tired one another out, finding that all their Advantages amount-

* *Nabrigiensis* says, he was us'd thus by the King, for having incens'd the Emperor against him whilst in *Durance*, who caus'd him to be loaded with as many Irons as an Ass cou'd bear; as he said himself to those that interceded for the Bishop.

1195-9.

Hoved.

Paris.

Gervaf.

A Victory
of Rich-
ard's.

Diceto.

p. 704.

Pub. Act.

T. I. p. 96.

A five Years

Truce.

Hoved.

Paris.

1195-9. ed to no more than the taking some paltry Towns, which very often were retaken immediately, they gladly embrac'd an Opportunity which offer'd to put an honourable Conclusion to the War: And that was by complying with the Pope's Exhortations, who sent his *Legate* into *France* to try to make Peace between Them. The Pope's Aim was to engage them to undertake a fresh *Crusade* for the Recovery of *Jerusalem*. But they were Both too much discourag'd by the First, to have any Thoughts of a second Expedition. The *Legate's* Arrival however had a good Effect, as it procur'd between the two Monarchs, a Truce for five Years, which put some stop to the Calamities, their Subjects labour'd under. This Truce was concluded at a *Conference* they had together, wherein 'twas agreed that each Party should remain in Possession of what was in his Hands.

Philip tries
to set Rich-
ard at Va-
riance
with
Prince
John, who
justifies
himself.
Hoved.

At this Conference, *Philip* feigning to espouse the Interests of *Richard*, shew'd him some Papers, whereby it appear'd that Prince *John* his Brother had ill Designs against Him. *Richard* giving Credit to him too lightly, dispossest his Brother once more of all his Territories, which he had restor'd to him. But *John* openly vindicated his Innocence, by sending to the Court of *France* two *Knights* who offer'd to maintain by Arms, that the Prince had been falsely accus'd. *Philip* not thinking fit to accept of the Challenge, *Richard* perceiv'd that his Brother was innocent, and put him in Possession of his Estate again.

A Sedition
at Lon-
don.
Hoved.
Diceto.

Whilst *Richard* was employ'd in *France*, the City of *London* was on a sudden in great Danger, by Reason of a Sedition rais'd by one *William Fitz-osbern*, commonly call'd *William Long-Beard*, from the great Length of his Beard. This Man, daring and seditious, by affecting continually to be an Advocate for the Poor and Meanest of the People, had gain'd him the Hearts of the Populace, who held him in extreme Veneration. He made use of his great Credit with the People to stir up a Sedition in the City, on account of a Tax, the Burden of which he alledg'd wou'd wholly fall on the Poor. *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbu-*

ry, who was then chief *Justiciary*, cou'd not appease the Tumult but by causing the principal Citizens to take to their Arms. *Long-Beard*, finding himself hard put to it, fled to the Church of *St. Mary le Bow*, where he was seiz'd, and afterwards hang'd in Chains with nine of his Accomplices *.

1199.

The Truce, *Richard* had just made with *France*, gave him an Opportunity of going to *England* and enjoying some Tranquillity, after all the Fatigues he had endur'd ever since his Accession to the Crown. His Presence was moreover necessary in *England*, in order to reform divers Abuses which had crept in during his Absence. Accordingly this was what he had resolv'd to do; but an unexpected Accident obstructed his Design. A *Limosin* Gentleman having found in his Estate, a Treasure which had been hid there for many Ages, the King pretended, that as it was found in a Country of which he had the Sovereignty (a), it belong'd to him. The Gentleman was willing to compound the Matter by giving him Part. But finding he was bent upon having the Whole, he applied to *Vidomar* Viscount of *Limoges* for Protection, who shelter'd him in his Castle of *Chaluz*. *Richard*, who had not been wont to meet with Opposition from his Inferiors, march'd directly into *Limosin* in order to lay Siege to the Castle, which the Gentleman had retir'd to. When he came nigh the Place, he had a mind to take a Turn round it,

The Occasion of Richard's Death.

* His Body being stolen away, and buried, his Followers pretended that Miracles were wrought at his Grave; but *Guards* being set at the Place, and Those that came thither to pray, soundly beaten for their Pains, the Cheat was seen through, and People quickly left off their Devotions to the pretended *Saint*. *Ralph de Diceto*.

* About this Time liv'd also the famous *Robin Hood*, with his Companion *Little John*, who are said to infest *Yorkshire* with their Robberies. Some will have him to have been of a great Family, and reduc'd to that Course of Life by his riotous living. He never hurt-ed either Man or Woman, spar'd the Poor, and robb'd only the Rich. Proclamation being issued out against him, he fell sick at the Nunnery of *Birkley*, and desiring to be let Blood, was betray'd and bled to Death.

(a) The County of *Limosin* was held of the Dutchy of *Guienne*.

1199.
Richard
besieges
Chaluz,
and is
wounded.

He dies of
his Wound.

it, in order to view it. But as he approach'd too near, one *Bertrand* an Archer, who was upon the Walls, let fly an Arrow at him, which shot him in the Shoulder, close to his Neck. The Wound was not in it self Mortal; but the Surgeon who dress'd it, made it so by his Unskillfulness. 'Tis said, the King himself by his Intemperance did not a little contribute to inflame it. Be this as it will, the Wound gangreen'd, and he died of it the eleventh Day, after having gone thro' a deal of Misery. The Castle being taken whilst he was yet alive, and the Person that wounded him, brought into his Presence, he ask'd him the Reason why he sought his Life. *Bertrand* replied, with an astonishing Boldness, that it was to avenge his Father and Brother, whom the King had slain with his own Hand; and added, that he gave God Thanks, for his having so well succeeded, and was ready to undergo with Pleasure the most grievous Torments, since he had been so fortunate as to rid the World of such a Tyrant. Tho' one wou'd think this Answer shou'd have exasperated the King against him, yet the dying Prince forgave him, and order'd him to be set at Liberty, with a Present of a hundred Shillings. But immediately after the King's Death, *Marchad*, General of the *Flemings*, caused the miserable Wretch to be fled alive.

He makes
John his
Heir.

Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 68.

Before he died, *Richard* made his *Will*, wherein he left his Kingdom with all his other Dominions, and three Parts in four of his Money, to *John* his Brother, reserving the Rest for the *Poor* and his *Domesticks*. He had formerly at *Messina* settled Matters otherwise, and made his Nephew, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, his Heir. This appears by his Letter from thence to the Pope, now to be seen in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. But in all Appearance the Fear of raising Commotions in his Dominions, made him alter his Mind. Indeed, there cou'd be no other Reason to induce him to favour Prince *John* his Brother, whom he had no Cause to love, to the Prejudice of his Nephew, whose Right was full as just as *John's*. In his last *Will*, he order'd his Body to be interr'd at *Fonteverard*, at the Feet of the King his Father, to testify his Sorrow for the many Uneasinesses,

finesses, he had created him during his Life. His Heart was to be carried to *Roan*, as a Testimony of his Affection for the *Normans*. But his Bowels he order'd to be sent into *Poitou*, designing to show by That the little Esteem he had for the *Poitevins*, with whom he was dissatisfied. He left behind him only a natural Son call'd *Philip*, to whom he bequeath'd the Lordship of *Cognac*, in the Dutchy of *Guienne*.

1199.

Such was the Life and Death of this valiant Prince, who for the Greatness of his Courage was surnam'd *Cœur de Lion*. After having commended his Valour, which favour'd somewhat of a Brutish Fierceness, in vain do we seek in him for some other Virtue that might afford Matter for Panegyrick. Those that praise him for his Bounty and Magnificence, don't consider, that if he was liberal and splendid, 'twas at the Expence of his Subjects, from whom he extorted several large Sums by unjustifiable Means. But on the other Hand, we find in him Abundance of Vices, and some of the most enormous. His Rebellion against his own Father is a Blemish one may justly cast on his Memory. It is even apparent, that God was pleas'd to punish him for it, by a continued Scene of Troubles during his ten Years Reign, and particularly by a fifteen Months Captivity. We find likewise in this Prince, an insatiable Love of Money, which prov'd the Cause of his Death: A *Pride*, which made him look upon his Equals with Contempt, and his Inferiors as his Slaves. In fine, if Credit is to be given to what certain Historians say of him, an *unbridled Lust* hurried him on, not only to neglect the Queen his Wife, in order to abandon himself to an infamous Debauchery, but even to commit Sins against Nature. 'Tis affirm'd that a poor *Hermit* took the Freedom to upbraid him with that detestable Crime before his whole Court, and to conjure him, in the Name of God, to reflect on the Destruction of *Sodom*. Be this as it will, all those that have writ his Life, agree, that *Pride*, *Avarice*, and *Lust* were his three reigning Vices. It is said that being one day admonish'd by *Fulk* Curate of *Nenilly*, a Man famous for his Zeal, to throw off those wicked Habits,

1199.

bits, which were commonly call'd his *Three Daughters*, he replied jestingly, that it was his Design; and to that Purpose, he had resolv'd to give the First to the *Templars*, the Second, to the *Monks*, and the Third, to the *Bishops*.

Richard was very tall, and well made. His Eyes were blew, and sparkling with Fire, and his Hair of a bright Yellow, inclining to Red. It may be said that *England*, where he never was above eight Months during the whole Course of his Reign, which lasted near ten Years, was very unhappy under his Government. He loaded his Subjects with frequent Impositions, and excessive Taxes. And yet, no other Benefit accru'd to the People for these prodigious Sums, but a little Glory for their King, which however they were satisfied with as redounding to the Honour of the Nation.

*Remark
on the use
of the Cross
Bow.*

'Tis remark'd as a Thing deserving particular Notice, that this Prince, who had restor'd the Use of the *Cross-Bow*, receiv'd his Death's Wound from that Instrument, as if *Heaven* had intended to punish him for reviving that *Diabolical* Invention. But I question whether this Remark is built on a good Foundation. We have observ'd that the *English* made use of the *Cross-Bow* in the Conquest of *Ireland*, in the Reign of *Henry II*, and it was very unlikely, they shou'd have disus'd it, in the few years that had since pass'd over.

*Arms of
England.*

Richard was the first King of *England*, who carried in his Shield *Three Lions Passant*, wherein he was imitated by his Successors.

*Compa-
nies esta-
blish'd at
London.*

During this Reign, the City of *London* began to put on a new Face of Things with Respect to its Government, and was divided into several *Companies* or Societies, or as they are call'd at present, *Corporations*.

The End of Book VII.



THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

B O O K VIII.

*The Reigns of King JOHN, and HENRY III.
Containing the Space of 73 Years; with the
State of the Church from 1154 to 1272.*

S E C T. I.

7. JOHN, Sirnam'd *Lack-Land*.

ALTHOUGH *Richard* had made the Prince his Brother *Heir* to all his Dominions, *John's* Right was not by that Settlement render'd incontestable. How absolute soever a Prince may have been in his Life-time, as soon as his Eyes are clos'd, his *last Will* is no further regard-

ed than as it is conformable with the Laws, unless it be supported by Force. In the Affair of the noble Inheritance, *Richard* had left by his Decease, two *Queries* offer'd, which were not easy to be decided. The first was, whether

1199.
Reflections
on *John's*
Right to
Richard's
Inheri-
tance.

1129. ther, according to Law, *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, as representing *Geoffrey* his Father, elder Brother to *John*, had as good or better Title than *John* his Uncle, who was one Degree nearer. In the second *Query*, the Business was to know, whether in case the Laws favour'd the Nephew, *Richard* had Power to dispose of his Dominions by a *Will* contrary to the Laws and Customs.

Two Things render'd the Decision of these Points exceeding difficult. First, the difference between the Laws of the several States *Richard's* Dominions consisted of. In the second Place, in the Kingdom of *England*, the largest and most considerable Part, there was no settled Law which regulated the Succession to the Crown, or that allow'd or took from the Kings the Power of disposing of it as they pleas'd. And if, for want of such a Law, they had been willing to look into the *English* History for Instances whereon to found a *Precedent*, that Method wou'd have been no less perplexing. From the *Conquest* to the Time I am speaking of, there had been no occasion to establish or exclude the Right of *Representation* with regard to the Crown. It is very true, that in running over the Times of the *Saxon* Empire, they wou'd have met with several Instances; but as there are others directly opposite, it was no easy thing to decide the Matter from thence. Besides, the *Saxon* Laws and Customs had not been in Force for above a hundred Years, the *Normans* having introduc'd a new System of Laws into the Kingdom. The most that cou'd be alledg'd in *John's* Behalf, was, that as there was no Law establish'd concerning this Matter, his Title was as good as *Arthur's*; and moreover, he had for him King *Richard's Will*. But on the other Hand, in most of the Provinces which the *English* were possess'd of in *France*, the Right of *Representation* in the direct Line was generally receiv'd. This Affair therefore wou'd have been liable to great Debates, had it been to be determin'd in a *Court of Justice*, or in the *General Assembly* of the States, by an impartial Judgment. But *John*, not thinking proper to stand to the Decision of any Tribunal, took a Course, which to him

John takes Measures to secure the Crown.

him appear'd not so uncertain. He look'd upon his Right as out of all Dispute, or perhaps his Ambition wou'd not permit him to be more scrupulous with respect to his Nephew, than he had been with regard to the King his Brother. Be this as it will, he judg'd that Expedition was a more effectual Means to gain his Point than a Decision, which might be to his disadvantage. He had with him beyond Sea, two Men, who seem'd to him proper Instruments for his Designs, by reason of their great Interest in *England*. The first was *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the other *William Marshal*, who was afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*. These two Lords being wholly devoted to his Service, either because they believ'd his *Title* good, or for some other private Reasons, promis'd to use all their Credit in his Behalf. Not to lose Time, which to him was so precious, he dispatch'd them forthwith into *England*, enjoining them to act in Concert with the Queen his Mother, and the Chief *Justiciary*, who had been for some time in his Interests. As for Queen *Eleanor*, tho' one wou'd think she shou'd have been in suspense between her Son and Grandson, there was a private Reason which bias'd her in Favour of her Son: And that was, her fear that in case *Arthur* ascended the Throne, *Constantia* his Mother wou'd have had the Administration of Affairs in her Hands during her Son's *Minority*, who was then but 13 Years of Age. Her high Spirit wou'd have made her extreamly uneasy, if she had been oblig'd to live under her Daughter-in-law.

The four Persons, on whom *John* had relied, serv'd him with Zeal and Success. The *Justiciary* had great Power during the *Interregnum*. The Archbishop was at the Head of the *Clergy*. *Eleanor* was exceedingly belov'd and respected in the Kingdom; and *William Marshal* was a Lord of distinguish'd Worth, tho' he was not yet considerable for his Posts. After they had concerted the properest Methods to serve the Prince effectually, they labour'd to bring over the Magistrates of the Cities to their Side. Their Aim was to gain the *People* thro' their Means, that they might afterwards meet with less Opposition

*His Friends
serve him
zealously
and politi-
cally.*

1199.

sition from the *Nobles*. Their Endeavours having been crown'd with all the Success they had promis'd themselves, they thought they were strong enough to venture upon summoning the *lesser Nobility* to take the Oath of Allegiance to *John*. There were but few that refus'd to comply, as well because they imagin'd they acted in conformity to the general Bent of the People, as because they were unacquainted with the young Duke of *Bretaign*, who had never been in *England*. These two Steps being made, the Bishops and *Lay Barons* were summon'd to take the same Oath: But these were not so easily dealt with. Besides, that several of them question'd whether *John's* Pretensions were well grounded, they look'd upon themselves as the Judges of that Affair, so far were they from believing they were bound to submit to the Decisions of others. However, as the Body of the *People* had already declar'd for *John*, they did not think themselves in a Condition absolutely to refuse taking the Oath requir'd of them. Accordingly, on pretence of examining into the Laws of the Realm, they demanded a further Time. In the Interim, believing that a Civil War was unavoidable, they began to fortify their Castles, and make Preparations to support the justest Cause, or at least that which appear'd to them to make most for their own Interest. These Proceedings startled the Prince's Friends. As they were very sensible he was not belov'd, they were apprehensive that the Barons might be determin'd to oppose him. To prevent this it was that they call'd at *Northampton* an *Assembly General*, where they exerted their utmost Endeavours to gain such as were most opposite to them. Among other Things, they promis'd in *John's* Name, that he wou'd fully restore all the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *Nobles* and *People*. This Promise, join'd to others made in private to the most Obstinate, produc'd the Effect they expected. All the Lords unanimously engag'd themselves to swear Allegiance to *John*, and by that means the whole Kingdom was dispos'd in his Favour before his Arrival. An Embassy which was sent at this time from the King of *Scotland*, to demand *Northumberland*.

*The King of
Scotland's
Demand
obeyed.*

berland, gave some Uneasiness to those that were at the Helm of Affairs. They were afraid he had a Design to take Advantage of so favourable a Juncture to become Master of that County, as indeed it wou'd have been a very easy Matter for him, *England* being then in no Condition to enter into a War. However they found the Means to content the Ambassadors by fair Promises, assuring them that as soon as *John* was arriv'd, he wou'd give their Master entire Satisfaction. 1199.
Hoved.

Whilst *John's* Adherents were labouring for him in *England*, he himself was not idle in *France*, where two important Affairs detain'd him. The first was a Negotiation he had begun with *Robert* of *Turnham*, who had the Custody of *Richard's* Treasure in the Castle of *Chinon*, of which he was willing to see the Issue before he went over Sea. He was at length so fortunate as to gain that Officer, who put into his Hands the Money he had in his keeping; and surrender'd to him the two important Cities of *Saumur* and *Chinon*, of which he was Governor. The other Affair which kept *John* beyond Sea, was to get himself own'd for Sovereign by the Provinces which the *English* held in *France*: Tho' in *England* every thing went according to his Wish, it was not so in *France*, where young *Arthur* his Nephew created him a great deal of Uneasiness. Besides his natural Right to these Provinces, it was to be fear'd that the King of *France* wou'd assist him with all his Forces to get the Possession of them: And indeed, nothing cou'd be more advantageous for that Prince than to see them rent from the *English* Monarchy. Moreover, every one seem'd inclin'd to favour *Arthur*. The Governor of *Angers* had already deliver'd up that Place to him, and all the Lords of *Poitou*, *Tourain*, *Main* and *Anjou* had taken the Resolution of owning him for Sovereign: So that *John* saw himself as it were excluded from a great part of his Brother's Inheritance. As their Example might prove of dangerous Consequence, with regard to *Normandy*, and even have some Influence in *England*, *John* was in great Perplexity. However, as he had *Richard's* Treasure in his Hands, John be-
comes Ma-
ster of the
late King's
Treasure.

1199. Hands, he manag'd it so as to secure the principal Lords
 John takes of *Normandy*. By the Help of the same Money, he levi-
 Mans, and ed an Army, and laid Siege to *Mans*, which had sided with
 razes the Walls. the Duke of *Bretaign*. This Place having made no long
 Knighton. Resistance, he believ'd it necessary to strike a Terror into
 Hoved. the *Normans* by an Instance of Severity, which might
 make them dread declaring against him. With this
 View it was that he order'd the Walls of *Mans* to be
 raz'd, and the chief *Burghers* made Prisoners. These
 rigorous Proceedings had the desir'd Effect. How much
 soever the *Normans* were inclin'd to *Arthur*, they thought
 it their wisest Course to submit to his Uncle, in order
 to avoid the Evils they were threatned with. As soon
 as they had taken this Resolution, *John* came to *Roan*,
 where he was crown'd *Duke of Normandy*, by the Arch-
 bishop of that City, who had been a great Instrument
 in disposing the Minds of the People in his Favour.

It was by no Means proper for *John* to think of redu-
 cing the other Provinces in *France*, before he had taken
 possession of the Crown of *England*. Besides that, a too
 long Delay might have been prejudicial to him : So great
 an Undertaking wou'd have been impracticable without
 the Assistance of the *English*. He was determin'd there-
 fore to pass over into *England*, and being arriv'd at *London*
 the 25th of *May*, on the Morrow he caus'd himself to
 be crown'd in *Westminster-Abby*. Before the Ceremony
 began, *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made the fol-
 lowing Speech to the Lords and People assembled.

Archbi-
 shop of
 Canterbu-
 ry's Speech.
 Paris.

“ NO Person can have a Right to the Crown of this
 “ Kingdom, unless after humbly invoking God's
 “ Holy Spirit, he be first unanimously elected for his
 “ extraordinary Virtues, and then solemnly anointed and
 “ consecrated. In this we imitate what was practis'd
 “ with regard to *Saul* and *David*, whom God was pleas'd
 “ to set over his People, tho' neither of them was the
 “ Son of a King, or royally descended. The Former
 “ was chosen for his Valour, the Latter for his Humility
 “ and Piety ; it being God's Will that such as were to be
 “ cloath'd

“ cloath’d with Sovereign Power, shou’d be distinguish’d in
 “ an eminent manner by their Virtues. If therefore any one
 “ of the Family of the late King out-shines the rest in noble
 “ Qualities, we ought to make no Scruple to submit our
 “ selves to his Authority. I say this in behalf of the
 “ noble Duke *John*, here present, Brother to our illustri-
 “ ous King *Richard*, who died without Issue. This
 “ Prince being endow’d with all sorts of Vertues, and
 “ particularly with an undaunted Courage and consum-
 “ mate Wisdom, on the Score, both of his Birth and
 “ Merit it is that we elect him for our Sovereign Lord,
 “ after having humbly invok’d the Holy Spirit.

After this short Harangue, the Archbishop set the *John is*
 Crown on the Head of *John*, having first administred to *crown’d.*
 him the customary Oath. The Bishop of *Durham* took
 it in his Head to protest against the Coronation, as done
 in the Absence of the Archbishop of *York*. But this
 Pretence being founded neither on Law nor Custom, was
 not at all regarded.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*’s Speech well deserves *Remarks*
 some Remarks. Several pretend to prove from thence, *on the*
 that it was by *Election* only, that the Kings of *England* *Archbi-*
 in those Days ascended the Throne. They ground their *shop’s*
 Opinion upon the Archbishop’s declaring it on so Solemn *Speech.*
 an Occasion without any Opposition. They alledge like-
 wise the Silence of the Prince elected, who must needs
 have been offended at so bold an Assertion, if he had not
 been satisfied that the People had a Right of Election:
 But I can’t see how one can draw this Consequence.
Hubert takes upon him to declare, that *John* comes not
 to the Crown but by *Election*, without its ever appear-
 ing that the *States* had before determin’d any thing in
 the Matter. It does not even appear that he so much
 as ask’d the Opinion of the Assembly after he had ended
 his Speech, but proceeded immediately to the Coronation
 of the King, upon the Acclamations of the People who
 were got together to see the Ceremony. Besides, if *John*
 was elected at that Time, whence is it that all *England*
 had already sworn Fealty to him? Was it usual to take
 the

1199. the Oath of Allegiance before the *Election* was over? Do we find any such thing practis'd in *Elective* Kingdoms? Moreover, if the Right of *Election* had been then establish'd in *England*, what made the Archbishop alledge the Examples of *Saul* and *David*? Wou'd it not have been more to the Purpose to produce those of the former Kings of *England*? But there he is wholly silent. He is content with building upon the Precedent of two Kings of *Israel*, much more proper to establish a new Right, than to prove the Antiquity of an old one. There are even some Authors that affirm, the whole Assembly was extremely surpris'd at the Archbishop's Discourse. And add, that after the Ceremony was over, being ask'd the Reason of so extraordinary a Procedure, he made answer, *That he foresaw John wou'd bring the Kingdom into great Confusion; and therefore he had judg'd it proper to give him to understand, that he mounted the Throne by ELECTION, and not by HEREDITARY SUCCESSION, to the end he might always bear it in mind, that those who gave him the Crown, had likewise the Power to take it away.* If this Particular was certain, the *Right of Election* wou'd be overthrown by the Archbishop's own Words. For there is no manner of necessity that there shou'd be any private Reasons for the use of a Right, when it is firmly establish'd. But it is not likely that *Hubert* had the Gift of foreseeing what did not happen till several Years after.

For the better understanding the Motive of this Speech, one need only consider the Circumstances of this pretended Election. *Hubert*, as has been observ'd, was entirely in *John's* Interests. The Business was to secure to that Prince a Crown, to which the Duke of *Bretaign* had Pretensions, which seem'd not to be ill-grounded. However, by Promises or Threats the *English* had been brought to swear Allegiance to *John*. It was therefore not at all proper to say that he ascended the Throne by *Hereditary Right*, since the Dispute between him and *Arthur* had been neither examin'd into nor decided. Consequently it wou'd have been acting contrary to *John's* Interest to have set it on Foot, But it was very much to his Advantage,

antage, to cause him to mount the Throne by a sort of *Election*, the which was serviceable to him upon two Accounts. First, as it gave him a Title to his Coronation: Secondly, as it gain'd the People of *England* to his Side, who by that means wou'd be rather inclin'd to stand by their Choice, than to maintain him in his pretended *Hereditary Right*, which was liable to a great many Difficulties.

John was 32 Years of Age when he came to the Crown, which he had been so desirous of; but which, by the just Judgment of God, serv'd only to render him more unhappy. During the whole Course of his Reign, he met with nothing but Misfortunes, and those the most terrible; having to deal with three irreconcilable Enemies, namely, *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, Pope *Innocent III.* and the Barons of his own Realm. The first stript him of almost all the Provinces which his Predecessors had held in *France*. The second wrested from him the Crown of *England*; and if he restor'd it to him afterwards, 'twas not but upon the Terms of a shameful Homage. In fine, the Barons of *England* compell'd him to give up all the *Prerogatives* which his Predecessors had enjoy'd ever since *William the Conqueror*. These are the three principal Events of this Reign, the Particulars of which I am going to relate as succinctly as the Subject will permit.

The three
principal
Events in
the Reign
of John.

As soon as *John* was crown'd, his first Care was to reward those who had been instrumental in placing him on the Throne. *William Marshal* was created Earl of *Pembroke*: *Geoffrey*, the Chief Justiciary, receiv'd the Title of Earl of *Essex*: Archbishop *Hubert* look'd upon as a Reward, the Office of High-Chancellor, which the King conferr'd upon him; tho' many were of Opinion, that his accepting it was a Disparagement to his Ecclesiastical Dignity. Indeed, they had seen Chancellors made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for Instance, *Thomas Becket*; but this is the first time that an Archbishop had been invested with the Chancellorship.

John re-
wards
those who
had serv'd
him.

1199.
He shifts
off the King
of Scot-
land's De-
mands.
Hoved.

The new King having made sure of the *English*, stay'd no longer in the Kingdom than was necessary to amuse the King of *Scotland*. This Prince was very pressing for the Restitution of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and threatned to carry his Arms into those *Counties*, unless speedy Satisfaction was made him. *John* had no Design to comply with his Demands, but however did not think it proper to give him a flat Denial at such a Juncture. To extricate himself out of this Difficulty, he chose by a soft Answer to get him to be satisfied with a general Promise, till such time as his urgent Affairs in *France* shou'd permit him to enter into a Negotiation with him. The Truth is, this was the only Course he cou'd take, since he cou'd not abandon his Matters in *France* without running the hazard of losing all there.

The Dutch-
ess of Bre-
taign puts
herself and
Son under
the Pro-
tection of
France.

Constance, Mother of *Arthur*, had perceiv'd by *John's* Proceedings, that he design'd to seize upon all the Provinces which *Henry II.* and *Richard* had been possess'd of in *France*. But as she found it not in her Power to withstand him, she had taken a Resolution to put the Duke her Son under the Protection of the King of *France*. With this View she had desir'd that Monarch to give her a Meeting at *Tours*, where she had deliver'd the Duke into his Hands. At the same time, she gave him possession of the principal Places of *Bretaign*, *Tou-
rain*, *Poitou*, *Anjou* and *Main*, to hold them in the Name of *Arthur*.

Philip
breaks the
Truce.
Brompt.

Philip desir'd nothing so much as the Recovery of the Provinces which the *English* were possess'd of in *France*. He had even wag'd several Wars in order to compass his Ends, though with little Success. It is no wonder therefore, if he did not fail to lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity. Under pretence of acting for *Arthur*, he had already broke the five Years Truce he had made with *Richard*. He had even made himself Master of *Eureux* and the Province of *Main*, whilst the *Bretaigns* had surpriz'd *Angiers*; from whence *Morchard*, King *John's* General, had driven them a little before.

News

News of these Things being brought to *England*, caus'd *John* to hasten his Departure, in order to go and settle his Affairs beyond Sea. Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, he drew an Army together of *English* and *Normans*, which was quickly reinforc'd with the Troops that the Lords of his Party brought from the other Provinces. This great Armament surpriz'd *Philip*. As he was unwilling to run any Hazard, he made as if he was desirous of putting an End to their Differences by way of Negotiation; and to that purpose demanded a Truce for fifty Days. Instead of making the best of his Advantages, *John* suffer'd himself to be out-witted by his Enemy, and granted him a Truce. He imagin'd that the Terror of his Arms oblig'd the King of *France* to desist from his Projects. Before the Truce was expir'd, the two Monarchs had an Interview between *Butvant* and *Gaillon*, to try to accommodate Matters. *Philip* talk'd very big, and after such a Rate as serv'd to show that he was far from having the least Fear about him. He demanded all the *Norman-Vexin* for himself, and *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Main* and *Tourain* for *Arthur*; for which Provinces he had already receiv'd that Prince's Homage. A Demand so opposite to *John*'s Designs, having broke off the Conference, and caus'd all hopes of Peace to vanish, Hostilities commenc'd on both Sides.

1199.
John goes
into Nor-
mandy.

Truce for
50 Days.
Hoved.
Paris.

Joanna, Countess of *Tbolouze* and Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, Sister of King *John*, died in the beginning of this War at *Roan*, where she was come to pay a Visit to the King her Brother. She was buried at *Fonfieverard*, in a very splendid manner, near the Kings *Henry* and *Richard* her Father and Brother.

Death of
Joanna
the King's
Sister.

Cattel.
Hist. des
Cont. de
Towl.

Whilst *John* was taken up with his Sister's Funeral, *Philip* was in *Bretaign*, where he made himself Master of certain Places which had revolted against the Duke, and sided with *John*. Among these Places was the Castle of *Balan*, which *Philip* order'd to be demolish'd as soon as it was in his Power. This Procedure having given Offence to *William de la Roche*, Governor of the young Duke, he complain'd of it as a Breach of the Treaty he

Philip
disgusts
Arthur.

1193.

John raises the Siege of Lavar-din. Moved.

had made with *Philip*, in the Name of his Pupil. The Truth is, they had agreed that all the Places, which shou'd be taken from the Enemy, should be deliver'd into the Hands of the Duke, as soon as he came of Age. But instead of making any Excuse, taken from the Circumstances of the War, for what he had done, *Philip* scornfully reply'd, *That 'twas not to be expected that the Consideration of the Duke of Bretaign's Interest should hinder him from consulting his own.* At the same Time, without giving the Governor any further Satisfaction, he march'd on and laid Siege to *Lavardin*. But upon King *John's* approaching at the Head of a numerous Army, he thought fit to retire into *Main*. For the same Reason, he found himself oblig'd to quit that Province and shelter himself in his own Dominions.

Constance and Arthur reconcil'd to John.

In the mean Time, what he had done in *Bretaign*, and his Reply upon that Occasion, had open'd the Eyes of *William de la Roche*. This prudent Governor, finding that *Philip* had no other View than to make use of his young Master as an Instrument to advance his own Affairs, thought it his Duty to endeavour to blast his Designs. Accordingly, he carried off *Constance* and *Arthur* from the Court of *Philip*, and brought them to King *John*, after he had reconcil'd them to him. This might have prov'd fatal to the King of *France*, if he had not by Good-Fortune or perhaps by good Management recover'd his Loss, which he look'd upon as very necessary to serve for a Mask for his Ambition. There were some in the Court of King *John*, who brib'd by *Philip*, or out of Affection to the young Duke, gave *Constance* to understand that her own and her Son's Life were in danger near a Prince, who was to be so great a Gainer by their Death. These Intimations often repeated, made such an Impression on the Minds of the Princess and young Duke, that they privately withdrew from the Court of King *John*, and went and threw themselves into the Arms of their former Protector.

They return to Philip.

As *Arthur's* Return furnish'd *Philip* with a plausible Pretence to continue the War, it caus'd *John* to lose all the

the Hopes he had flatter'd himself with whilst he had the young Prince in his Custody. In all Appearance, this War was like to be of a long Continuance. *John* had strengthen'd himself with the Alliance of the Emperor *Otto* of *Saxony* his Nephew, who had promis'd him a Powerful Assistance. He had likewise gain'd to his Side the Earl of *Flanders*, and by an unexpected Turn, all *Guienne* had just declar'd for him. All these Advantages were sufficient to enable him to carry on the War without any Dread of the Enemy. The Province of *Guienne* was so considerable, that *John* immediately laid aside all his other Designs to go and take Possession.

1199.
*The Good
State of
John's Af-
fairs.*

His Affairs standing Thus, he had reason to flatter himself with the Hopes of Success in the Continuation of the War. However he chose rather to listen to the Proposals of Peace, which *Philip* got the Cardinal of *Capua* to insinuate to him. The numerous Forces *John* had drawn together, his Alliance with the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Succours he might expect from the *Gastons*, had made *Philip* sensible, that at such a Juncture, it wou'd not be possible for him to make any great Progress. Accordingly, finding that he was like to get nothing by the War, he turn'd about in order to procure by a Peace, what he cou'd not expect to obtain by his Arms. As he consider'd not the young Duke of *Bretaign's* Interests but with respect to his own, he made no manner of Scruple to abandon that Prince, in order to obtain the better Terms for himself. After a short Truce, which gave them an Opportunity to enter into a Negotiation, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of the Cardinal of *Capua*, the Pope's Legate, upon these Conditions:

1200.
*Philip sues
for Peace.*

That *Philip* shou'd give no Assistance to the Duke of *Bretaign*, but shou'd suffer *John* to take Possession of *Poitou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, and *Anjou* without Molestation.

*Treaty of
Peace be-
tween the
two Kings.
Act. Pub.
T.I.p.117.*

That he shou'd restore to *John* the Earldom of *Eu-
reux*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, and all in general that he had taken from the *English* since *Richard's* Death.

That

1200.

That immediately after the Restitution of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, *John* shou'd yield up these two Provinces, for a certain Time, to Prince *Lewis* Son of *Philip*, and pay him twenty thousand Marks of Silver for the Dowry of *Blanche* of *Castile* his Niece (a), when that Prince was to marry.

That in case *John* died without Issue, he shou'd leave these two Provinces to *Lewis*.

That *John* shou'd not assist, directly, or indirectly, the Emperor *Otho* his Nephew, who was at War with *France*.

This Treaty was fatal to the Duke of *Bretaign*. The young Prince finding he was too weak to stand against the King his Uncle, without the Assistance of *France*, quickly lost all the Provinces that had declar'd for him. He saw himself even oblig'd to do Homage for *Bretaign* to King *John*, as his Predecessors had always done to the Dukes of *Normandy*. But notwithstanding the King of *France* had thus deserted him, he chose rather to stay with him, than to trust himself with an Uncle, of whom he had entertain'd a Suspicion, which cou'd not be blotted out of his Mind.

Prince
Lewis
marries
Blanche of
Castile.

As soon as the Peace was sign'd, Queen *Eleanor* set forward for *Spain* to fetch *Blanche* of *Castile* her Grand-Daughter, who was to be married to Prince *Lewis*. As the Kingdom of *France* was then under an *Interdict*, She conducted the young Princess to *Roan*, where the Nuptials were solemniz'd. All the Articles of the Treaty being executed except the Delivery of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, which was to be done to the Prince of *France*, *John* faithfully perform'd his Engagement. Thus the two Courts parted, in all appearance, in perfect Unity.

Ambassy
from the
Emperor
to King
John.

In the mean while, the Emperor offended at the Peace, which was concluded without consulting him, sent Ambassadors to the King his Uncle, to upbraid him with it. At the same Time he demanded some Jewels, which *Richard* had left him in his Will. But as *John* stood no longer

CE

(a) She was Daughter of *Alphonfus VIII.* and *Eleanor* Daughter of *Henry II.*

er in need of his Assistance, he found Reasons or Pretences to dispense with giving him Satisfaction. 1200.

If *John* faithfully executed his Part of the Treaty, *Philip* was no less punctual to perform what he had promis'd. He beheld, with a seeming Unconcern, the Progress of the King of *England*; who taking the Advantage of *Arthur*'s Weakness, dispossess'd him of all the Provinces which had been given him. *Bretaign* alone, to which *John* cou'd lay no manner of Claim, remain'd in Subjection to the Duke.

John takes possession of the Provinces that had sided with Arthur.

But whilst *John* was making all these Conquests, he himself was vanquish'd by the Charms of *Isabella* of *Angoulême*, one of the greatest Beauties in her Time. She had been contracted to *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*: But being then too young, the Marriage had not been consummated. Several Obstacles had afterwards interven'd, which prevented Matters from being accomplish'd, tho' the Contract still remain'd in Force. The violent Passion *John* had entertain'd for this Lady, put him upon earnestly seeking all imaginable Means to possess her. But his Ends cou'd not be attain'd without very great Difficulty. He had no less than two Marriages to break thro' at once, namely, His own with *Avisa* of *Glocester*, who, during the several Years they had been together, had never given him any Occasion to complain, and That of *Isabella*, with the Earl of *Marche*. However, his new Love having made him call to mind, that *Avisa* was related to him within the Degrees of *Consanguinity* forbidden by the *Canons*, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had protested against his Marriage, he besought the Pope to annul it. Whether the Pope was willing to do the King a Pleasure, or whether he was glad of an Opportunity to exert the Authority of the *Church*, he appointed the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* and two other Bishops, Judges in the Case. After a slender Examination, the Commissioners declar'd *John*'s Marriage with *Avisa* null and void; which done, the King demanded *Isabella* of the Earl of *Angoulême* her Father, who gave her to him, without making the least Conscience of breaking

He falls in Love with Isabella of Angoulême.

Hoved. Paris. He divorces Avisa of Glocester.

He marries Isabella.

1200.

breaking his Word, in order to procure a Crown for his Daughter.

Diceto.
p. 706.

In this Manner it is that Historians, for the most Part, speak of *John's* second Marriage. They assure us, that his Love for *Isabella* of *Angoulême*, was the real Motive of his annulling the First. There is one however, who undertakes to vindicate the King, by asserting that he divorc'd *Avifa* before his Passion for *Isabella*. But I question whether the Authority of a single Historian may be put in the Balance against the Testimony of all the Rest.

Constance
of Bretaign
marries
Guy of
Thouars.
Argentre.
She dies.

A little after the King's Marriage, *Constance* of *Breitaigh*, who had been married to *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, having lost her second Husband, or, as some say voluntarily quitted him, espous'd for her third Husband *Guy de Thouars*. She died in 1201, having liv'd about a Year with her new Spouse. By this third Marriage she left a Daughter call'd *Alice*, who was Dutches of *Breitaigh*, after the Death of *Arthur* her Brother.

The Eng-
lish have a
mean Opi-
nion of
John.

John thought himself happy in having obtain'd, by a moderate Sum, and the Resignation of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, the Provinces in *France*, which his Ancestors were formerly seiz'd of. But the *English* look'd upon the Treaty as so dishonourable, that they cou'd not forbear murmuring at it. They regarded their King as a faint-hearted and cowardly Prince, who had been so mean-spirited as to purchase a Peace, at a Time when all Things seem'd to promise him good Success in the War. But these Murmurings gave him but little Uneasiness. He imagin'd he had done enough in depriving the Duke his Nephew of the Protection of *France*, and reducing him to *Breitaigh* alone, of which also he did not despair of one day dispossessing him.

John re-
turns to
England.
Paris.

He de-
mands a
subsidy,
which is
granted

As soon as he had settled his Affairs in *France*, and secur'd his new Acquisitions, he return'd to *England*, where quickly after, having conven'd an Assembly or Parliament, he demand- ed a Subsidy of three Shillings upon every *Hide* of Land, for the Payment of the Dowry of *Blanche* of *Castile* his Niece, according to his Agreement with *Philip*. His demand met at first with great Opposition. People cou'd not understand what

what Business the *English* had to pay the Dowry of a *Spanish* Princess, in order to marry her to a *French* Prince. Nevertheless, as it was the first *Subsidy* he had demanded, they did not think proper to deny him. 'Twas however with so great a Reluctancy that they were brought to a Compliance, that it was easy for him to see how difficult it wou'd be for the future to raise Money upon the People, unless he render'd himself absolute. The which, 'tis pretended, he began from that very time to aspire to.

1200.
with great
Difficulty.
Moved.
Paris.

In the mean Time *Geoffrey*, his natural Brother, who was Archbishop of *York*, making light of the Consent of the *States* for this Tax, forbad the Collectors to levy it within his *Diocese*. Nothing cou'd be more unreasonable than the Archbishop's Pretensions. He had no manner of Right to stand up against what had been resolv'd upon by the Body of the Nation. But he was a Person of a turbulent and ambitious Spirit, who, wanting to make himself popular, wou'd have been very glad to find any that wou'd have back'd him. *John* never suspected he shou'd meet with Opposition from that Prelate, after the signal Service he had done him, during *Richard's* Absence, in delivering him out of Prison, and openly espousing his Cause against *Longchamp*. But however, notwithstanding the Reason he had to be displeas'd with him, yet he was willing to keep fair with him. To that End he was content with requiring him to attend him in *France*, imagining that by his Absence this Affair wou'd drop of it self. But the Archbishop refus'd to comply with his Orders, and by that Means furnish'd the King with a Pretence to seize his *Temporalities*. This Punishment was not capable of humbling his daring Spirit. He excommunicated the *Sheriff* of the County of *York*, with all his Officers employ'd in levying the Tax, and laid his whole *Diocese* under an *Interdict*, because the People were backward to stand by him. He had flatter'd himself that the whole Kingdom wou'd be ready to declare for him. But when he saw that No-Body stirr'd, and that he was left to act alone, he sought the Means to be reconcil'd to the King. The present

The Arc-
bishop of
York op-
poses the
levying of
the Subsi-
dy.

John par-
dons him,
and is
crown'd
again.

1200. Juncture prov'd favourable to his Design. *John*, being upon the Point of causing himself to be crown'd together with his new Queen, thought it unbecoming at such a Season to refuse a Brother the Pardon he was suing for.

Immediately after the King's Coronation, *Hugh Bishop of Lincoln* dy'd at *London*, with the Reputation of Sanctity.

An Inter-
view be-
tween the
Kings of
England
and Scot-
land at
Lincoln.
Act. Pub.
T.I.p.251.
Hoved.
Paris.

The King
of Scotland
does Ho-
mage to
John.
Knyghton
Hoved.
Brompt.
Remark
upon it.

John shifts
off the King
of Scot-
land's De-
mands.

Since the Death of *Richard*, the King of *Scotland* was very importunate for the Restitution of the two Counties, to which he laid Claim. He had been often amus'd with general Promises, which had all ended in nothing. At length, finding they were in no haste to give him Satisfaction, he openly threatned to do himself Justice by Force of Arms. Upon which *John* cou'd no longer put off that Affair, which began to make him uneasy. But, instead of treating by Ambassadors, he believ'd he shou'd manage Matters better by talking in Person with *William*: To that Purpose he desir'd him to come to *Lincoln*, where he went himself to meet him. Before they enter'd upon the Affair, *John* requir'd that in the first Place *William* shou'd do him Homage. To which *William* having consented, the Ceremony was perform'd on a Hill * without the City, in the Presence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who administred the Oath to the *Vassal-King*. 'Tis not known for what Territories *William* did this Homage. As the *Scotch* Writers have not positively determin'd the Matter, the *English* infer from thence that it was for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. But this Inference is not altogether just. Besides, it is not very likely, that this Prince shou'd voluntarily return to the *Vassalage*, from which he had been freed by King *Richard*, before his Expedition to the *Holy-Land*. And indeed it does not appear that there had been any Alteration in this Respect, since *Richard* by an authentick Charter had renounc'd his Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland*. Be this as it will, the Homage being done, the King of *Scotland* wou'd have mov'd his Affair, but the King had the Address to put it off till another Time, on Pretence he cou'd do nothing

* Since call'd *Bore-Hill*.

nothing without the Consent of the *States*. He even oblig'd *William* to swear that he wou'd not marry his Daughter without his Approbation.

1200.

Whilst these two Monarchs were at *Lincoln*, the Body of *Hugh*, the last Bishop of that City, being remov'd thither from *London*, they Both went out to meet it, and for some Time bore the Coffin on their Shoulders.

Diceto.

It was here likewise that the *Cistercians*, who had refus'd to pay the late Tax, sent to the King twelve Abbots, who falling prostrate at his Feet, humbly implor'd his Mercy. The King, struck with the Sight, fell on his Knees and ask'd their Blessing, promising them to found an Abby for their *Order*. Some time after he perform'd his Promise, and built the Abby of *Bowley*, which some call *Beaulieu* *, which he endow'd with the Privilege of *Sanctuary*, and with large Revenues.

The King receives the Cistercians into Favour. Hoved.

* Hampshire.

The Respect *John* had shown for the Body of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and his Condescension for the *Cistercian* Monks, were not sufficient to gain him the Affections of the *Clergy*. He had fancied, that the *Ecclesiasticks*, preposess'd in his Favour by the Marks he had just given of his Attachment to the *Church*, wou'd industriously decline all Occasions of creating him Uneasiness. But it was not long before he was sensible that the Steps he had made, had not produc'd the Effect he expected. The *See* of *Lincoln* being vacant, the King, according to the Usage of his Ancestors, recommended a Person to the *Canons* of that Church. But altho' the Prince's Nomination had till then been all along greatly regarded, this was rejected in a contemptuous and insulting Manner, without their vouchsafing to soften their Refusal with the least Civility. *Innocent* III. who sat then in the *Papal Chair*, having resolv'd to prevent Princes from having any Hand in the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, had taken Measures before-hand to get the King's Nomination rejected. For this Reason no doubt it was, that finding themselves secure of the Pope's Protection, the *Canons* show'd so little Regard for their Sovereign.

The Canons of Lincoln refuse to elect a Bishop nominated by the King. Hoved,

1200.
Hubert
calls a Synod, notwithstanding the King's Prohibition.
Paris.

Some Time after, *John* receiv'd a fresh Mortification, *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been so zealous a Stickler for him, grew cool, when the Business in hand was the maintaining the *Rights* of the *Clergy* and the *Privileges* of his *See*. Hitherto there had been no Synod held in *England* without the King's Licence. This was a Piece of Deference then thought might be paid the King without any Injury to the *Church* or *Clergy*. But it seems *Innocent* III. who came to the *Papedom* at thirty five years of Age, had form'd the Project of depriving Princes of every Thing that look'd like Jurisdiction over the *Church*. *Hubert* inform'd of this Design, and directed by the Pope, began the first to disregard the King's Commands. He not only conven'd a Synod, without asking his Leave, but even held it notwithstanding the King's positive Prohibition by his chief *Justiciary*. In all Appearance, the little Resentment the King express'd at this Boldness, was very prejudicial to him afterwards. 'Twas easy to see, that terrified by the Example of the King his Father, he had resolv'd to avoid all Occasions of quarrelling with the *Clergy*. His Enemies made their Advantage of This in Matters of greater Importance. *Hubert*, not content with having thus slighted the Orders of his Sovereign, endeavour'd to equal him in some Measure, and even to surpass him in Magnificence. Whilst the King was celebrating the *Feast* of *Christmas* at *Guilford* with great Solemnity, the Archbishop affected to do the same Thing at *Canterbury*, with such Pomp and Splendor that the King was piqu'd at it, and consider'd it as a Sort of Affront. To punish in some Measure the Vanity of the Archbishop, he caus'd himself to be crown'd again at *Canterbury*, with the sole view of putting him to a very great Expence. But this petty Revenge serv'd only to make appear how much the King dreaded to attack directly those who were in Credit.

1201.
Hubert
dies with
the King.
Paris.

The King is
crown'd a
third Time.
Paris.

The Eng-
lish are dis-
contented.
Houghton

If the Treaty *John* had made with *France*, gave his Subjects an ill Opinion of him, his Behaviour after his Return into *England* did not mend the Matter. The greatest Part of the Barons were not over-satisfied of the Good-

Goodness of his Title to the Crown. If they had taken their Oaths to him, 'twas upon Condition that he wou'd restore the *Privileges* of the Nobles and People. But in vain had They expected the Performance of his Promise, ever since he had clear'd his Hands of the War, wherein he was at first engag'd. On the contrary, they saw him daily usurping an arbitrary Power, which made them apprehensive of his having form'd a Design against their *Liberties*. They had already taken great Disgust at the *Subsidy* which he had in some Measure extorted from them; After which, they had seen him go into the *North*, where on Pretence of some Damage done his Forests, he had, by an Act of Authority contrary to the Privileges of the People, exacted large Sums from the *Northern* Counties. To all This, he added fresh Occasions of Complaint, by debauching their Wives and Daughters, without any regard to the Quality or Merit of Those whom he dishonour'd by these Actions. All these Things together bred in the Minds of the Barons a Prejudice against him, which induc'd them by Degrees to take Measures to prevent greater Evils, which they believ'd hung over their Heads. They began to hold private Conferences, wherein they agreed to stand by one another, in Case any one of them shou'd be oppress'd. At those Conferences it was resolv'd to lay hold of the first Opportunity that offer'd, to let the King see that they were fully bent not to submit to an absolute Power. An Opportunity presented sooner than they had expected. The *Poiclevins* having revolted, the King design'd to go in Person and chastise them; and to that end summon'd all the immediate Tenants of the Crown to meet him at *Portsmouth*, in order to attend him into *France*. The Barons looking upon This as a favourable Juncture, assembled themselves at *Leicester* on some Pretence or other. A few days after they sent this Message to the King, *That before they went over with him, they insisted upon it that he shou'd restore them to their Privileges, pursuant to his Promise before his Coronation.* John was of an impetuous Temper, more capable of being govern'd by Counsels which suited with his Inclinations, than

1201.

The Reasons of the Nobility's Disgust.

The Nobles resolve to oppose the King.

They refuse to attend him into France. Paris. Hoved.

1201.

than of hearkning so sober Advice. Several of his *Ministers* perswaded him to give some Satisfaction to the Barons, or at least to put them off with good Words till the Heat of their Resentment was somewhat abated. But he was not so Wise or so Fortunate as to follow their wholesome Advice. He was so provok'd at the Insolence of the Barons, that without considering he was going to draw on himself their Hatred by his violent Measures, he summon'd them to appear and deliver up their Castles as Pledges of their Fidelity. At the same time he march'd at the Head of some Troops against *Beauvoir-Castle*, which he became Master of in a few Days. This Procedure having terrified the Barons, who had not as yet taken any Measures for their Defence, they saw themselves under a Necessity of submitting; and having put their Children into his Hands as Hostages, they came to *Portsmouth*. Whether *John* had only made believe that he wou'd go and chastise the *Poitevins*, in order to have a Handle to raise Money upon the Nobility; or whether he was afraid to leave the Kingdom at such a Juncture, he dispensed with the Barons Attendance, upon their paying him two Marks of Silver for every [*Knights*] Fee. In the mean time, he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* with some Troops into *Normandy*, whither he follow'd him in Person, as soon as he thought he might do it with Safety.

He attacks
the Barons,

who sub-
mit.

He dispen-
ses with
their going
for Money.

They con-
firm their
former
Treaty.

Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, *Philip* desir'd to have a Parley with him, in which he gave him such Marks of Esteem and Friendship, that a Prince, of greater Penetration than *John*, wou'd have been deceiv'd. At this Interview the Treaty was renew'd, and several Great Lords were reciprocally made Sureties, who bound themselves to serve against the Aggressor, in Case of a Rupture between the two Kings. But these Engagements, tho' very common in those Days, were generally very ill observ'd. And therefore Princes have long since left off giving one another mutual Securities, of which they have so often experienc'd the Usefulness. Before they parted, the two Monarchs agreed to contribute the fortieth Part of their Revenues to the *Holy War*; and exhorted the weal-
thiest

thiest of their Subjects to follow their Examples. *Philip*, not content with caressing *John* in an extraordinary manner, desir'd the favour of his Company for some Days at *Paris*, where he lodg'd him in his own Palace. In fine, he omitted nothing that he thought proper to convince him that he had a real Affection for him.

1201.
*Philip in-
vites John
to Paris.*

The Friendship which the two Monarchs had mutually sworn to preserve, seem'd as if it wou'd prove Firm and Lasting, since they had both voluntarily enter'd into it. And yet it quickly appear'd, that the Demonstrations of Kindness, *Philip* had shown his pretended Friend, were only a Snare to intrap him. At the very Time that he was giving him all these Marks of Affection, he was projecting how to out him of all his Dominions in *France*.

*Intrigues of
Philip a-
gainst
John.*

Hugh, Earl of *Marche*, was the Instrument he made use of to begin to bring Matters to the Point he desir'd. This Earl cou'd not without extreme concern, see King *John* in possession of a Lady, which had been design'd for him. To this was added a deep Resentment of the Injury he had receiv'd. These Things gave room to

*He spirits
up the Earl
of Marche
against
him.*

presume, that he wou'd eagerly embrace any Opportunity of revenging himself. *Philip* having form'd a Project upon the Disposition the Earl of *Marche* was in, spar'd no Pains to spirit him up to a Revenge, assuring him of a powerful Assistance. As soon as the Earl found he was sure of the Protection of *France*, he began by secret Cabals, to corrupt the *Poitevins*. He succeeded so well, that in a short time they were all ready to revolt against King *John*, for whom they had no Affection. Upon

*Arthur
joins Philip
and Earl
Hugh.*

which *Hugh*, applying himself to the young Duke of *Bretaign*, gave him to understand, that the Time was come, wherein he might with Ease, wrest out of the Hands of his Uncle the Provinces he had seiz'd. *Arthur* being inform'd by the Earl, that the King of *France* had engag'd to support him, was of Opinion that he ought not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity. The *Bretaigns*, his Subjects, readily join'd in the Conspiracy, by reason of the good Opinion they had entertain'd of their Prince. They imagin'd that his Name was a good

Omen

1201.

Omen of his future Grandeur ; and for no other Reason verily believ'd that he wou'd gain as great a Reputation in the World as the Famous *Arthur*, whose Name he bore. Thus the Love, Jealousy, and Resentment of the Earl of *Marche*, the Ambition of *Arthur*, and the Avarice of *Philip*, concurr'd together to King *John*'s Ruin. In the mean while, he spent his Time in Mirth and Feasting with his new Queen, without the least suspicion of the Danger that hung over his Head. He was rous'd out of his supine Carelessness, by the haughty Treatment he met with from *Philip* at a second Interview between them near *Gaillon*. The *French* Monarch, whose Matters were ripe, talk'd very big. He demanded for *Arthur* all the Provinces that *John* held in *France*, with some reasonable Satisfaction for the Earl of *Marche* ; and in Case of Refusal, he summon'd him to appear before the Court of *Peers*, and to abide by their Judgment. *John* was extremely surpris'd to hear him talk in so different a Strain from what he had done at their late Interview. As he did not think his Affairs were in so bad a Situation as to oblige him to purchase a Peace upon such hard Terms, he refus'd to comply with *Philip*'s Demands, and disdain'd his Citation. His Refusal furnish'd the King of *France* with what he wanted, a Pretence to invade *Normandy*, where he took several Places before *John* cou'd be in a Readiness to oppose him.

1202.
A second
Interview
between
the two
Kings.
Paris.

Philip sum-
mons John
to appear
before the
Court of
Peers.
John dis-
dains his
Citation.
Philip
invades
Norman-
dy.

Arthur
marries the
King of
France's
Daughter.

Goes to
Poictou ;
and besieges
Mirabel.

Towards the middle of *Autumn*, *Philip*, satisfied with his first *Champaign*, return'd to *Paris*, where he celebrated the Nuptials of *Mary* his eldest Daughter with *Arthur*. His Aim in this was to authorize the Undertaking he was meditating, under colour of maintaining the Cause of his Son-in-law. A few Days after *Arthur* departed, attended with 200 Horsemen, to go and take upon him the Command of the revolted *Poitevins*. When he came near *Poictou*, he was inform'd that Queen *Eleanor* his Grand-mother was in *Mirabel* with a few Attendants ; upon which, resolving to surprise that Place, he march'd directly thither, and soon became Master of the Town. But it was otherwise with the Castle, to which the Queen had retir'd.

The

The Resistance he met with there, having made him sensible that he shou'd hardly be able to compass his Ends with so small a Number of Troops, he call'd in the Earl of *Marche* to his Assistance, who ran to the Expedition, as to certain Victory. 1202.

In the mean time, King *John*, who had receiv'd intelligence of the Danger the Queen his Mother was in, was marching Day and Night to her Relief. His Speed was such, that he came near his Enemies before they had made any great Progress in the Siege. However, it was in their Power to retreat; but the Animosity of the two Leaders against *John*, made them resolve to go and give him Battle. The Success answer'd not their Expectations. Upon the first Onset, *John* put the *Poitevin* Troops to rout, and drove them back to *Mirabel*, where he made great Slaughter of them. This Victory was render'd still more complete by the taking of the Duke of *Bretaign*, the Princess *Eleanor* his Sister*, the Earl of *Marche*, and two hundred Knights, who fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. *John* believ'd he had good Reason to rejoice at so fortunate a Blow. But the ill use he afterwards made of his Victory, render'd it so fatal to him, that it wou'd have been better for him if he had been vanquish'd. *Arthur* was immediately sent to *Falaise*, and the Princess *Eleanor* his Sister to *Bristol-Castle* in *England*, where she was kept confin'd 40 Years. Some of the *French* Writers have given another turn to this Days Action, by saying only that *Arthur* was surpriz'd in *Mirabel*; from whence it may be inferr'd that he went not out to give his Uncle Battle. But King *John*'s Letter, which he sent to *England* after the Victory, and which is extant in the Collection of *Publick Acts*, plainly shows that it was something more than a Surprise, and confirms what the *English* Historians say of it. *Philip* was so confounded at the News of *Arthur* and the Earl of *Marche* being taken Prisoners, that

John flies to its Relief.

Paris, p. 174. vanquish'd Arthur, and takes him Prisoner with Eleanor his Sister.

Arthur is sent to Falaise, and Eleanor to Bristol. Mezerai.

Act. Pub. T. I.

A a

that

* She was call'd the *Beauty of Bretaign*. *M. Paris* says most of the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Anjou* were made Prisoners in this Battle. p. 174.

1202. that he rais'd the Siege of *Arches*, which he had begun some Days before, and return'd to *Paris*.

John goes to Falaise. *John* was very impatient to see the Duke his Nephew, in order to try to perswade him to renounce the Protection of *France*. He hop'd by that means to deprive *Philip* of the Pretence, he perpetually made use of, to involve him in Wars. With this View he immediately went back to *Normandy*, not at all questioning but in the Condition *Arthur* was in, he wou'd gladly embrace the Opportunity of being reconciled to him. Upon his arrival at *Falaise*, he caus'd him to be brought before him, and in a very kind and obliging manner endeavour'd to perswade him to relinquish the King of *France*. He represented to him, that *Philip*, under pretence of protecting him, had nothing in view but his own Interest, and that, by his Conduct hitherto it was easy to see what he was to expect from such a Protector. He tried to make him sensible that he was equally oblig'd, out of Duty and Interest, to adhere to an Uncle whose Advantage it was to stand by him, and who desir'd nothing so much as to live in a good Understanding with him; and to give him Marks of his Affection. In fine, he bid him consider that in the Condition he saw himself in, his good or ill Fortune depended entirely on the Person that was suing for his Friendship. The young Prince, who was not yet well instructed in the Maxims of *Politicks*, the chief of which is *Diffimulation*, cou'd not bring himself to conceal his Sentiments. Instead of accepting the King's Offers, he took the freedom to upbraid him with usurping the Crown of *England* as well as the Provinces in *France*. Without considering that he lay at his Mercy, he was so transported with Passion as to threaten him, *that to the last Moment of his Life, he wou'd never cease seeking Occasion to be reveng'd.* After so plain a Declaration of his Mind, *John*, being out of hopes of overcoming his Obstinacy, order'd him to be conducted to *Roan*, and shut up in the new Tower, under the Care of *Robert de Vipont*. 'Tis affirm'd, that pursuant to the Advice of some of his Counsellors, the King's Design was to put out

He tries in vain to gain Arthur. Paris.

p. 174.

The young Duke's naughty Answer.

He is sent to Roan.

out

out his Eyes, and render him incapable of having any Children, in order to free himself from the Uneasiness he was under upon his Score; but that he was disappointed by those who were design'd to be the Agents. Be this as it will, a few Days after the young Prince was brought to *Roan*, he disappear'd on a sudden, without its being ever known for certain what became of him. The King's Friends spread a Report, that *Arthur* endeavouring to make his escape out of Prison, was drown'd in the River *Seine*. But there were but few that gave Credit to this Report. On the contrary, it was the general Opinion that the Prince was murder'd by the Orders of the King his Uncle *. There are even some Historians * who have given us the Particulars of his Death. They tell us, that *John* himself in a very dark Night came in a Boat to the Foot of the *Tower* where his Nephew was in Custody, and causing him to be brought before him, stabb'd him with his own Hand; and order'd his Body to be thrown into the *Seine*, some Leagues below the Town. In what manner soever this Prince's Death happen'd, it is certain *John* never clear'd himself fully of it. There was so much the more Reason to believe him guilty, as he made no Inquiry into the Matter, which he shou'd have done with great Strictness, had he no Hand in it.

1202,

He disap-
pears.John is
accus'd of
his Mur-
der.

The same Year the Pope demanded a fortieth Part of all the *Ecclesiastical* Revenues in *England*, towards the Charge of the *Holy War*.

Paris.

P. 174.

Immediately after the Death of *Arthur*, *John* return'd into *England*, and caus'd himself to be crown'd a fourth Time, after which he forthwith went back to *Normandy*. He found that the Report of the Duke of *Britaign*'s Murder was every where spread, with such Circumstances as very much blacken'd his Reputation and Honour; and yet he was backward in examining into the manner of the Prince's Death: For which Reason all the World was

John is
crown'd a
4th Time.
Paris.

P. 175.

* Non multò post *Arthurus* subito evanuit, modo feri omnibus ignoto; utinam non ut Fama refert invida. M. Paris. p. 174.

* Particularly *Will. Brito de Gest*, R. Philip. p. 166. 167.

1202.

The Bre-
taigns
complain
of the
Death of
their Duke,
and are
stir'd up
by the
King of
France.

They de-
mand Ju-
stice of
Philip.
Argentri.
Hist. de
Bret.

John is
summon'd
by the
Court of
Peers.

He sends
Ambassa-
dors.

convinc'd that he himself was the Author of that barbarous Act. The *Bretaigns* more especially complain'd of the tragical Death of their Sovereign. They maintain'd, that if *John* did not slay him with his own Hand, it was at least evident that his Murder cou'd not have been effected without his Consent, or even his Orders. The King of *France*, who wanted to make his Advantage of this Juncture, exasperated them as much as possible by the means of his Emissaries. He caus'd it to be intimated to them, that in case they applied to him as *John's* Sovereign Lord, he wou'd do them ample Justice. This was Encouragement enough to the *Bretaigns*, who burn'd with Desire to revenge the Death of their Duke. *Gui de Thouars*, Husband to the Dutcheßs deceas'd, and Guardian of *Alice* his Daughter, assembled the Nobility of *Bretaign* at *Vannes* upon this Occasion. At this Meeting, it was unanimously resolv'd to make Application to the King of *France* for Justice. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Bishop of *Rennes*, and another Lord were commission'd to carry their Complaints to *Philip*, who gave them a very gracious Answer. He appear'd more incens'd against *John* than the *Bretaigns* themselves, and openly declar'd that neither Honour, nor Justice, nor Conscience wou'd suffer him to let such a Parricide go unpunish'd. To let them see that he was in good earnest, he himself demand'd Justice of the Court of Peers, before whom he display'd the Barbarity of the Murder committed on the Body of the Duke of *Bretaign*, in a Place held of the Crown of *France*, of which the King of *England*, his Vassal, was accus'd. It was no hard Matter to obtain whatever he desir'd. The Court order'd *John* to appear before them, and answer to what was laid to his Charge. Upon the receipt of the Summons, *John* immediately dispatch'd Ambassadors * to *Philip*, to represent to him, that their Master cou'd not come to *France* without a *Safe-conduct*; to which the King answer'd, *He may come in Peace*. But when the Ambassadors demanded a *Safe-conduct* for his

Re-

* *Eustace* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Hubert de Burgh*.

Returning, he roundly told them, *that depended on the Sentence which shou'd be pass'd upon him.* Then the Ambassadors remonstrated that their Master was not only Duke of *Normandy*, but also King of *England*; and altho' he himself shou'd think fit to expose his Person to so manifest Hazard, the Barons of the Reahn wou'd never consent to it: *What is that to me?* reply'd Philip, *is not the Duke of Normandy my Vassal? If he has thought fit to acquire a higher Title, ought I upon that account to lose my Right of Sovereignty?* The Ambassadors plainly perceiving that Philip was resolv'd to push on the Affair, retir'd without making any Answer, and return'd with all speed to inform their Master how the Court of *France* stood affected.

1202.

As soon as the Time appointed in the Summons was expir'd, Philip caus'd *John* to be condemn'd for Non-appearance, and order'd that all his Dominions in *France* shou'd be re-united to the Crown. It is remarkable, that in the *Sentence* *, there is not a Word of the Satisfaction due to the *Bretaigns* for the Death of their Sovereign, tho' they were Parties in the Suit; and tho' Philip seem'd to concern himself in the Affair purely upon their Account. This is a clear Evidence that his Aim was not so much to do them Justice, as to make use of that Opportunity to dispossess the King of *England*. The *English* murmur'd very much at these Proceedings, and the more because the King being actually in War with *France*, they had laid him under an absolute Necessity of being guilty of Non-appearance, as well by summoning him before the Peace was concluded, as by refusing him a *Safe-conduct* for his Returning. But, without troubling himself about their Com-

*John is
sentenc'd
to forfeit
his Domi-
nions in
France.*

* *P. Emilius*, in his Life of Philip, has recorded the *Sentence* to this Effect: *That John, Duke of Normandy, being unmindful of his Oath to Philip his Lord, had murder'd his elder Brother's Son, an Homager to the Crown of France, within the Seignory of that Kingdom; whereupon he is judg'd a Traitor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of France, to forfeit all his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry be made by Force of Arms.* *Paulus Emil. de vitâ Philippi.*

1202.

Complaints, *Philip* endeavoured to put the *Sentence* of the *Peers* in Execution.

1203.

Philip
invades
Norman-
dy,

and con-
quers great
Part of the
Country.

John's
strange
Slothful-
ness.
Paris.

Mezerai.

Whilst the King of *France* was preparing to attack him, *John* took no Measures for his Defence. He inconsiderately imagin'd that the *Sentence* pass'd against him was only a Bravado of *Philip's*, and not a fix'd Resolution to invade his Dominions. In the mean time, as soon as the Season permitted, the King of *France* took the Field, at the Head of a powerful Army; and as he met with very little Opposition, he reduc'd the best Part of *Normandy* to his Obedience. The Progress of his Arms was incapable of rousing King *John*, who seeming insensible of his Losses, thought of nothing but his Diversions *, as if his Affairs had been in the most prosperous Condition. When News was brought him that *Philip* had taken such a Place, he only reply'd with great Assurance, *I will soon recover it again*. However, without stirring from *Roan*, or making the least Preparations, he gave his Enemy time to secure his Conquests, and to make new ones every Day. In fine, he carried his Insensibility so far, that the People said publicly, *he was bewitch'd*. It is easy to judge what Difficulties *Philip* wou'd have met with in his Undertaking, if he had been to deal with a less slothful Enemy, by the Resistance one single Place call'd *Castle-Galliard* made, which cost him a five Months Siege *.

The Eng-
lish Barons
leave the
King, and
return to
England.
Philip con-
tinues his
Progress
without
Opposition.
Paris.

The *English* Barons, who attended the King into *Normandy*, earnestly besought him to exert himself. But finding he was deaf to all their Remonstrances, they return'd to *England*, not being able to bear any longer the being Witnesses of his invincible Sloth. In the mean time, *Philip*, taking the Advantage of his Indolence, daily gain'd ground. Not content with what he obtain'd by his

* *M. Paris* says, he continued at *Caen*, feasting magnificently with his new Queen, and lying in Bed with her every Day till Noon, p. 175.

** It was defended by *Hugh* or *Roger de Lacy*. King *Richard* built it on the Rock of *Andeli*, on the *Seine*.

his Arms, he endeavour'd, by the means of his Emissaries, to stir up in *Normandy* a general Revolt, which might give him an Opportunity of becoming at once Master of the whole Province. He caus'd it to be insinuated to the *Normans*, that seeing they cou'd hope for no Assistance from the King of *England*, it wou'd be much better for them to return of their own accord to the Crown of *France*, from whence they had been wrested, than to be constrained to do it by force of Arms: That by a voluntary Submission, they wou'd be sure to preserve their antient Privileges; whereas a Resistance, which cou'd not but prove ineffectual, wou'd infallibly deprive them of their Liberties. How deep soever the Lethargy might be in which King *John* seem'd to be buried, his Presence kept several of the principal Cities of *Normandy* in Obedience. But the Moment they saw he was about to depart for *England*, they thought they might lawfully provide for their Safety. Hardly was he embark'd, before they concluded a Treaty with *Philip*, whereby they oblig'd themselves to own him for their Sovereign, provided they were not relieved in a Year's Time: But when they were inform'd that there were no Preparations making in *England*, most of them came in before the Year was expir'd. Thus of all *Normandy*, the City of *Roan* only continued in Obedience to the King of *England*.

*He makes
a Treaty
with the
Normans.*

That unhappy Prince was far from having any Thoughts of giving the *Normans* the Assistance they expected from him. Upon his arrival in *England*, instead of trying, by all sorts of Ways, to gain the Affections of his People, the which was so necessary at that Juncture, he charg'd his Barons with having deserted him, and been the Cause of his losing *Normandy*. Under this Pretence, the most unreasonable that ever was, he exacted from his Barons the seventh Part of their *Moveables*; and tho' he had not the same Cause of Complaint against the *Clergy*, he made them liable to the same Imposition. *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was himself his Instrument in oppressing the *Clergy*, whilst the Chief *Justiciary* rigorously exacted the Money from the *Laicks*. All *England* beheld with

*John
treats his
English
Subjects ill.
Paris.*

1204.
He obtains
an Aid for
the War.

He tries in
vain to
make Peace
with Phi-
lip.

The King
of France
sends a
Champion
into Eng-
land.

An Irish
Earl is to
fight him.

with Astonishment the Indolence of the King. They cou'd not conceive that a Prince, who till then had show'd no want of Courage, and who had appear'd exceedingly attach'd to his Interest, shou'd behold the loss of *Normandy* with so much Indifference. So strange a Conduct made the greatest Part of the *English* imagine that he had some great Design in his Head, which they shou'd see break out at a proper Season. This Notion did not a little contribute to his obtaining of the Parliament * a Subsidy of two Marks and a half of every *Knights Fee*, which was granted him in hopes that the Money wou'd be expended in regaining what he had just lost. But instead of making use of this Aid, according to the Intention of the *Parliament*, he laid it out in vain Expences, being satisfied with sending Ambassadors to *France*, to endeavour to procure him a Peace. *Philip*, blown up with his good Success, was so far from abating any thing of his Demands, that he further requir'd that the Princess *Eleanor*, Sister of the late Duke of *Bretaign*, shou'd be given in Marriage to his second Son, with all the Territories the *English* enjoy'd in *France*. This Demand cou'd not but be rejected. *John* not only cou'd never resolve to give his Niece such a Dowry, but it wou'd have been of very dangerous Consequence to him, to put into the Hands of *Philip*, a Princess, who since the Death of the Duke her Brother, had the same Claim as he to the Crown of *England*. Thus the Negotiation was broken off, without the *English* reaping the least Benefit from the *Subsidy* they had granted the King.

Quickly after the Departure of the *English* Ambassadors, *Philip* sent one into *England* as his *Champion*, who challeng'd all those that maintain'd the King his Master was in the wrong, for what he had acted against *John*. The Court of *England* did not think fit to commit to the Decision of a single Combat, the Right it had to complain of the Proceedings of the King of *France*. However, this valourous Champion was given to understand

that

* Colloquium. *M. Paris*

that since he was so desirous of fighting, a Man shou'd be found, with whom he might try his Strength. There was at that Time, in Confinement in the Tower, an *Irish* Lord, *John Curvy* by Name, Earl of *Ulster*, a Person of a gigantick Stature, and an approv'd Intrepidity, who was judg'd very proper to quell the *French* Hector. The Prisoner being brought to Court, the King ask'd him, whether he was willing to fight in Defence of his Cause? *Not of thine*, answer'd the Earl boldly, *but of that of the Kingdom, I will fight to the last Drop of my Blood.* But whilst he was recovering his Strength which had been much impair'd by a long Imprisonment, the *French* Champion having heard talk of the prodigious Force of his Adversary's Arm, privately withdrew into *Spain*, not daring to appear any more, either in *France* or *England*. 'Tis related of this same Earl of *Ulster*, that afterwards being in *France* in the *English* Army, *Philip*, at a Conference with *John*, desir'd to see some Trial of his Strength. The Earl being come into the Presence of the two Kings, order'd a large Stake to be fix'd in the Ground, on which he plac'd a Helmet. Then looking round him with a menacing Eye, he cut the Helmet in two Pieces with his Sword. The Blow was so violent, that the Sword stuck so fast in the Stake, that none but himself cou'd move it thence. *Philip* having asked him, why he look'd round him so fiercely; he made answer, that in case he had miss'd his Blow, he wou'd have chopp'd off the Heads of all that were present, that no Man living might be Witness of his Shame.

The prodigious Strength of the Earl.

What *Philip* cou'd not compass by the Means of a single Champion, he brought about by the Help of many. Towards the latter End of Autumn, he went and laid Siege to *Roan*, the Citizens whereof, finding there was no Likelihood of being reliev'd, surrender'd upon Condition they shou'd enjoy their antient Privileges. But as a famous Historian judiciously observes, *This Precaution prov'd as Feeble* against absolute Power, as Parchment against Iron. As soon as *Philip* was Master of *Roan*, he order'd the Walls to be demolish'd. Thus all *Normandy* was reduc'd under the Empire of *France*, and united again to that Monarchy after

Philip takes Roan. Chr. Norm.

Mezerai.

1204.

it had ~~swayed~~^{been govern'd} from it for the Space of 300 Years or thereabouts *.

The other
Provinces
submit to
him.

After the Conquest of *Normandy*, *Philip* invaded the rest of the *English* Provinces, which at length were fain to submit to the Conqueror, after having waited in vain for Assistance from *England*. Of all that *John's* Ancestors had enjoy'd in *France*, nothing was left him but the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which *Philip* did not think fit to attack.

Death of
Queen E-
leanor.

Queen *Eleanor*, Widow of *Henry II.* and Mother of *John*, died this Year, in a very advanc'd Age. She had the Mortification before her Death to behold the Decay of the Monarchy, to which She had given so great a Lustre by the Provinces She had annex'd to it.

1205.
John re-
solves to
carry the
War into
Poictou.
Paris.

So many and so great Losses, join'd to the Murmurs of the *English*, rous'd *John* from the Lethargy he had been as it were buried in. When 'twas least expected, he seem'd resolv'd to exert himself strenuously in order to regain both his Reputation and the Territories *Philip* had taken from him. The *Poitevins*, dissatisfied with being under the Dominion of the King of *France*, having determin'd to revolt, sent to *John* for Succours. As he was perswaded that all the other Provinces were in the same Mind, he thought he cou'd never have a better Opportunity. In this Belief he summon'd all the *Vassals* of the Crown to meet him with their Troops at *Portsmouth*, where he had order'd his Fleet to be ready. But just as he was going to embark, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Earl of *Pembroke* threw themselves at his Feet, beseeching him to desist from this Expedition, which cou'd not be attended with Success. They represented to him, that neither in *Poictou*, nor in any other neighbouring Province, he was in Possession of any one Place to repair to in Case of Necessity: That *Philip* wou'd wage War with too great an Advantage, since he was Master of all the fortified Towns: That it was exposing himself to manifest Danger

He is dis-
swayed
from it.
Ral. de
Coghal.

* It had been govern'd by twelve Dukes of the *Norman* Race (of which King *John* was the Last) for the Space of 320 Years.

Danger to trust the *Poitevins*, who had so often deceiv'd him, and who perhaps pretended to invite him to their Assistance only that they might deliver him into the Hands of his Enemy. In fine, they told him, that in an Enterprize of this Nature, he so visibly hazarded his own Life, with his and the Nation's Honour, that his faithful Subjects cou'd not look on with Indifference, but must use their utmost Endeavours to divert him from it. These Remonstrances making no Impression upon his Mind, they began to speak in another Tone, and threaten'd him so that he was constrain'd at last to hearken to their Advice. Thus, altering his Resolution on a sudden, he was content with sending some Succours to the *Poitevins*, under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, his natural Brother. After which he dismiss'd the Army and Fleet, who curs'd the Authors of this Advice*. He was no sooner return'd to *London*, but he repented of having followed the Counsel of the Earl and Archbishop. But instead of quarrelling with them, he vented his Anger on the Nobility, from whom he extorted large Sums on Pretence they had refus'd to attend him. He suppos'd, without any Grounds, that the Earl of *Pembroke* and Archbishop of *Canterbury* had spoken for the whole Body. This was the second time he had exacted Money from his Subjects by an Act of arbitrary Power, without the Consent of the *States*. But he did not do it with Impunity. The Sequel will make appear, that altho' Vengeance was deferr'd, it only became by that means the more terrible, when the Barons found an Opportunity to make him feel the Effects of their Rage.

Hitherto we have seen the First Part of *John's* Misfortunes, occasion'd as well by his own Fault, as by the Ambition of the King of *France*. But *These*, how great soever, were scarce to be nam'd in Comparison of Those which follow'd, especially, as he appear'd but little sensible of the First, whereas the Others created him a world of Vexation and Trouble. 'Twas not the Ambition of a Hostile King, which threw him into the Gulph of Misery;

Second
Part of the
Reign of
King John.

*The Nobles and Knights having been put to vast Charges for this Expedition.

1205.

fery, wherein he was plung'd during the Second Part of his Reign, but the Pride of him who stil'd himself the *Common Father* of all Christians: I mean Pope *Innocent III.* who, for a very small Matter, treated this Prince in so rough a Manner, that if a Pope shou'd take upon him to do the Like now-a-days, there is no Question but all Christendom wou'd rise up against ~~them~~. Let us enter into the Particulars of this Affair, wherein consists the principal Matter of King *John's* Reign. But without dwelling on Reflections, which it will be easy for every Reader to make without our Help, let us content ourselves with relating the bare Facts just as the Historians, the most devoted to the Court of *Rome*, have laid them down.

Death of
Hubert.
Knyghton
Paris.

John scarce began to forget his Loss of the *French Provinces*, when the Death of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* threw him into fresh Troubles. The Election of the Archbishops had for some Time been a continual Subject of Disputes between the *Suffragan* Bishops and the Monks of *St. Augustin's*. The Former claim'd a Right to interpose in the Election, as they had us'd to do several Times. The Monks maintain'd, on the contrary, that this Right belong'd to them alone, according to *antient* Custom, and to the utmost of their Power, kept Possession of it. Immediately after the Death of *Hubert*, some of them, having combin'd together, whether out of fear that the Fraternity wou'd not insist on their Right, or some other Reason, resolv'd to elect by themselves an Archbishop. To that Purpose, meeting at Midnight in the Cathedral, they chose *Reginald* their *Sub-Prior*, in hopes to have afterwards Credit enough to obtain the Pope's Confirmation. This irregular Election was transacted with all possible Secrecy. The *Sub-Prior* had bound himself [by Oath] not to divulge the Matter, till he himself had inform'd the Pope of it: So that the rest of the Monks had not the least Suspicion of what was done. The Electors, willing to complete what they had begun, contriv'd the Means to have him sent to *Rome*, on some Errand or other, attended by some of their Cabal. But he ^{had} the Power to keep the Secret. The Moment he

Some of the
Monks of
St. Augustin's
privately e-
lect their
Sub-Prior.

came

came on the other Side of the Water, he took upon him the Title of Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks his Companions had no more Discretion than Himself.

1205.

This Piece of News being come to the King's Ears, he imagin'd that the whole Monastery had been concern'd in these underhand Doings, and accordingly was preparing to make the Monks repent of their Rashness in electing an Archbishop without his Licence. But they clear'd themselves, and appeas'd his Anger by their Submission. The Clamours of the Monks, who had no hand in the Intrigue, having made the Electors sensible that after the Discovery of the Secret 'twou'd be too difficult a Task to go thro' with their Undertaking, chose to desist from it.

John threatens the Monks.

Then the whole Society being united in order to proceed to a new Election, the King recommended to Them [*John de Gray*] Bishop of *Norwich*, who was unanimously chosen, plac'd in the Archiepiscopal Chair, and invested with the *Temporalities*. Shortly after, fourteen Monks were dispatch'd to the Pope, to inform him of what had pass'd, and to demand his Confirmation of the new Archbishop. At the same Time, the *Suffragan* Bishops of *Canterbury* sent a Deputation also to *Rome*, to complain of the Monks assuming the sole Right of electing the Archbishop, and to inform *his Holiness* of the Reasons they had to alledge against it.

A new Election.

1206.

Some Monks send to Rome for the Pope's Confirmation.

Whilst the Deputies were on the Road, the King, whose Courage was somewhat rouz'd, led a considerable Army into *Poictou*, and reduc'd to his Obedience the greatest Part of that Province. But he was so weak again, as to suffer himself to be out-witted by *Philip*, who finding himself unprepar'd, demanded and obtain'd a Truce for two Years (a) *.

John recovers Part of Poictou, and makes a Truce with Philip

In the mean while, the *Sub-Prior* of *St. Augustin's*, who was arriv'd at *Rome*, earnestly solicited the Pope to confirm his

The Affair of the Elections brought before the

(a) The *French* Historians say, *John* sued for a Truce. We frequently meet with the like Contradictions between the Historians of the two Nations.

Pope. Paris. Act. Pub. T. I.

* *Rigord* (Vol. III. p. 206.) says that both Armies being ready to engage, a Truce was concluded for two Years.

1206. his Election. But *Innocent*, having perceiv'd that this Matter had not been regularly transacted, took some Time to consider of it. In the Interim, the other Deputies being arriv'd, gave him Information of all Particulars, and petition'd him to confirm the second Election. On the other hand, the *Agents* of the Bishops brought their Complaints likewise against the Monks, and show'd him the Reasons on which they built their Right. To decide these Differences, the Pope order'd the Deputies to come on a Day appointed at *Viterbo*, where he design'd to stay some Time. Here it was, that in the Presence of the Pope, these Matters were debated with a great deal of Warmth, tho' as to the first Case, the Reasons of either Party were but little regarded. *Innocent*, who had before-hand resolv'd what to do, voided both the Elections, and order'd the Deputies of the Monks to proceed to a new one. At the same time he enjoin'd them to chuse Cardinal *Stephen Langton*, an *Englishman*, who was then at his Court. The Monks, surpriz'd at this *unprecedented* Order, wou'd at first have dispensed with obeying it. They alleg'd in their Vindication, that they were not impower'd by their Monastery, and besides the King's Consent was necessary. But the Pope wou'd not hearken to these Reasons. He told them that as Deputies they were the *Representatives* of the whole Monastery, and that the Consent of Princes was not at all necessary in Elections where he was present himself. Accordingly, without giving them Time to reply, he commanded them on pain of Excommunication, to elect Cardinal *Langton* for their Archbishop. The Monks, terrify'd at the Presence and Threatnings of the Pope, complied, tho' with great Reluctance, with his Orders (a). There was but one * who had the Courage to stand out. This extraordinary Election was immediately confirm'd by the Pope, who wou'd with his own Hands consecrate the Archbishop elect.

The Pope
nulls the
Election.
Paris.
Knyghton

And orders
Langton
to be cho-
sen.
Paris.

According

(a) Licet inviti, & cum murmuratione, assensum præbuerunt

* His Name was *Elias de Branlesfeld*.

According to the Rule *Innocent* had just establish'd, of empowering fourteen Monks deputed by their Monastery, to elect an Archbishop, the *Suffragan* Bishops of *Canterbury* cou'd not but lose their Cause against the Monks. Accordingly the Pope gave it in Favour of these Last, and forbid the Bishops to have any thing to do, for the future, in the Election of their *Metropolitans*.

1206.
The Suffra-
gan Bishops
lose their
Cause.

Whilst these Things were transacting in *Italy*, *John* extinguish'd all remains of Affection in the Hearts of his Subjects, by extorting from them by violent Methods, the thirteenth Part of their *Moveables*. 'Twas to no Purpose that the *Clergy* as far as it concern'd them oppos'd it. Notwithstanding their Opposition, the *Act* pass'd in *Parliament* *, and the Tax was levied as well upon the *Clergy* as *Laiety*, tho' the Former never gave their Consent, and the Latter had been as it were compell'd to grant it. This Violence occasion'd Abundance of Complaints and Murmurs amongst the *Clergy*, who till then had enjoy'd the Privilege of not being tax'd without their Consent. However as it was not in their Power to help themselves, they endeavour'd to be reveng'd by exclaiming against the King's Conduct, and rendering him odious to the People. The Archbishop of *York* himself, natural Brother of the King, a Prelate of an impatient Temper, excommunicated all Those that were employ'd in gathering the Tax, and withdrew out of the Kingdom. Tho' the *Clergy's* Complaints were not without Grounds, yet the King's Friends look'd upon Them as impertinent. They affirm'd that it was very strange that the *Ecclesiasticks* shou'd refuse to assist the King in his Necessity; They, who a little before, had suffer'd without the least Murmur, that a *Legate* shou'd exact of all the *Benefic'd Clergy* large Sums for the pretended Occasions of the *Holy See*. If the Money, which accru'd to the King from this Tax, had been expended in the Service of the *State*, it wou'd have been some Satisfaction to the Nation. But They had the Vexation to see it vainly squander'd away, in the Reception of the Emperor, who was come to pay a visit to the King his Uncle. His Design

1207.
John ex-
torts a Sub-
sidy by Violence.
M. Paris.
The Clergy
oppose it in
vain.

The Empe-
ror visits
the King.

* In communi Concilio. Annals of *Waverley*. An. 1207.

1207.

sign was to persuade him to break the Truce he had made with *France*. But how urgent soever he might be, it was impossible to bring *John* to a Rupture. However, to soften in some measure his Denial, the King made him a Present of five thousand Marks, which serv'd to defray the Charges of his Journey.

The Pope tries to appease John about the Election of Langton.

Innocent very much doubted that *John* wou'd not be pleas'd with *Langton's* Election, extorted by manifest Force, and an *unprecedented* Incroachment. The Truth is, for some time after the Conversion of the *English*, the Popes chose such as were capable of well-governing the *Rising Church*, and generally pitch'd upon *Italians*, because there were but few *Ecclesiasticks* in *England* qualified for that high Station. But ever since Archbishop *Theodorus*, who was the last sent from *Rome*, the Popes had never pretended to meddle with electing the Archbishops without the Consent of the Kings. They were satisfied with confirming the Elections, and obliging the Archbishops to come and demand the *Pallium* at *Rome*. Since *the Conquest*, it had never happen'd that they had so much as null'd the Election of an Archbishop: And therefore to mollify the King, and induce him to pass over the more patiently his Incroachment, *Innocent* wrote him the following Letter, which is too remarkable not to be inserted at length.

P O P E *I N N O C E N T*
T O
J O H N *K i n g* of E N G L A N D.

Pope's Letter to the King.
A. C. Pub.
T. l. p. 139.

AMONG the Riches that Mortals prize as the most valuable, and desire with the greatest earnestness, is our Opinion that pure Gold and precious Stones hold the first Rank. *Altho' we are persuaded that your Royal*

Excellence has no want of such Things, yet we have thought proper to send you, as a Mark of our Good-will, four Rings set with Stones. We beg the favour you wou'd consider the Mysteries contain'd in their Form, their Matter, their Number and their Colour, rather than their Value. Their Roundness denotes Eternity, which having neither Beginning nor End, ought to induce you to tend without ceasing from Earthly Things to Heavenly, and from Things Temporal to Things Eternal. The Number Four, which is a Square, signifies Firmness of Mind, which is not to be shaken by Adversity, nor elevated by Prosperity, but always continues in the same State. This is a Perfection to which Yours will not fail to arrive, when it shall be adorn'd with the four Cardinal Virtues, Justice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance. The First will be of Service to you in passing Sentence, the Second in Adversity, the Third in dubious Cases, the Fourth in Prosperity. By the Gold is signified Wisdom. For just as Gold is the most precious of all Metals, Wisdom is of all Endowments the most excellent, as the Prophet witnesses in these Words, The Spirit of Wisdom shall rest upon him : And indeed, there is nothing more requisite in a Sovereign. Accordingly Solomon, that pacifick King, only ask'd of God Wisdom, to enable him to well-govern his People. The blue Colour of the Emerald denotes Faith, the Clearness of the Saphir, Hope, the Redness of the Ruby, Charity ; and the Colour of the Topaz, Good-Works, concerning which our Saviour said, Let your Light shine before Men, that they may see your Good-Works. In the Emerald therefore you have what you are to believe, in the Saphir what you are to hope, in the Ruby what you are to love, and in the Topaz what you are to practice, to the end you may proceed from Virtue to Virtue, till you come to the Vision of the God of Gods in Sion.

It is a difficult Matter to guess at the Drift of this *Mysterious Letter*. Whether 'twas only a witty Conceit of the Pope's, or whether his Intent was to give the King to understand, that he wou'd have need of all the Virtues represented by the Rings, in order to withstand

The Pope exhorts the King to own Langton for Archbishop

1207.

He enjoins
the Monks
to receive
him.

The King
drives the
Monks of
St. Au-
gustin out
of their
Monastery.
Paris.
Knygh-
ton.

He writes
a sharp
Letter to
the Pope.
Paris.

the Attacks he was preparing against him. Be this as it will, for fear *John* shou'd mistake his Meaning, quickly after, he sent him a more intelligible *Brief*, wherein he exhorted him to own Cardinal *Langton* for Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He represented to him that he was a Native of *England*, Cardinal of the *Roman Church*, and learned in all the *Sciences*. Moreover, he assur'd him, that his exemplary Life and Christian Virtues wou'd be very advantageous to *England* for *Spiritual*, as his Prudence and Political Virtues would be for *Temporal* Concerns. However, as he did not intend to make *Langton's* Election depend on the good Pleasure of the King, nor design to submit it to his Examination, by another Letter he sent his Commands to the Monks of *St. Augustin's* and the *Suffragan* Bishops of *Canterbury*, to receive the Cardinal as their *Metropolitan*.

As soon as *John* was inform'd of what had been transacted at *Rome*, he fell into an inconceivable Fury. He accus'd the Monks of *St. Augustin's* of having deceived him, as well in the third as in the first Election, and resolv'd to be revenged of them. To that end he sent two Knights *, who entering the Monastery with drawn Swords, commanded the Monks, in the King's Name, to avoid the Place forthwith, unless they had a Mind to have their Monastery burnt about their Ears, and likewise to depart the Kingdom within three Days. So terrible a Threat frightened the Monks in such a manner, that without making the least Reply, they withdrew into *Flanders* to the Abby of *St. Bertin*, and some other neighbouring Monasteries. But this Revenge not being capable of giving him all the Satisfaction he requir'd, he thought by vigorously exerting himself, he shou'd be able to bring the Pope to revoke what he had done. In this Belief he wrote *Innocent* a very sharp Letter, “ wherein he upbraided him with the Injury he had done in nulling the “ Canonical Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, with- “ out having the least Pretence for it. Moreover, he com- “ plain'd

* *Fulk de Cantelupe* and *Henry de Cornhillen*.

“ plain’d that he had caus’d to be elected by Violence,
 “ and contrary to all manner of Right, a Person educa-
 “ ted in *France*, and one who was altogether a Stranger
 “ to him, and who had always held a strict Correspon-
 “ dence with his open Enemies. He added, that this
 “ Incroachment was directly contrary to the *Prerogatives*
 “ of the Crown, from which he was resolv’d never to
 “ recede, no more than he wou’d from the Election of
 “ the Bishop of *Norwich*. After which he roundly told
 “ him, that if the Satisfaction he demanded was denied
 “ him, he wou’d break off all Intercourse with *Rome*,
 “ the which was a Thing of no small Consequence, since
 “ it was certain that the *Holy See* receiv’d more Money
 “ from *England* than from any other Christian State;
 “ and for that reason, greater Regard ought to be paid the
 “ King of *England* than any Prince whatever. He con-
 “ cluded with letting him know, that there were Prelates
 “ enough in the Kingdom qualified to govern the *Church*,
 “ without being forc’d to have Recourse to the Popes,
 “ if they took upon them to abuse, in so bare-fac’d a
 “ manner, their Authority.

Innocent had not taken this Business in Hand on pur-
 pose to drop it on the King’s bare Expostulation. He
 return’d a very civil and mild Answer in appearance, tho’
 in the main it was more proper to irritate than appease
 him. He begins with blaming *John* for answering his
 “ *bumble* and *kind* Letter in so rough a manner, that he
 “ seem’d rather to design to affront him, than to require
 “ the Reasons of his Conduct. Then he proceeds to
 “ extol the Merits of Cardinal *Langton*. He assures him,
 “ that he was a Prelate of a very great Understanding,
 “ and profound Learning, and one that had long studied
 “ at the University of *Paris*, where he had taken his De-
 “ gree of *Doctor of Divinity*. He adds, that *John* was
 “ in the wrong to complain, since the Consent of Princes
 “ was not requisite at Elections made in the Presence of
 “ the Pope: That however, out of pure Condescension,
 “ he had dispatch’d two Monks to inform him of it,
 “ who by contrary Winds had been detain’d at *Boulogne*.

The Pope’s
Answer.
 Act. Pub.
 T.I.p.143.

1207.

“ In fine, after trying to prove that *Langton's* Election
 “ was agreeable to the *Canons*, he represents to him that
 “ *Henry II.* his Father, and *Richard* his Brother, had given
 “ up the Right of nominating Bishops and Abbots ;
 “ and therefore, without meddling with Elections, it was
 “ his Duty to receive, without any Inquiry, the Prelates
 “ which the *Church* shou'd judge capable of directing the
 “ *Spiritual* Affairs of his Kingdom. He concludes with
 “ this notable Threat, that Submission to him wou'd be
 “ more for his Advantage than an obstinate Resistance
 “ against God and his Church, in a Cause for which the
 “ *blessed Thomas Becket* had shed his Blood. These last
 Words were terrible, for a Prince whose Father had suffer'd
 so greatly in much the same Case. But *John*, far from
 being frightened, resolv'd on the contrary to use his utmost
 Endeavours, and to run all Hazards in order to free his
 Neck from the galling Yoke of *Rome*.

1208.

The Pope
 orders 3
 Bishops to
 interdict
 the King-
 dom.
 Paris.

The King
 threatens
 the Clergy.

Insolence of
 Langton's
 Brother.

The Pope's Letter was quickly follow'd by an Order
 to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, to go to
 the King and perswade him to submit to the Orders of
 the *Church*, and, if they found him contumacious, to put
 the Kingdom under an *Interdict*. The Bishops thus
 commission'd by the Pope, being oblig'd to obey him,
 acquainted the King with his *Holiness's* Orders, and en-
 treated him to avoid by his Submission, a Scandal which
 wou'd fall no less on his Subjects than on himself. But
 the King remain'd inflexible. He swore *, that if the
 Kingdom was *interdicted*, he wou'd forthwith send all
 the *Ecclesiasticks* to seek their Living at *Rome*, and put out
 the Eyes, and cut off the Ears and Noses of all the *Ro-*
man Priests which shou'd be found in his Dominions.
 Then he commanded the three Prelates to depart his Pre-
 sence. His Passion, which was already but too violent,
 was still increas'd by the Insolence of *Simon Langton*,
 Brother of the Cardinal, who importun'd him in an in-
 sulting manner, to own his Brother for Archbishop. The
 King, tir'd with his Importunities, told him it was a very
 strange

* By God's Teeth (his usual Oath.)

strange thing, that an *Englishman* shou'd press him to renounce the *Prerogatives* of the Crown. To which *Langton* insolently replied, that nothing cou'd be done on his Behalf, unless he wou'd wholly put himself upon his Brother's Mercy.

1208.

The Year before, *John* had a Son born to him by *Henry and Isabella of Angouleme*, to whom he gave the Name of *Richard Henry*. And this Year the Queen was brought to Bed of another, who was call'd *Richard*.

In the mean time, the three Prelates, who had already address'd the King, finding they cou'd obtain nothing from him, pronounc'd at length the Sentence of *Interdict* upon the whole Kingdom, and retir'd beyond Sea. Immediately *Divine Service* ceas'd in all the Churches, and the *Sacraments* were no longer administred, except to *Infants* and *dying Persons*. *Publick Prayers*, and all *Ecclesiastical Rites* were laid aside. The *Church-yards* were shut up, and the Bodies of the Dead thrown into Ditches like Dogs, without any Priest daring or being willing to assist at the Funerals. One might justly demand, why the People shou'd suffer for the Fault of their Sovereign; and certainly it wou'd be a hard matter to allege a Reason for it founded on Justice or Equity. But the Policy of *Rome* wou'd have it, that the Subjects shou'd be liable to Punishment, to the end that considering their King the sole Cause of their Evils, they might be the sooner inclin'd to constrain him to submit to the Pope's Pleasure. It was requisite therefore to sow Dissention between the King and the People, in order to tie up his Hands from resisting. And indeed, it is evident, that Kings have no more Power than private Persons, when deserted by their Subjects. Accordingly the Popes, who have had a mind to stretch their Authority, have generally taken the Precaution to lay hold of the Time when the People and their Sovereigns have been at Variance. If sometimes they had launch'd out at an unseasonable Juncture, they have for the most part experienc'd that little Regard has been had of their pretended Authority. Of this we shall see

The Interdict publish'd. Paris.

1208.

see a remarkable Instance, in the Sequel of this very Reign.

*The King's
Severity
upon the
Clergy.
Paris.*

The Pope's rigorous Proceedings were incapable of making the King stoop to him. On the contrary, *John*, finding that the Court of *Rome* had no longer any Regard for him, resolv'd to act with the same Haughtiness, and make the Pope know he was able to stand against him. Pursuant to this Resolution, he confiscated the Estates of all the *Ecclesiasticks* who obey'd the *Interdict*, and sent Orders to the *Sheriffs* to make Inquiry after them, and expel them the Kingdom. But the *Sheriffs* perceiving they cou'd not put the King's Orders in Execution, without using great Violence, durst not push Matters so far. So that notwithstanding the King's Intention, none went out of the Kingdom but such as having too zealously espous'd the Pope's Quarrel, chose rather to go into voluntary Banishment, than remain expos'd to the Indignation of the King. However, they which stay'd behind were in no better Circumstances: Outrages were daily committed against them, for which they cou'd find no Redress from the Magistrates, who always sent them to the Pope for Justice.

As in those Days there was scarce a Priest but what kept a Concubine; the King, under Pretence of putting the *Canons* of the *Councils* in force, order'd all their Concubines to be shut up in Prison, from whence they were not freed till after having paid large *Fines*. Among the great Number of *Ecclesiasticks* then in the Kingdom, there were some, who in spite of the *Interdict*, administred the *Sacraments*. But as they were incessantly expos'd to the Insults of the *Zealots*, the King took them under his Protection, and order'd the Magistrates to hang upon the Spot such as shou'd do them any Outrage. The Pope was no sooner inform'd of the Matter, but he excommunicated all those who disobey'd the *Interdict*, or executed the King's Orders. Such was the wretched State of the People of *England*. They that were faithful to their Sovereign fell under the Pope's *Censures*, and the King made

made it his Business to persecute those who submitted to the Orders of *Rome*. 1208,

Whilst the Case stood thus with the Kingdom, *Henry* 1209.
 Brother of *Otto* the Emperor came to King *John*, in the *John sends*
 beginning of the Year 1209. The Design of his Journey *Money to*
 was to demand, in behalf of the Emperor his Brother, *the Empe-*
 an Aid of Money, which the King liberally granted him, *ror.*
 though he was himself in extreme want of it.

The Calamities of the *English* mov'd neither the King *John levies*
 nor Pope. They both continued inflexible, each for his *a great*
 Part resolving to run all Hazards rather than yield to his *Army on*
 Adversary. However, *John* was not without his Un- *Pretence to*
 easiness. Indeed he stood in no great fear of the Pope's *War a-*
 Thunderings with respect to *Spirituals*. But he cou'd *gainst*
 not see without extreme Trouble, that the Generality of *Scotland.*
 the People were inclin'd to the Court of *Rome*. The *Knygh-*
 Knowledge of this making him apprehensive that sooner *ton.*
 or later some Plot wou'd be form'd against him, he thought *Paris.*
 it his best way to prevent the Designs of his Enemies
 by raising an Army. For a Pretence, he complain'd that
 the King of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaty of *Lincoln*,
 had married one of his Daughters, without asking his
 Consent. 'Twas not very difficult to foresee that a
 Prince, who had suffer'd so many Provinces in *France* to
 be taken from him, without making any Resistance, did
 not design vigorously to carry on this War upon so
 slight an Occasion. Accordingly he contented himself
 with the first Offers the King of *Scotland* made him, to *He grants*
 give him fifteen thousand Marks, and his two Daughters *a Peace to*
 in Hostage. In his Return from the *Northern* Frontiers, *the King of*
 whither he had led his Army, he order'd all the Hedges *Scotland.*
 to be cut down, and the Ditches to be fill'd up through- *Act. Pub.*
 out his *Forests*, that the Deer might have liberty to feed *T.I.p.155.*
 every where. In all likelihood, the People of those Parts *He cha-*
 having too openly declar'd for the Pope, he had a mind *stises the*
 to punish them for it *. Perhaps he had a further Design *Northern*
 to *Countries.*

* This Year also the King issued a Proclamation, forbidding the taking of all sorts of feather'd Game throughout *England*, which

1209.
The Prince
of Wales
does him
Homage.

to let the rest of his Subjects know, that in like Case he wou'd not want the Means to chastise them. When he came to *Northampton*, he was met there by the Prince of *Wales*, who fearing he had a design to carry the War into his Country, hasten'd to prevent him by his Submission. This Prince accompanied the King as far as *Woodstock*, where he did him Homage. *

John
causes all
his Vassals
to renew
their Ho-
mage.

The Continuation of the *Interdict* was a clear Evidence to the King, that the Pope had no Design to drop his Pretensions, but that he wou'd, upon this Method not succeeding, make use of more violent Measures. In this Belief, he judg'd it requisite to take care before-hand to screen himself from his Attempts. Nothing seem'd to him so proper to frustrate the Designs of the Court of *Rome*, as to cause his *Vassals* to renew their Homage. He hop'd to secure their Allegiance by that Means, and restrain them from readily going over to the Side of the Pope.

The King
excommu-
nicated.
Paris.

In the mean while, the Pope perceiving that the *Interdict*, which had continued above a Year, produc'd not the Effect he expected from it, resolv'd at length to pronounce against *John* the Sentence of *Excommunication*, and committed the Publication of it to certain Bishops^{*1}. But as these Prelates had still a great Regard for the King, they did not think fit to obey their Orders with that readiness the Pope desir'd. However, the News of the King's Excommunication was spread so over the Kingdom, that not a Soul was ignorant of it, tho' the Sentence had not

which was the first Edict of this kind made by any King before, as *Tyrrel* observes. B. vii. p. 739.

* An unlucky Accident happen'd at this Time, which was a great Prejudice to *Oxford*, and serves to show the flourishing Condition of that *University* in those Days. A certain Clerk having by chance killed a Woman, made his Escape. The Mayor coming to his Lodging, found three other Clerks that liv'd in the same House which they had hir'd together. These being seiz'd, were a few Days after by the King's Order hang'd up, in Contempt of the *Ecclesiastical Liberty*; upon which near 3000 Scholars left that *University*, some going to *Cambridge*, others to *Reading*. *M. Paris*.

*1 *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, who were to have it publish'd every Sunday and Holiday in all the Churches throughout *England*.

not been yet publish'd. The Archdeacon of *Norwich*, who was one of the Directors of the *Exchequer*, having Notice of it, quitted his Office without Leave, alledging that his Conscience wou'd not suffer him to remain in the Service of an excommunicated Prince. This Proceeding cost him dear. The King, incens'd at the little Regard he had shown for his Person, order'd him to be confin'd in a close Prison, where 'tis affirm'd that his Death was hasten'd by violent Means *.

1210.

This Instance of Severity was not capable of preventing *Hugh de Wells*, lately elected Bishop of *Lincoln*, from wounding the King in a more sensible Part. This Prelate having obtain'd leave to go and be consecrated by the Archbishop of *Roan*, instead of going to *Normandy*, went directly to *Rome*, where he receiv'd Consecration at the Hands of Cardinal *Langton*. If the King had had him in his Power, he wou'd questionless have had no more Mercy upon him than upon the Archdeacon of *Norwich*. But not being able to do any thing else, he was content with seizing his Revenues **. The Prelate was but little concern'd at it, plainly foreseeing that sooner or later, the King wou'd be oblig'd to bend under the Power of the Pope; whereas by disobeying his Holiness, he ran the Risk of forfeiting his Bishoprick.

He is impos'd upon by the Bishop of Lincoln.
M. Paris.

The King's Excommunication made no Impression on his Mind, but he still remain'd unmov'd. Besides, as the Sentence had not yet been publish'd, and as People might pretend to know nothing of it, the greatest Part of the Nobility still adher'd to their Prince, as much excommunicated as he was. He had even Hopes that the Sentence was only some penal Threatning which he might cause to be revok'd, upon his showing some Steadiness and Resolution. However, as it wou'd have been imprudent to depend upon that, he levied a great Number of Forces, well knowing that Nothing was more capable of breaking the

1210.
John leads an Army into Ireland;

* A leaden Cope was put upon him, with the Pressure of which, and for want of Victuals, he died in a few Days. M. Paris.

** *Hugh* was also Chancellor, but the King deliver'd the Seal to *Walter de Gray*, and made him his Chancellor. M. Paris.

1210.

and estab-
lishes there
the Laws
of Eng-
land.

He taxes
the Clergy.

1211.

The Pope
sends two
Nuntio's
into Eng-
land.

Pope's Measures than the having a good Army always in a readiness. Some Commotions in *Ireland* gave him an Opportunity and a Pretence to raise these Troops, the Charges of which was defray'd by the *Jews*, not voluntarily, but by the Seizure of their Goods *. *John* having embark'd with his Army, safely arriv'd at *Dublin*, where he was met by above thirty Petty Princes, who came to take the Oath of Allegiance to him. After he had receiv'd their Homage, he march'd against the King of *Connaught*, the Author of the Disturbances which had brought him into *Ireland*. This Prince having been taken Prisoner in a Battle, the War was happily ended, and the whole Island reduc'd to the King's Obedience as formerly. Before he return'd, *John* caus'd the Laws and Customs of *England* to be establish'd for the future in *Ireland*, and made the Bishop of *Norwich* his Chief Justiciary *. 'Twas expected in *England*, that at his Return he wou'd disband his Army. But, to have a pretence to keep it still on Foot, he pick'd a Quarrel with the Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time, as he wanted Money for the Maintenance of the Troops, he impos'd, by his own Authority, a Tax of a hundred thousand Marks upon the Estates of the *Ecclesiasticks*. After which, he march'd against the *Welsh*, and compell'd them to give him 28 Hostages.

The Measures *John* took to render himself formidable, created no small Uneasiness in the Pope, who cou'd not bear to see the Inflexibility of the King. He perceiv'd it was equally dangerous for the *Holy See*, to drop the Contest,

* *M. Paris* says, the *Jews* of both Sexes were seiz'd all over *England*, and cruelly treated till they wou'd ransom themselves according to the King's Pleasure. Amongst the rest a *Jew* at *Bristol*, tho' cruelly tormented, refusing to ransom himself, the King order'd that his Tormenters shou'd every Day pull out one of his Cheek Teeth, till he wou'd pay down ten thousand Marks. Accordingly they pull'd out Seven in as many Days, but on the Eighth Day, he relented, and so with the Loss of Seven Teeth parted with the 10,000, Marks to save the rest.

* *John de Grey*, who caus'd the Money to be coin'd of the same Weight and Fineness as in *England*; that the like Money might be common in both Kingdoms.

test, or to carry it any farther, being doubtful of the Issue. The Truth is, it might prove of great Consequence, even with respect to other States. Before he came to any Resolution in this Matter, *Innocent* sent two *Nuntio's* into *England*, under Pretence of being desirous to make Peace between the King and his *Clergy*. However, nothing was farther from his Thoughts than the bringing about a Reconciliation which cou'd not but be very prejudicial to him. His sole Aim was to dive into *John's* Intentions, that he might be able to take his Measures accordingly. The two *Nuntio's* being arriv'd, turn'd the King so every way, that at length he yielded so far as to promise he wou'd give the banish'd *Ecclesiasticks* Leave to return to their Churches. He further agreed that Cardinal *Langton* shou'd be put in possession of the *See of Canterbury*, and gave his word that the *Church of England* shou'd enjoy all the *Liberties, Privileges and Immunities* she was possess'd of in the Time of *Edward the Confessor*. One wou'd think so considerable Advances shou'd have satisfied the *Nuntio's*. And indeed, the King gave up the main Point, in offering to receive Cardinal *Langton* as Archbishop. Besides, they ought to have taken it for granted, that as an Accommodation was the Business in Hand, it was but reasonable that the *Pope and Clergy* shou'd likewise have made some Advances on their Part. But this Rule takes not Place in Affairs wherein the *Church* is concern'd. What she calls an *Accommodation*, is an entire Submission to her Orders, and a perfect Compliance with all her Demands. We have seen a remarkable Instance of this in the Affair of *Thomas Becket*: And we have another here which confirms the Matter, besides those we shall meet with in the Course of this History. Had *John* shown more Resolution, or at least, had he stay'd till the *Nuntio's* had of themselves made these Proposals, and then seem'd not to accept them but with reluctance, it may be 'twou'd not have been impossible for him to accommodate Matters upon these Terms. But he had to deal with Persons of greater Cunning than Himself, and whose sole Aim was to sound him and discover his Sentiments, that they might

John
makes ad-
vances to-
wards an
Accommo-
dation.
Paris.

They are
rejected by
the Nun-
tio's;

1211.

who ex-
communi-
cate the
King.

make their Advantage of it against himself. When they saw he complied so far, they demanded further the Restitution of all that had been taken from the *Ecclesiasticks*, and full Satisfaction for the Damages they had sustain'd upon the Occasion of this Controversy. And because he wou'd not agree to do this, which in effect was impossible for him, the Negotiation broke off, and the *Nuncio's* return'd, after they had publish'd the Sentence of *Excommunication* against the King, which the Bishops had till then put off.

Fresh Pro-
jects of the
Pope.

The Pope plainly saw by the Advances *John* had made, that he really wanted to get rid of this Affair at any Rate. It was evident to him, that the King had rejected the last Article which had been propos'd to him, purely because it was not in his Power to perform it. As the Pope was a Person of great Abilities, and deep Design, he form'd the Project of reaping from the King's Inability to make Restitution, Advantages which he had never dreamt of before. But as the Discovery of his Intentions might greatly obstruct their being put in Execution, he carefully conceal'd them, till such time as he had reduc'd the disobedient King to cast himself upon his Mercy. Tho' he had Nothing less in View than the procuring Restitution to the *Clergy of England*, he continued always to insist on that Article, that he might make it a Handle to push Matters to the Point he desir'd. He knew *John* was not belov'd by the People, and still less by the Nobility, who had great Reason to complain of him, there being Nothing but their Oath of Allegiance which kept them in Subjection. He believ'd therefore, that there wanted Nothing more to alienate entirely the Hearts of the *English*, but to free them from that Tie, which held them attach'd to their Sovereign. With this View, taking the Opportunity of the King's Inability to make Reparation, which he was pleas'd to stile *Rebellion*, and *Obstinacy*, he publish'd a *Bull*, which absolv'd *John's* Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and enjoin'd them, upon Pain of *Excommunication*, to refuse him all Obedience. This terrible Blow had so great an Effect, that most of the Barons, overjoy'd at having

He absolves
the English
from the
Oath of
Allegiance.

having an Opportunity to be reveng'd of the King, began to combine together how to place Another on the Throne. Some Historians * assure us, that the Majority of them sign'd an Address to the King of *France*, inviting him over to *England*, and promising to own him for their Sovereign. 1211. * Paris. P. 232.

In the mean time, *John*, who had no Intelligence of their Designs, appear'd unconcern'd, to the Astonishment of all the World. Far from foreseeing the impending Danger, he spent his Time in Feasting and continual Diversions, as if he had no Affairs upon his Hands, and the Pope's *Bull* had been of no Consequence. At the same Time, the *Welsh*, who cou'd never long remain Quiet, having made some Incurſion's into the *English* Territories, *John* fell into ſo great a Paſſion, that he commanded the twenty eight Hoſtages, he had in his Power, to be hang'd up. After which, as if he had Nothing elſe to do, he reſolv'd to carry the War into their Country and utterly root them out. 1212. John deſigns to invade Wales Paris. Knyghton

Whiſt he was preparing for this Expedition, the King of *Scotland* ſent him Notice of a dangerous Conſpiracy forming againſt him in *England*. But *John* wou'd not believe that any one durſt ſtir, whiſt he was at the Head of his Army. So, without giving the leaſt Heed to this Information, he continued his March to *Cheſter*, with deſign to begin the War with the *Welſh*. Upon his Arrival at that City, he receiv'd freſh Intelligence about the Conſpiracy, which was confirm'd from ſo many different Places, that he cou'd no longer doubt of the Matter. Then it was that his Security giving place to his Fears, he began to conſider the Officers of his Army as ſo many ſecret Enemies whom he cou'd not truſt. Poſſeſs'd with this Notion, he diſmiſs'd his Troops and retir'd to *London*, where he imagin'd he ſhou'd be in more Safety. Some time after, his Fears being ſomewhat abated, by his receiving certain Advice, that the Barons were in no readineſs to execute their Deſigns, he demanded Hoſtages of them as Pledges of their Allegiance. There were but few that ventur'd to deny him, for fear of being ſacrific'd to his Suspicions, He receives Intelligence of a Plot againſt him. Paris. He miſtruſts and diſbands his Army.

1212. Suspicions, before they shou'd be in a State of Defence. Indeed their Measures as yet were very uncertain. If it be true, that they had applied to the King of *France*, that Monarch had not yet given them any positive Answer. In all appearance, he had a Mind to stay till Matters were more embroil'd, before he openly declar'd his Intention.

*Remark on
the Histo-
rians of
King John's
Reign.*

In this Place it is, that *Matthew Paris* the Historian takes Occasion to display the tyrannical Conduct of *John* in very black-Colours. He says, *that* the King had no manner of Regard for the *English*; *that* he debauch'd the Wives and Daughters of the *Prime Nobility*; *that* some of the Barons were banish'd the Realm upon bare Suspicions, whilst others who were the least ill-treated, were reduc'd to extreme Poverty by the Confiscation of their Estates, and by other *illegal* Practices. But the same Remark is to be made here, as was made elsewhere: That is, we must read with a great deal of Caution the *Monkish Historians* when they relate any thing in which the *Court of Rome* was concern'd. 'Tis true, our Historian inveighs now and then very sharply against the Person of *Innocent III.* But that does not hinder one from perceiving that his Aim was to vindicate the Pope in his rigorous Usage towards King *John*. This is what he cou'd not do more artfully than by blackening the Reputation of that Prince, to the end he might divest his Readers of all Pity and Compassion for him.

*The re-
markable
Prediction
of a Her-
mite
Paris.*

Whilst *John* was anxiously waiting the Issue of the Conspiracy of his Enemies, he met with a Mortification which made him very uneasy, tho' he made as if he minded it not. One *Peter de Pontfract* a Hermit, who was famous in the Kingdom for foretelling things to come, prophesied publicly that by *Ascension-day* following *John* shou'd be depos'd, and the Crown transferr'd to Another. The King, being inform'd of this, sent for the *Hermit*, who, in his Presence, stood to what he had said, upon which he was order'd to Prison *.

In

* *Matthew Paris* says *John* was very inquisite to know of the Hermit whether it was by Death or otherwise that he was to lose his-

In the mean time, the Pope, who had no mind to halt in so fair a Way, took at *Rome* all necessary Measures to compass his Ends. As he was desirous that it shou'd appear in the Eyes of the World, that his Zeal for *Justice* and *Religion* was the sole Motive of his Actions ; he took particular Care to conceal that he had any Personal Interest in his Quarrel with the King of *England*. The better to hide his Design, he caus'd a Petition to be presented him by Cardinal *Langton*, and the rest of the proscib'd Bishops, wherein they humbly intreated him to apply a Remedy to the Calamities the *Church of England* had so long labour'd under. This *Petition* having furnish'd him with a Pretence to call a *Consistory*, he made a Speech to the *Cardinals*, wherein he aggravated, to the utmost of his Power, the Injuries King *John* had done, and did do daily to the *Church*. He concluded with saying, that the Obstinacy of that Prince not being to be subdued by the *Church's Censures*, he had call'd them together on purpose to consult them about the Means how to make this stiff-necked Son of his return to his Duty. The Result of the *Council* was, that *John* being convicted of Rebellion against the *Holy See*, deserv'd to be depos'd, and that the Pope shou'd place another King over *England*. Pursuant to this Advice, *Innocent* thunder'd out the Sentence of *Deposition* against King *John*. After which, he empower'd *Philip* King of *France* to put the *Sentence* in Execution, promising him as a Reward, the *Remission* of all his Sins, together with the Crown of *England* to him and his Heirs for ever, when once he had dethron'd the Tyrant. A few Days after, he publish'd a *Bull*, exhorting all *Christian* Princes to help forward, as far as in them lay, this Expedition, which was intended purely to revenge the Injuries done to the *Cathelick Church*. In this *Bull* he took into his *Protection* what-

1212.
The Pope
deposes
John.
Paris.

and em-
ploys the
King of
France to
execute the
Sentence.

his Crown ; but all he cou'd get from him was, that he might be assur'd he wou'd not on that Day be King, and said if he were convicted of a Lie, he might then deal with him as he pleas'd. Upon which the King had him confin'd till he shou'd see the Issue of his Prediction.

1212. whosoever shou'd contribute either Money or any other Assistance, towards the subduing the Enemy of the Church, and granted them the same Privileges with those who visited the *Holy Sepulchre* *.

Geoffrey
Archbi-
shop of
York dies.

Towards the end of this Year, *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *York*, natural Son of *Henry II.* departed this Life. He was a Prelate of a narrow Genius, but Proud, Pragmatical, and exceeding Passionate, one that wou'd have done a great deal of Mischief, had he been as able as he was willing *.

1213.
Philip
accepts the
Pope's
Commis-
sion;
Mezeray.
and makes
great Pre-
parations.

The Commission which *Philip* had just receiv'd of the Pope, set him at the height of his Wishes. Not content with having depriv'd King *John* of a large Part of his Dominions, he devour'd already in his Imagination the Kingdom of *England*. By the Preparations he was making, 'twas evident enough how extremely desirous he was to succeed in his Undertaking. The Ships, of which his Fleet was to consist, came from all Parts to the Mouth of the *Seine*, whilst the Princes his *Vassals*, and the Great Men of his Realm led their Troops to *Reau*, where he had appointed the Rendezvous of his Army. Such vast Preparations cou'd not be a Secret to King *John*, who for his part us'd his utmost Endeavours to put himself in a Condition to oppose the Invasion he was threatned with. He summon'd all the *Vassals* of the Crown to meet him at *Dover* with their Troops, under Pain of forfeiting their *Fiefs*, and being exemplarily punish'd

* The Pope wrote also to the Great Men, Knights and Warriors of divers Nations, to undertake this War, signing themselves with the *Cross* as if it were for that of the *Holy Land*.

* This Year also great Part of *London* was burnt down; the Fire began in *Southwark*, and having consum'd the Church of *St. Mary Overy*, went on to the Bridge; and whilst great Numbers of People ran some to behold, others to quench the Flames, the Houses on the other end of the Bridge took Fire; so that the Multitude being thus inclos'd, many were forced to leap into the *Thames*, whilst others crowding into the Boats that came to their Relief, were the Cause of their own Destruction, the Boats and People sinking together; so that what with the Fire, and what with the Water, near 3000 Persons perish'd by this unfortunate Accident, which happen'd on the 10th of July. *M. Paris. p. 233.*

nish'd in their Persons. At the same time, he issued out Orders, that all the Ships belonging to his Subjects, shou'd be ready at the same Place; threatening to banish the *Masters* which shou'd fail to be there on any Pretence whatsoever. His Orders were so urgent, and his Threats had so sudden an Effect, that in a little time, he got together a greater Number of Ships and Troops than he cou'd maintain. Upon which account he was forc'd to send away part of his Fleet, and to keep but sixty thousand of the most warlike Men, which wou'd have been more than enough to defend him from all Insults, if they had serv'd him heartily. But this Prince knew the way better how to make himself fear'd, than how to make himself belov'd *.

Whilst the two Monarchs were with equal Ardor making ready, the one to attack, and the other to defend; and whilst the Sea was cover'd with Ships, and the Coasts of each Kingdom were overspread with Troops, who expected every Moment to enter upon Action, the Pope gave his last Instructions to *Pandulph*. He was one of the two *Nuntio's* above-mention'd, who, upon this Occasion, was made *Legate* for *England*. His publick Instructions were to use his utmost Endeavours to prevail with King *John* to submit to the *Church*. But his private ones were to put the finishing Stroke to the Project he had form'd. He pass'd through *France*, where he beheld *Philip's* great Preparations, and commended his Zeal and Diligence; after which he went on to the King

Pandulph
the Pope's
Legate
comes to
John.
Paris.

VOL. III.

E e

of

* The *Writs*, which were issued out upon this Occasion (and which you may see at large in *M. Paris*) plainly make appear that that there was no such thing in those Days as standing Armies either in *England* or *France*; but that the only Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom were the *Militia* of *England*, consisting of the *Earls* and *Barons*, with their *Tenants* and *Vassals* under them, who were oblig'd by their *Tenures* to come into the Field in case of an Invasion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home. The *Writs* are directed to all the *Sheriffs* of the Kingdom, commanding them to summon all the *Earls*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Freemen*, and *Esquires*. The *Writs* for the *Ships* were directed to all the *Bayliffs* of *Sea-Ports*, &c. See *M. Paris*. p. 233.

1213.

of *England* at *Dover*. When he came into his Presence, he represented to him that his Enemy's Forces were so numerous, that they were able to conquer *England*, tho' the whole Nation were united for their common Defence; but that *John* was very far from being able to rely on the People's Affections. And to convince him of it beyond all Doubt, he discover'd to him that *Philip* had privately receiv'd Assurances from the chief Barons, that instead of opposing his Arms, they wou'd assist him to the utmost of their Power. This Intelligence corresponding with what *John* had already receiv'd, he appear'd shock'd at it, neither cou'd he hide from the *Legate* the Fears that had seiz'd his Soul. This was precisely what *Pandulph* was driving at. As soon as he saw the Terror the King was in, he took occasion from thence, to let him know that he had but one way to secure himself from the Danger which hung over his Head. And that was to put himself under the Pope's Protection, who as a kind and merciful Father, was still willing to receive him with open Arms. But, added he, *to deserve this Favour, you must become a dutiful Son to the Church; and to that End you must promise to perform faithfully whatsoever the Pope shall enjoin you; who, in imitation of Him, whose Representative he is on Earth, desires not the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he shou'd turn from his evil Ways.*

He offers him the Pope's Protection.
Act. Pub.
T.I.p.166,
167.

The King's irresolution.

Never was Prince in such Circumstances as *John* was then in; standing between two Precipices equally dangerous, he was under a Necessity of leaping down one of them, without having Time to consider which of the two was the most eligible. *Pandulph* press'd him incessantly to lay hold of the indulgent Offer which the Pope had made him. On the other Hand, *Philip*, ready to embark, afforded him no Time to consult what Course he shou'd take. But what perplex'd him the most was, the little Reliance he had on his Army, the Dread he was in of a Treachery, the Consequences whereof star'd him in the Face. On which Side soever he turn'd himself, he saw himself on the Point either of falling into the Hands

Hands of his most inveterate Enemy, or of lying at the Mercy of a Pope, whom he had for so long time brav'd, and who was the sole Author of his Misfortunes. Of these two Evils, the last seem'd to him the least insupportable, because he saw not through the Pope's whole Design. The *Legate* took Care not to impart to him at first, all the Conditions the Pope requir'd of him for the Grant of his Favour and Protection. He was satisfied, for the present, with obliging him to take a solemn Oath, *that* he wou'd obey the Pope in all things relating to the Affair for which he stood excommunicated; *that* he wou'd make full Satisfaction to the *Clergy* and *Laicks* for what Damages they had suffer'd on account of the *Interdict*; *that* he shou'd pay down, in part of Restitution, the Sum of eight thousand Pounds *Sterling*; *that* he shou'd receive into Favour the proscrib'd Bishops, and others, particularly Cardinal *Langston*, and the *Prior* and Monks of *St. Augustin's* *; *that* he shou'd confirm all these things by his *Letters Patents*, and cause such Bishops and Barons as the Pope or his *Legate* shou'd appoint, to stand Sureties for him; *that* he shou'd solemnly declare, if he, or any other by his Order, shou'd violate this Agreement, he wou'd for ever lose the Custody of *vacant Churches*, and the Bishops and Barons, his Sureties, shou'd be authoris'd to serve the Pope against him. Moreover, he oblig'd himself to send Letters of *Safe-Conduct* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exil'd Bishops, that they might return in Safety to their respective *Churches*. Lastly, he swore not to prosecute any Person, whether *Layman* or *Ecclesiastick*, for any Matter relating to the Affair in Hand *'.

1213.
He yields
to the
Terms pro-
pos'd by
the Legate.
Act. Pub.
T. I. p. 170.
Forma
Pacis, &c.
The Condi-
tions.

VOL. III.

E e 2

In

* The Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath* and *Lincoln*, are mention'd by Name, as are *Robert Fitz-Walter*, and *Eustace de Vesie*, who had withdrawn from the King into *France*.

*' You have these Articles at large in *M. Paris*, drawn up in the Form of a *Charter*, dated the 13th of *May*, being the *Monday* before *Ascension-Day*, in which are recited the Names of four great Barons, viz. *William Earl of Salisbury*, *Reginald Earl of Boloin*, *William Earl of Warren*, and *William Earl of Ferrars*, who all swore on the King's Behalf.

1213.
Another
Condition,
that the
King
shou'd re-
sign his
Crown to
the Pope.
Knygh-
ton.

He resigns
his Crown,
and does
Homage to
the Pope.
A. & Pub.
T. I. p. 176.

In the State to which *John* saw himself reduc'd, he wou'd have thought these Conditions tolerable, had there been no Additions made to them. But the Oath, which had been exacted from him, to obey the Pope in all things, included a *tacit* Condition, the extent whereof *Pandulph* did not think proper to tell him, before he was deeply engaged. When the Article came to be explain'd, the *Legate* told him in plain Terms, that the Offences he had committed against *God* and the *Church* were of so heinous a Nature, that they cou'd not be aton'd for but by the absolute Resignation of his Crown into the Hands of the Pope. He added, that he cou'd not give him *Absolution* but upon that Condition only. A Proposal like this cou'd not but extremely surprize the unfortunate King; but he had gone too far to draw back. What he had already done, had entirely alienated the Minds of those of his Subjects who still preserv'd some Remains of Affection for him. On the other Hand, he plainly perceiv'd, that not being able to confide in his Troops, he had no other Means left to resist the powerful Attacks *Philip* was preparing against him. He lay therefore under an indispensable Necessity to yield to this hard Condition, which he wou'd have infallibly rejected, cou'd he have known the extent of his Oath. To that Purpose, on the Morrow, he repaired to *Dover* Church, attended by the *Legate*, and a numerous Train of Great Men and Officers of the Army, to perform his Engagements. There it was that in the Presence of all the People, having taken the Crown from off his Head, he laid it, with the other Ensigns of *Royalty*, at the *Legate's* Feet, who represented the Pope. After which he sign'd a *Charter*, whereby he resign'd to the Pope the Kingdom of *England*, and Lordship of *Ireland*. He declar'd in this *Charter*, that, not being constrain'd by Force, but of his own free Will, and with the Advice and Consent of all the Barons of the Realm, he made this Resignation, as the only Means to atone for his Offences against *God* and his *Church*. From thenceforward he acknowledg'd himself a *Vassal* of the *Holy See*, and as such, bound himself to pay the

1213.

the yearly Rent of a *thousand Marks*, namely, seven hundred for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*. In fine, he agreed that if he himself, or any of his Successors, shou'd refuse to pay the Submission due to the *Holy See*, he shou'd forfeit his Right to the Crown *. This done, he did Homage to the Pope in the Person of the *Legate*; who to show the Grandeur of his Master, spurn'd with his Feet the Money which the King offer'd him as a Mark of his Subjection. They that were present at this shameful Ceremony, cou'd not behold such abject Actions without Indignation; but not a Soul durst open his Mouth against them, only the Archbishop of *Dublin*, who protested against them, but to no Purpose *. The *Legate*, having obtain'd what he wanted, kept the Crown and Scepter five whole Days; after which he restor'd them to *John*, letting him know, he was to look upon it as a singular Favour from the *Holy See*. So extraordinary a Transaction caus'd in the Minds of the People the Effect which was naturally to be expected. If hitherto the King had been little valued, the Step he had just made, render'd him contemptible in the Eyes of all. From that time, he was consider'd as a Prince unworthy of wearing a Crown, which he had so shamefully given up to another. On the other Side, the extreme Pride of *Innocent* gave occasion for Reflections, which redounded not much to his Advantage. Though one wou'd think that *John* shou'd have been very sensibly touch'd with what had happen'd, yet he appear'd to be the first that forgot it. He even seem'd to triumph at having kept his Crown in spite of the Prediction of the *Hermit of Pomfract*. Notwithstanding what he had foretold was exactly come to pass, *John* was so cruel as to order him to be hang'd on a Gibbet for a false Prophet.

The Hermit hang'd
for a false
Prophet.

Paris.

In Knyghton.

* *Cadet a jure Regni*, M. Paris, where the Charter is at large, and witnessed by the King himself, in the Presence of *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin*, *John* Bishop of *Norwich*, and divers Earls and Noblemen of the Kingdom.

* M. Paris says only, that he was offended at the haughty Carriage of the *Legate* in spurning the Money.

1213.
Pandulph
orders
Philip to
disband
his Army.
Paris

Philip re-
fuses to o-
bey him;

and tries
to bring his
Peers to
stand by
him.

In the mean time *Pandulph*, who had no further Bu-
siness in *England*, was let out from *Dover*, without having
taken off the *Interdict*, or given the King *Absolution*. He
was gone to *Philip*, who reckon'd upon the Conquest of
England as a thing he cou'd not fail of. When he came
into that Monarch's Presence, he forbid him, in the Pope's
Name, to go forward with the intended Expedition. He
acquainted him, that the King of *England* being become
a dutiful Son of the *Church*, and the Occasion of his
Arming being ceas'd, there was no further Necessity of
executing the Pope's Sentence. *Philip* was extremely sur-
priz'd at this Discourse. But as he had not acted in
this Affair from a religious Motive, he positively refus'd
to obey the *Legate's* Orders. He told him, that it was
for the sake of obtaining the *Remission of his Sins*, that
he had made these Preparations against *England*, at the
pressing Instances of the Pope, and therefore that no con-
trary Orders, nor all the Threats in the World, should
hinder him from prosecuting his Design. Thus resolv'd,
he call'd a *Council* of the principal Lords of his King-
dom, and of the Princes his *Vassals* who were then a-
bout him. As he was extreamly incens'd against *Inno-
cent*, the Terms he made use of in speaking of him to
the Assembly were not the most respectful, especially con-
sidering 'twas for his Purpose to paint out the Pope's
Procedure in the strongest and most lively Colours. His
Aim was to get all the Lords to swear, they wou'd not
desert him though the Pope shou'd proceed to thunder
out his *Censures* against him. Accordingly his whole
Discourse tended to that Point.

The Earl of
Flanders
opposes it.

The Princes and Lords, who were present at the *Coun-
cil*, seem'd inclin'd to comply. The Earl of *Flanders* a-
lone oppos'd it; and that in a Manner very reproachful
to *Philip*. He represented, that the Expedition projected
against the King of *England*, was in it self neither just
nor honourable, that moreover it was become impractica-
ble, seeing the Pope refus'd his Approbation. He added,
that 'twould be much more agreeable to the Rules of Ho-
nour and Equity, to restore to that Prince what had been
taken

taken from him in *France*, than to frame new Schemes how to take Advantage of his Misfortunes. *Philip* being nettled at this Speech which was spoken with such Boldness, and bore so hard upon his Conduct, thought it necessary before all things, to humble the Earl of *Flanders*. His View was to strike a Terror into the rest of his *Vassals* by his Example, and at the same time to deprive the King of *England* of the Assistance he might receive from so fast a Friend. It may be, he was very glad that the Earl furnish'd him with an Opportunity to extricate himself out of the Difficulty he was in. He cou'd not, without Dishonour, submit to the Pope's Orders, neither cou'd he wage War with King *John*, without exposing his own Person to *Excommunication*, and his Kingdom to an *Interdict*. Be this as it will, he order'd his Fleet to Sail towards the Coast of *Flanders*, whilst he march'd with his Army to attack the Earl by Land. The Progress of his Arms were at first very considerable. In all likelihood, the Earl of *Flanders* wou'd have been entirely crush'd, if *John* had not sent his Naval Force to his Aid. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who commanded the *English* Fleet, having surpriz'd that of *Philip*, entirely destroy'd it. 'Tis said that the *English* took three hundred Ships, and sunk one hundred, and that the *French* themselves set Fire to the rest to prevent their falling into the Enemy's Hands. This terrible Blow blasted all *Philip's* grand Designs, who found himself oblig'd to drop his Undertaking, and return to *Paris* extremely mortified.

1213.

Philip turns his Arms against him.
Rigord.
Hist. of Phil. Aug.

His Fleet destroy'd by the English.

This Victory rouz'd on a sudden the Courage of King *John*. As he was assur'd for the future of the Pope's Assistance, he resolv'd to carry the War into *France*, and try to regain what he had lost there. He was the more encourag'd to this Expedition as the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders* had promis'd to make a powerful Diversion in his Favour. With this Design he caus'd his Army to march to *Portsmouth*, where he had order'd his Fleet to meet him. But just as he thought to embark, the Barons sent him Word they

John has a mind to carry the War into France.

The Barons refuse to follow before he is absolv'd.

cou'd

1213. cou'd not attend him, unless he was first absolved from his *Excommunication* *. This Declaration made him dispatch a *Safe-Conduct* to Cardinal *Langton*, and the rest of the banish'd Bishops, that he might receive *Absolution* from their Hands. At the same time, he acquainted them that he was ready to perform all his Engagements, and particularly those which related to them. Upon their Arrival the Bishops went to the King at *Winchester*, who throwing himself at their Feet, besought them to have Pity on him and the Kingdom. The Cardinal having lifted him up, led him to the *Church*, where in the Presence of all the People, he administred to him the following Oath: *That* he wou'd protect *Holy-Church* to the utmost of his Power: *That* he wou'd re-establish the good Laws of his Predecessors, and especially those of King *Edward*: *That* he wou'd cause Justice to be minister'd to his Subjects by his Courts, according to antient Custom, and not arbitrarily: *That* he wou'd restore to *Corporations* and private Persons, their Rights and Liberties: Lastly, *That* he wou'd, before *Easter* next, make full Satisfaction for all the Damages he had caus'd. This done, the King renew'd his Oath of *Faith* and *Obedience* to the Pope, according to the Tenor of the *Charter* he had given the *Legate*; after which the Cardinal gave him *Absolution*. The King appear'd so well pleas'd to see himself at length deliver'd out of all his Troubles, that, to show the Cardinal he bore him no Manner of Grudge in his Heart, he made him that very Day dine at the same Table with him.

Langton
arrives
and gives
the King
an Oath.

He absolves
him.
Paris.
Knygh-
ton.

John re-
assumes his
former De-
sign.

The Barons
refuse to
follow
him.
Paris.

This Affair being thus ended, *John* came to *Portsmouth*, where he met with fresh Obstacles, which he had never dreamt of. When he talk'd of embarking, his Barons, who were come there upon his Summons, declar'd they cou'd not go with him. They told him, they had stay'd so long at *Portsmouth*, that they had spent

* *M. Paris* says, it had hitherto been deferr'd, under Pretence, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was to come over and perform it in Person on the Pope's Behalf.

spent all the Money design'd for the Expedition, and therefore were in no Condition to attend him. Altho' this Disappointment vex'd him heartily, yet he thought it his best way to conceal it, and imagining he shou'd be able to spur them on upon the Point of Honour, took Shipping himself with only his own Family, and set Sail for *Fersey*. But, after he had waited there some Days, finding no Body follow'd him, he return'd to *England*, with a Resolution to chastise the Disobedience of the Barons *. Upon his Arrival, he drew some Troops together, and march'd towards the Center of the Kingdom. His Design was to have it in his Power to prevent them from taking up Arms, or to oppress such as shou'd venture to appear first in the Field. The Cardinal Archbishop, having perceiv'd his Intentions, came to him at *Northampton*, and represented to him that none of the Barons having been *legally* condemn'd, he cou'd not make War upon them without violating the Oath he had taken at his *Absolution*. The King, offended at this Remonstrance, answer'd with a loud Voice, that he had nothing to do to give his Advice, and so refusing to hear any more of the Matter, he continued his March as far as *Nottingham*. *Langton*, not at all discourag'd at this Repulse, follow'd him the next Day, and declar'd to him, that he would excommunicate all those that shou'd take up Arms before the *Interdict* was remov'd. This Threat having made the King apprehensive that his Troops wou'd desert him, he was fain to desist from his Enterprize. However he appointed a Day for the Barons to appear and answer for their Disobedience.

He resolves to chastise them.

Langton opposes it, and threatens him.

The King desists.

The Step *Langton* had made was sufficient to satisfy the King, that he was not heartily reconcil'd to him. But he had very quickly a more convincing Proof of it.

* *Ralph de Coggeshal* lays the Miscarriage of this Voyage chiefly upon the Barons of the *North*, who being summon'd, affirm'd they were not oblig'd to follow him, according to the *Tenure* of their Estates. This is a clear Evidence that the Barons of the Realm were not oblig'd to attend the King when he made War on his own Head, but only in Case of an Invasion from Abroad, or a Rebellion at Home.

1213.
Langton
gives the
Barons a
sight of the
Charter of
Henry I.
Paris.

In an Assembly of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, who were met at *London* about the Restitution the King had promis'd, *Langton* took Occasion to speak very warmly against the King. He said, "that before he gave him *Absolution*, he had caus'd him to swear that he wou'd restore the *Church*, the *Nobility*, and the *Commonalty*, to their *Rights* and *Privileges*: But that it was visible to all, that he had not made the least Step towards the Performance of his Oath: That on the contrary, he had intended to make War on his Barons, before they had been *legally* tried; the which was a clear Evidence enough of his ill Designs. And therefore, continued he, it is absolutely necessary, for the Good of the Publick, to press him to perform his Engagements. But as Difficulties might occur in drawing up the Particulars they were to demand of the King, he told them, that they might make use of a *Charter* of one of their former Kings, of which he had luckily lighted upon a Copy, notwithstanding the Pains that had been taken to bury it in oblivion. The *Charter* the Cardinal spoke of, was that which *Henry I.* granted to his Subjects, in the beginning of his Reign. Authentick Copies had been sent to all the principal Monasteries, which were lost by the Negligence of those who had the Custody of them, or perhaps by the Means of *Henry I.* himself, or his Successors. This, which it may be, was the only one left, having fallen into the Hands of the Cardinal, he publickly read it before the Assembly. The Barons, who had only a confused Notion of this *Charter*, were very well pleased with its being found, but more so with the *Contents*. Accordingly, without further Consideration, they came to a Resolution to make it the Foundation of their Demands. After which, they enter'd into a *Confederacy*, and bound themselves by Oath, to exert their utmost Endeavours to obtain the Re-establishment of their antient Privileges, and mutually to stand by one another. The Cardinal promis'd, for his Part, to do all that lay in his Power towards the Accomplishment of their Designs. This is the first *League* or *Confederacy* which

The Barons
League a-
gainst the
King.

which was ever made in *England* against the King, in 1213.
 Defence of the *Liberties* of the Nation.

Altho' the Barons intended to keep their *League* private; till a fit Opportunity shou'd offer to discover their Designs, yet the King had quickly Intelligence of it. He foresaw the Consequences of it ; but as it was not in his Power to break it, he believ'd the only way to screen himself from it was, to put himself under the powerful Protection of the Pope. Pursuant to this Resolution, he sent a trusty Messenger to *his Holiness*, to inform him of what had pass'd, and to entreat him to grant him his Assistance on so pressing a Necessity. His Request was seconded by a very handsome Present, that he might the more readily obtain what he desired (a). *Innocent* was overjoy'd at the News of the Dissention which was like to break out between the King and the Barons. If any thing was capable of wresting from the Sovereignty he had lately acquir'd over the Kingdom of *England*, doubtless a strict and hearty Union between the King and the Nobles wou'd do it. The Resignation he had extorted from *John*, was of it self so repugnant to all Right, and so full of Nullities that it cou'd not have subsisted, if the King and his Subjects cou'd have been brought to so necessary an Union. And therefore nothing being more agreeable to the Pope, than to see the King and the Barons in no way to support one another, he resolv'd to make their Discord a Means more firmly to establish his Authority in the Kingdom. To that Purpose, without giving the least Hint of his knowing any thing of the Confederacy of the Barons, he sent Cardinal *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Tivoli*, as his Legate into *England*, with a Power to take off the *Interdict*, and compose the Difference between the King and the Clergy concerning the Affair of Restitution. *John* having offer'd to pay down a hundred thousand Marks, the Legate seem'd satisfied with the Sum : But the Bishops boldly

John implores the Pope's Protection.

1214.
The Pope sends a Legate into England;

V O L. III.

F f 2

rejected

(a) *Noverat enim Rex quod Papa super omnes Mortales ambitiosus erat & superbus, pecuniâque sitiitor Insatiabilis, & ad omnia Scelera pro premiis datis vel promissis, ceruim & proclivum, &c. M. Paris. An. 1213.*

1214.

who demands
a second
Resignation of the
Crown.

rejected his Offer, chusing to let the Kingdom labour under the intolerable Burden of an *Interdict*, rather than recede in the least from their Pretensions. The *Legate* was not displeas'd at their Obstinacy, which gave him an Opportunity of acquainting the King with the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope. He represented to him, that he cou'd never hope to live in Peace till he had put himself entirely under the Protection of the *Apostolick See*; That in order to do it effectually, it was necessary for him to make a Second Resignation of his Crown, the First being liable to so many Exceptions; That afterwards the Pope, finding himself indispensably oblig'd to stand by him, wou'd infallibly free him from all his Troubles.

John consents to it.

John's Affairs were in an ill Situation. Surrounded with Difficulties, and having almost as many Enemies as Lords in the Kingdom, he had nothing left to trust to but the Pope's Protection. Accordingly, tho' this Protection cou'd not be obtain'd but by a second Resignation of his Crown, he was brought to stoop once more to that servile Compliance. A General Assembly of all the Lords of the Realm being conven'd at *Westminster*, he solemnly resign'd, in their Presence, his Crown to the Pope a second time, with all the *Formalities* the *Legate* was pleas'd to require. He sign'd another *Charter*, wherein Care was taken to supply all the Defects of the former. To render it the more *Authentick*, it was seal'd with *Gold*, the first having been seal'd only with *Wax*. Then the King deliver'd it into the Hands of the *Legate*, to the use of the Pope his Master. 'Twas no hard Matter for the Barons to perceive that the Secret of their Confederacy was discover'd, and that *John's* renewing his Resignation was the Price of the Protection he had obtain'd of the Pope. As nothing was more opposite to their Design of procuring their ancient Privileges to be restor'd, than the *Vassalage* to which *John* had subjected the Kingdom, Cardinal *Langton* solemnly protested against it, and laid his Protestation upon the Altar.

Langton protests against it.

Innocent having notice of *Langton's* Protestation, was extremely incens'd, that a Cardinal shou'd act so directly contrary to the Interests of *the Holy See*. He durst not however fall upon him for it, for fear of putting the whole Kingdom in Commotion, and inducing the *English* to join with *Langton* in the Defence of their Liberties. Indeed, it was not at all proper to let the Nation feel so quickly the Weight of their new Servitude. On the contrary, it was the Business of the Church of *Rome*, to let her Rights lie dormant a while, that the *English* perceiving no Alterations, might be the less inclin'd to shake off the Yoke which was just laid upon them. In the mean time, the Pope however took occasion to mortify the Archbishop, by giving Cardinal *Nichols*, his Legate, the Power to fill all vacant Benefices in *England*. The Legate abus'd his Power most shamefully. Not content with conferring the Benefices on *Italians*, on his Relations and Creatures, he even gave some to Persons yet unborn. *Langton*, nettled at this Power being given to another, made the Legate's ill use of it a Handle to appeal to the Pope against his Proceedings, and sent *Simon* his Brother to *Rome* to prosecute the Appeal. He found *Innocent* little inclin'd to give ear to Complaints against a Legate who had just done such signal Services. Besides, *Pandulph*, who was sent to *Rome* with the Charter seal'd with *Gold*, had very much blasted the Credit of the Archbishop, and of all the *English* Lords. He had represented them as a Company of turbulent Persons, and extoll'd the King as the most pious of Princes. This Account of Matters was the Reason that *Innocent*, without having any Regard to *Langton's* Remonstrances, dispatch'd Orders to his Legate to take off the *Interdict*, which had lasted above six Years. As for the Satisfaction which the Clergy demanded, he order'd that the King shou'd make Restitution of no more than forty thousand Marks.

*The Pope
impowers
his Legate
to fill
vacant
Benefices.
Paris.
The Legate
abuses his
Power.
Langton
appeals to
the Pope.*

Thus ended the grand Affair, which render'd the King of *England* a *Vassal* and *Homager* to the Pope. An Event of this Nature, affords ample Matter for Reflections, which are left to the Reader's Consideration. I shall content
my

1214.

my self with remarking, that, if in the first Negotiations the Pope had been satisfied with demanding so moderate a Restitution, there is no question but that Matters wou'd have been accomodated at that time. The Truth is, that was the only Obstacle which prevented a Conclusion, since the *Nuntio's* acquiesc'd in all the rest of the King's Proposals. But *John* had not yet resign'd his Crown to the Pope, whereas, after his Resignation, the hundred thousand Marks which he had offer'd, were shrunk to forty thousand. The *Clergy*, who were in hopes of receiving an immense Sum, found themselves very much out in their Reckoning. Nevertheless, not daring to contradict the Pope's express Orders, they were fain to take up with a very moderate Sum, in comparison of what they had expected. The Bishops however found the Means to make themselves *whole*, by not giving any Share of the forty thousand Marks to the Inferior *Clergy* and *Monasteries*. These last made their Complaints to the *Legate*: But they cou'd get no other Answer, but that having no Orders from the Pope about the Matter, it was not in his Power to give them any Redress.

John carries the War into France.

Act. Pub. T.I.p.189. He subdues Poictou, and enters Anjou.

Prince Lewis stops his Progress.

John finding himself rid, tho' to his eternal shame, of a Business which had created him so much Uneasiness, resolv'd to prosecute the *Délign* which the Disobedience of the Barons had oblig'd him to lay aside. He was in hopes to meet with more Submission in his Subjects, seeing the Pope had so openly declar'd himself his Protector, than whilst he lay under the Sentence of *Excommunication*. After he had made all the Preparations necessary for so important an Enterprize, he came to *Roche* with a numerous Army, and having enter'd *Poictou*, he subdued that Province with the same Ease it had been taken from him. Encourag'd by this Success, he march'd into *Anjou*, and rebuilt the Walls of *Angiers* which he had formerly caus'd to be demolish'd. This sudden Attack surpris'd *Philip*, who being then taken up in the *Low-Countries* in a War with the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, cou'd not timely enough oppose this fresh Invader. However Prince *Lewis* his Son, having rais'd an Army with all possible Expedition,

pedition, advanc'd towards *Anjou*, whilst the *English* were laying Siege to the strong Castle of *La Roche au Moine*. The Approach of the *French* Army having put *John* out of hopes of being able to carry on the Siege, he resolv'd to raise it and give *Lewis* Battle. But the *Positevins* having refus'd to follow him, he was not only forc'd to drop his Design, but even to retreat with some Precipitation. The *French* Historians say, he was briskly attack'd in his Retreat and receiv'd a great Loss. The *English* on the contrary affirm that *Lewis*, satisfied with raising the Siege, retired without pursuing him. Notwithstanding this Accident, *John* had Troops enough not to despair of Success in the War, had it continued. But the News of the Battle of *Bovines* which *Philip* had gain'd in *Flanders*, made him think of retreating. This Victory, the most considerable that *France* had ever obtain'd *, having made *John* apprehensive that the whole Burden of the War wou'd lie upon him, demanded a Truce for five Years, by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate. Altho' a famous Historian affirms, that *Philip* granted not this Truce but at the pressing Instances of the Pope, yet it may be presum'd that he was not very backward to consent to it. For he cou'd not desire any thing more for his Advantage than to see the *English* return home, seeing he cou'd gain but very Little from them, whereas he had a great Deal to Lose.

Rigord.

Philip gains the Battle of Bovines.
Act. Pub. I. 192.

John obtains a Truce.

Mezeray.

We are now come to the third Period of King *John's* Reign, which was no less full of Troubles and Misfortunes than the two former. We have seen him, in the two first, struggling with two Foreign Powers, who triumphed over him. In this, we shall behold him at Variance with his

The Third Part of John's Reign.

* This famous Battle was fought on the 27th of July between *Tour-nay* and *Lisle*. Tho' the Allies, viz. the Emperor *Otho*, *Ferdinand* Earl of *Flanders*, with the Dukes of *Lovain* and *Brabant*, had no less than 120,000 Men, and tho' the King of *France* had not near so many, and was moreover thrown off his Horse and trod under Foot, yet at length he entirely vanquish'd his Enemies. *Otho* was put to flight, and died some time after with Grief, five Earls were taken Prisoners, one of which was *William Long-Sword*, King *John's* base Brother. No Prince after that dar'd to withstand *Philip*.

1214. his own Subjects, and constrain'd, in order to support himself in the Throne, to lay waste his own Kingdom, with an Army compos'd of divers Nations, and at length to see a Foreign Prince receive the Oath of *Allegiance* from the *English*. Let us enter into the Particulars of these Matters.

*The Barons
League for
the Resto-
ration of
their Li-
berties.*

One wou'd think, that after having gone thro' so many Misfortunes, *John* shou'd, tho' at the Expence of his Honour, pass the Residue of his Life in Peace. But it was not his Destiny to enjoy any Tranquillity. His past Conduct, being a Composition of Haughtiness, Caprice, Tyranny, Imprudence, Cowardice, had bred among his Subjects such a general Discontent, as cou'd not fail of producing ill Effects. In proportion as he lost the good Opinion of the Nation, the Barons became less tractable. Their hopes of succeeding in their Designs were properly built on the little Affection the People had for their Sovereign. As soon as the King was return'd from his *French* Expedition, the Barons, who had always kept their Project in View, resolv'd to demand in a Body the Re-establishment of their Privileges. Under the Pretence of a Pilgrimage, the chief Earls and Barons met at *St. Edmunds-Bury*, where they came to a Resolution to demand of the King the Confirmation of the *Charter* of *Henry I.* This *Charter*, as hath been observ'd, contain'd in substance the Liberties which the People of *England* enjoy'd during the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings. Before they parted, it was agreed that immediately after *Christmas*, they wou'd go to the King in a Body and present him their *Petition*. In the mean time every one went to his own Home to provide himself with Men, Horses and Arms, that they might be able to compel the King, if there was Occasion, to grant what they requir'd. But before I proceed any further, it will not be amiss to examine this Matter to the Bottom, and see upon what Grounds the Barons founded their Pretensions, and for what Reasons the King refus'd to grant what they demanded with so much Earnestness.

It can't be denied, but that in the Reigns of the first *Norman* Kings, and especially of *William the Conqueror*, the *English* were grievously oppress'd. They were so hardly and unjustly dealt by, that not an *Englishman* was left in possession of any considerable *Fief*. The *Normans* and other *Foreigners* were deck'd with their Spoils. At that time, the *English*, who had so great reason to complain, pleaded to no Purpose their Privileges, all Ears were deaf to their Complaints. On the contrary, the *Normans* thought it no Injustice at all for the King to use a *despotick* Power, as long as they were Gainers by it. The Laws of *Edward the Confessor* were in such Disrepute, that it was almost *Treason* to mention them. But when once these same *Normans* saw themselves firmly settled in their new Acquisitions, they began to perceive how dangerous it was to live under an *Arbitrary Power*, which might deprive them one day of what the *Conqueror* had given their Ancestors. Accordingly by Degrees they put on the *English Genius*, wholly addicted to *Liberty*, and wanted to have the *Saxon Laws* again in Force. All Distinction between the two Nations was entirely dropp'd. Every one was desirous of being *English* rather than *Norman*. In all appearance, this was the chief Reason why the *Norman* Language prevail'd not in *England*, notwithstanding the Care and Pains *William I.* was at to make it spread. Every time any favourable Opportunity offer'd, the *Normans* spoke like true *Englishmen*, and demanded with earnestness the Revival of the Laws of *Edward*. They particularly took the Advantage of the Circumstances *William Rufus*, *Henry I.* and *Stephen* were in when they mounted the Throne. As these Princes had not properly any Right to the Crown, they found themselves oblig'd to give their Subjects good Words, and promise them the Re-establishment of their antient Laws. The truth is, what the Barons demanded wou'd have been no more than what was Just and Right in the Mouth of an *Englishman*; but a *Norman's* claim to these Demands might be very justly call'd in question. Accordingly, we have seen in the History of these three Princes, that altho' they had solemnly promis'd to revive these Laws, they

1214.
Examina-
tion of the
King's and
Barons
Pretensi-
ons.

1214.

never heartily set about the being as good as their Word. Nevertheless these solemn and repeated Engagements gave the Barons of *Norman* Extraction, a Right which they had not before. The Circumstances the three first *Norman* Kings were in, when they ascended the Throne, were therefore the true Cause of these false Steps which afterwards became so prejudicial to their Successors. They were very sensible that their *Norman* Subjects had no manner of Right to demand the Revival of the *Saxon* Laws: Laws! which had been evidently broke thro' in order to settle them in the Estates they were possess'd of in *England*. But Necessity compell'd these Princes to promise what they never intended to perform. The *Charter* of *Henry I.* was never executed either by himself or by any of his Successors. What care soever had been taken to send Copies into all the principal Monasteries, 'twas with great Difficulty that, a hundred Years after, they cou'd find a single one, which was that Cardinal *Langton* show'd the Assembly of the Lords. If therefore one traces the *Rights* of the Barons to their first Spring; one can't but conclude, they were built upon no solid Foundation, seeing the principal *Fiefs* were in the Hands of the Descendents of those to whom *William the Conqueror* had granted them. But on the other side, it must be confest, that so many *Solemn Promises*, which all the Kings ever since the *Conqueror* had made, to restore the *Saxon* Laws, commonly call'd *the Laws of St. Edward*, gave the *English-Normans* a very plausible Right to demand their Revival.

From what has been said it may be easily inferr'd, that if the Barons thought they had a Right to demand the Re-establishment of the *Privileges* of the *English* Nation, *John* believ'd he had no less to reject their *Petition*. This Contest having remain'd undecided during several Reigns, both Parties had all along kept up their Pretensions. When the King prov'd weak, or his Affairs were in so ill a Posture as to disable him from contesting with them, the Barons had always tried to get the *Liberties* of the *English* restor'd, and the Prince, not knowing what to do better, ever put them off with fair Promises, which he had no Design to perform.

But

But in the Reigns of such Kings whose Heads were able and whose Affairs were prosperous, the Dispute was dropp'd, and the Barons waited for a more favorable Opportunity to compass their Ends. They were of Opinion that they had now met with one, and resolv'd not to let it slip. *John's* Circumstances were just as they cou'd wish. Hated and despis'd by the People, to whom he had given but too just Cause of Discontent, he cou'd never hope to regain their Affections. As for *Philip of France*, he cou'd not have the least Dependence upon him, he being his most mortal Enemy: Much less still cou'd he expect any Succours from the Emperor his Nephew, or the Earl of *Flanders*, who were both equally ruin'd at the Battle of *Bovines*. Neither was there any Likelihood that the King of *Scotland* shou'd espouse the Quarrel of a Prince with whom he was extremely dissatisfied. As for the Assistance *John* might expect from the Pope, as it was to consist purely of *Spiritual Arms*, the Barons were in no great concern about it, well knowing that such Weapons have no Edge but what *Fear* and the Circumstances of *Time* and *Place* give them. But as they had room to hope that *the People* wou'd join with them in Defence of their Common Interests, they were in no Apprehensions that the Pope's *Thunder-bolts* wou'd do them much hurt. *John* therefore cou'd not but necessarily be worsted on this Occasion, since having lost his Provinces in *France*, he had no Remedy against the *English*.

Full of Hopes, and holding themselves sure of Success, the Barons came to the King at *London*, and demanded in plain and express Terms, the Re-establishment of the *Laws of St. Edward*, with the other *Rights* and *Privileges* contain'd in the *Charter of Henry I.* They alledg'd that they requir'd nothing but what he himself had promis'd with a solemn Oath, before he receiv'd his *Absolution*, and for that Reason their most humble *Petition* cou'd not be look'd upon as an *Innovation*, much less as proceeding from the Spirit of Rebellion. This *Petition*, tho' drawn up in the most respectful Terms, alarm'd the King. As he found they were resolv'd upon War, in case he rejected it, he

1215.
The Barons demand the Revival of the Laws of St. Edward.
Paris,

1215.
The King
puts off his
Answer.

believ'd that the best Thing he cou'd do, wou'd be to gain Time. He desir'd them therefore to stay for his Answer till *Easter*, assuring them, he wou'd *then* fully declare his Intentions. Tho' 'twas very easy to see, that the King only sought to amuse them, yet fearing they might be in the wrong to refuse him the Time he requir'd, they withdrew *.

He renews
the Fealty
and Ho-
mage of all
his Sub-
jects.

In the mean time, the King making the best of this Delay, caus'd the Oath of *Allegiance* to be renew'd by all his Subjects, and *Homage* done him by all his *immediate Vassals*. After which, he took upon him the *Crusado*, as if he intended to go to the *Holy Land*, to the end he might screen himself under the Protection of the *Church* *. On the other Hand, the Pope having received Information of the Barons *Petition*, sent them a Letter, exhorting them to continue in Obedience to their Sovereign: But that did not prevent them from prosecuting their Design.

A&T. Pub.
l. p. 179.

The Ba-
rons press
the King
for his
Answer.
Paris.

As soon as *Easter* was come, the Great Men met at *Stamford*, to the number of above a thousand *Knights*, all well-mounted, well-arm'd, and in a Condition to make themselves dreaded. The King, who was at *Oxford* in expectation of their coming, having receiv'd Intelligence of their Number and Posture, did not think fit to trust his Person in a Conference with them. Before they had advanc'd any nearer **, he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* to know what the *Laws* and *Liberties* were which they mention'd in their *Petition*. Upon which they sent back a long

* *Matthew Paris* says, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and *William* Earl-Marshal were Sureties for the King, that on the Day appointed he wou'd give them Satisfaction.

** About the same time also the King granted a *Charter* for the freedom of Elections to *Bishopricks* and *Abbies*, to chuse their Bishops and Abbots, without any Letters of *Nomination* or *Recommendation* from the King, which was contrary to the Usage of his Ancestors. So that the nominating to *Abbies*, *Deans* and *Chapters* fit Persons to be elected Bishops, was never after fully restor'd to the Crown till the 25th of *Henry VIII*.

*** They were then at *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*. *M. Paris*.

long *Writing*, containing the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom in the time of the *Saxon* Kings; and affirm'd, that if the King wou'd not confirm them, they were resolv'd to compel him, by seizing his Castles. *John* had no sooner read over the *Writing*, but he fell into a violent Passion. He cried out aloud, that the Barons wanted no less than to deprive him of the Government of his Kingdom, and swore a great Oath, that *he wou'd never grant his Subjects such Liberty as wou'd make himself a Slave.*

1215.
He rejects their Petition.

The King's Answer having convinc'd the Barons, that they expected in vain to obtain what they demanded, otherwise than by Force, they chose the Lord [*Robert*] *Fitz-Walter* their General, stiling him *the Marshal of the Army of God, and of Holy-Church.* At the same time they march'd to *Northampton*, and besieg'd the Castle fifteen Days. That Place holding out longer than they expected, they rais'd the Siege and went to *Bedford*, of which they became Masters *. A few Days after, they receiv'd Advice, that a Negotiation which they had privately set on Foot, with some of the Chief Burghers of *London* had succeeded to their Wish, and that one of the Gates of the City was to be put into their Hands. The Hopes of strengthening themselves with the Assistance of so rich and powerful a City, whose Name alone wou'd give a Reputation to their Party, made them use so great Expedition, that in two Marches they came to *Aldgate*, This Gate being open'd to them, they enter'd the City at break of Day, before the King, who was then at the *Tower*, had the least Notice of their Approach. So great an Advntage having enabled them to undertake any thing, they resolv'd to besiege the King in the *Tower*. Whilst they were employ'd in the Siege, which however they cou'd not set about before they had made great Preparations, they sent *Circular Letters* to all the Lords of the King's Party, and to those that stood Neuter. Without using any Preamble, they let them know that their Estates wou'd be

They chuse a General;

and begin Hostilities.

They become Masters of London;

and besiege the King in the Tower.

* The Castle was put into their Hands by *William Beauchamp* the Owner.

1215.

John is
constrain'd
to yield to
them.

be plunder'd, and their Houses demolish'd, if they did not come and join with them in defence of the *Common Cause* of the Kingdom. These Threats had so good an Effect, that they who intended to stand Neuter, came and confederated with the Barons. Some, even of them on whom the King depended, deserted him for fear of the impending Evils. This Defection having render'd the King more tractable, he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* to the Barons, to inform them that he was ready to grant their Demands. This was properly surrendering himself to their Mercy. But as Matters then stood, he had no other Course to take. After a short Negotiation, it was agreed, that the King and the Barons shou'd meet upon a Day prefix'd, in a Meadow call'd *Rannemede* *, in order to settle Matters in a Manner most conducive of the Publick Good.

He signs
Magna
Charta,
and the
Charter of
Forests.

The Barons came in great Numbers to the Place appointed, whilst the King appear'd attended by five or six Lords only. Among whom was the Cardinal Archbishop, who affected to perform the Office of a Mediator, though he was the principal Author of these Troubles.

* Between *Stains* and *Windsor*. Both Parties met on the 15th of *June*, and pitch'd their Tents asunder in the Meadow. On the King's Side appear'd the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*, with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worcester*, *Conventry*, and *Rochester*; *Pandulph* the Pope's Legate, and *Almeric*, Master of the *Knights Templars* in *England*. And of the Laity, *William Marshal* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Warren*, and *Arundel*; with the Barons *Alan de Galway*, *William Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter* and *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas* and *Alan Basset*, *Hugh de Nevil*, *Hubert de Burgh*, Seneschal of *Poitou*, *Robert de Roppeley*, *John Marshal*, and *Philip de Albiney*. As for these on the Barons Side, they are scarce to be number'd, as you may see in *Matthew Paris* under the Year 1215. The Chief were, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, the General, *Richard* Earl of *Clare*, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Essex* and *Glocester*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *Salvo* Earl of *Winchester*, *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, *Hugh* Earl of *Heresford*, *William Marshal* the younger, *Eustace de Vescie*, *William de Mowbray*, *John Fitz-Robert*, *Roger de Monte Begon*, *William de Lanvailey*, *Richard de Percy*, *Robert de Ross*, *Peter de Bruis*, *Nicholas de Stubevil*, *Roger de Creissy*, &c. &c. &c.

bles. It was not long debating, what Satisfaction the King shou'd give the Barons. As they wou'd not relax in the least, it was not in the King's Power to deny them any thing. Besides, he consider'd that the higher they ran in their Demands, the more plausible wou'd his Pretence be to retract when a favourable Opportunity shou'd offer. And therefore, without objecting against any of the Articles propos'd, he made as if he willingly granted what in reality was extorted by Force. He sign'd two *Charters*, wherein the Barons had inserted every thing they thought fit. The first was call'd the *Charter of Liberties*, or the *Great Charter* *; the other the *Charter of the Forests*. By perusing these *Charters*, which the Reader will find at the end of this Reign, one may see what the *Oppressions* were which the *English* had been liable to since *the Conquest*, and what the *Privileges* which they gain'd on this Occasion. From that time forward these two *Charters* have been the Basis and Foundation of the *English Liberties*, maugre the Endeavours of *John* himself, and some of his Successors, to get them annull'd,

1215.

These *Charters* were sign'd by the King and all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* of the Realm, seal'd with the *Great Seal*, and confirm'd by the King's *Solemn Oath*. But for the further securing the Performance of them, there were chosen, with the King's Consent, five and twenty Barons *, to any four of whom, all Persons might apply, to complain of the Breach of the *Charters*. It was further agreed, that the four Barons, who shou'd first receive Information of any *Grievance*, shou'd acquaint the King with it; and if it was not redress'd within forty Days, they shou'd give Notice of it to all the Barons, for whom in that Case it shou'd be lawful to take up Arms and seize the King's Castles, in order to oblige him to make Reparation for the Wrong done. All Violence, however, to the King's Person, the Queen and their Issue,

Precautions of the Barons that the Charter might be observ'd.
Act. Pub.
I. 201.

* *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*. M. Paris, An. 1215.

1215. Issue, was excepted. But to remove the Scruples People might have about taking up Arms against their Sovereign, the King consented, that all Persons shou'd swear that they wou'd assist the Barons in all Cases relating to the two *Charters*. To all these Concessions, he added

Paris.

An. 1215. *Letters Patents*, directed to all his *Sheriffs*, empowering them to take the Oaths of all his Subjects, that they wou'd punctually observe the two *Charters*, and if it was necessary, wou'd do their utmost to compel the King to do the same *.

John re-
pents the
signing of
the Char-
ters.
Paris.

One may very well say here, what an Historian said upon the like Occasion, *the King intended not to bind himself with Chains of Parchment*. All the Precautions the Barons had taken to tie up their Sovereign, serv'd only to make him the more eager to find out the Means to disentangle himself from a Yoke which seem'd intolerable. Those that were about him being almost *Foreigners*, help'd to exasperate him the more, by aggravating the Pride and Insolence of the Barons. As they were very sensible that these *Charters*, which set Bounds to the Regal Power, cou'd not but be prejudicial to them, they never ceas'd laying before his Eyes the Injustice he had done himself by signing them. In fine, the Drift of their whole Discourse was to incite him to shake off the Subjection, his Concessions had made him liable to. They met with no great Difficulty to perswade him to this: But the Business was how to bring it about. This unhappy Prince, continually plagu'd *within* by his own Thoughts, and *without* by the invenom'd Reproaches of his Courtiers, grew so very reserv'd and melancholly, as plainly enough show'd his inward Rage and Anguish. He was perpetually casting in his Mind how to revenge himself: But he knew not where to have *Men* and *Money*, of which he stood in need to compass his Ends. He plainly saw he had no other Course to take but to apply

He endea-
vours to
annul
them.

* By another Agreement, printed in Dr. Brady's *Appendix*, the City of *London* was to remain in the Hands of the Barons mention'd in the Note above, till the 15th of *August* that Year, and that the Archbishop shou'd hold the *Tower* for the same Term.

apply to the Barons themselves, against whom he design'd to use them. But it was no easy Matter to over-reach them, jealous as they were of all his Actions. In fine, after he had turn'd himself on every Side, his Rage and Despair put him upon the Means of raising Troops without having wherewithal to pay them ; which was, to send some of his faithful Confidants * into *France, Germany, Flanders*, with Orders to promise such as wou'd enter into his Service, the confiscated Estates of the *Rebellious Barons*, for so he stil'd them. He gave these Messengers likewise a Power to make Grants beforehand of the Lands of the *English* Lords, and to pass the *Deeds* in Form. By the same Methods it was that *William the Conqueror* had formerly drawn together a numerous Army, which render'd him Master of *England*. They that had engag'd themselves in the Service of that Prince came off with Success, and had acquir'd noble Estates in the Kingdom ; the Consideration whereof induc'd great Numbers to try the same Way, in hopes *John* wou'd procure them the same Advantages. At all times, there are but too many People, whose Ambition or desperate Fortunes makes them eager to embrace all Opportunities of enriching themselves, without troubling themselves about the Justice or Injustice of the Side they espouse.

Whilst his Agents were employ'd in levying Troops, *John* was taking care to secure the Court of *Rome*. He knew, by fatal Experience, how much the formidable Power of the Pope was capable of promoting or hindering the Execution of his Designs. And therefore he sent the Pope a Letter (a), informing him of the Constraint put upon him, though, as he assur'd him, he had protested that being a *Vassal* of the *Holy See*, he cou'd do

He raises
a Troop of
Adventu-
rers, by for-
eign
Countries.

He de-
mands the
Pope's As-
sistance.

Act. Pub.
I. 200,
202.

* His Agents were *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester* his Chancellor, *John* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Richard de Marisco*, or *Maris*, who went to the Pope, *William Gernon*, and *Hugh de Beves*.

(a) The King's Letter to the Pope concludes with these Words: *Pro certo habentes, quod post Deum, personam vestram, & auctoritatem, Sedis Apostolica habemus unicum & singulare presidium, & sub vestri Confidentia patrocinij, respiramus.*

1215. nothing without his Consent. Together with this Letter he sent a Copy of the *Charters* they made him sign, and desir'd the Pope to observe that all the Articles contain'd therein were so many Incroachments upon the Regal Power, and consequently upon the *Sovereign Lord*. This was flattering the Pope in the most sensible Part. For this Reason, he entreated him to absolve him from his Oath, that he might, with a safe Conscience, use his Endeavours to free himself from so heavy a Yoke. After he had taken these Measures, with all the Secrecy possible, fearing that if he shou'd appear too much in Publick his Designs might come to be known or guess'd at, he pitch'd upon the *Isle of Wight* for his Residence. In this Retirement, he kept himself as it were conceal'd for a good while, holding no Communication with any but Fishermen and Sailors, nor using any Diversions but walking on the Sea-Shore with some of his Domesticks. As soon as it was known that the King was retir'd to the *Isle of Wight*, People were in vain inquisitive about the Cause of his Retreat. Some jok'd and said, he was become a *Fisberman* or *Merchant*, others, that he design'd to turn *Pirate*. But altho' he was not ignorant of these Scoffs, he never troubled himself about them. During three Months, he waited patiently for the return of his Agents, and the Arrival of the Foreign Troops, which he was put in hopes of.

*He retires
to the Isle
of Wight.*

*Innocent
threatens
the Barons.*

He met with no Rubs at the Court of *Rome*, whose Interest it was to support him. *Innocent* fell into a strange Passion with the Barons for having dar'd without consulting him, to cause their King to sign *Charters* of that Nature, and to put a Constraint upon a Prince who had taken upon him the *Cross*, and was under the *Church's* Protection. In his Rage, he swore [by *St. Peter*] that cost him what it wou'd, he wou'd never suffer their Rashness to go unpunish'd. At the same time he sent them a Letter, enjoining them to renounce what they had extorted from their Sovereign, unless they had a Mind to draw down on their Heads the Indignation of the *Holy See*. But the Barons made light of his Injunctions, and without any Dread of his Thunderings, they seiz'd upon *Rocheſter*, which

*They make
light of it,
and seize
Rocheſter.
Paris.*

which Cardinal *Langton* put into their Hands (b). They found there a prodigious Quantity of Provisions, which the King had laid up against he shou'd have Occasion for them. This was apparently the Reason of their taking that Place.

In the mean time, the Pope having annull'd the two *Charters*, and absolv'd the King from his Oath, *John's Affairs* began to have a new Face, by the Advice he receiv'd, that his Agents had list'd great Numbers of Adventurers in his Service. Upon this Intelligence, *John* hastily quit-
ted the Isle of Wight, and went to receive them at *Dover*. In a short time he had the satisfaction to see vast Numbers arrive from *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Gascogny*, all Soldiers of Fortune, that had Nothing to lose, and were ready to venture their Lives to gain an Estate. Their Number was so considerable that one can scarce give Credit to the Historians which mention it. But by an unexpected Accident one of the Leaders, *Hugh de Boves*, who was coming with no less than, as it is said, forty thousand Men, perish'd in the Sea with all his Troops. If these had safely arriv'd, there is no question but *John* wou'd have had it in his Power to treat the *Normans* settled in *England*, in the same Manner as *William the Conqueror* had formerly treated the *Englisch*. Nevertheless, how great soever this Loss might be, there were Troops enough still left to enable him to trample upon the Barons, who little expected such a Turn of Affairs. His first Undertaking was the Siege of *Rocheſter*, which, after a long Resistance, surren-
 der'd at last, notwithstanding the Endeavors of the Barons to throw in some Succours. He was so exasperated, that he wou'd have hang'd up the whole Garrison, if his Generals had not represented to him that he wou'd expose his own Troops to the same cruel Usage *. After the taking of

The Pope annuls the Charters, and absolves the King from his Oath.
 Act. Pub. I. 207.
Knyghton.
Great Numbers of Foreign Troops arrive.
Paris.

The King retakes Rocheſter,

and ravages the Kingdom.

(b) *Qui, quâ conscientia nescio, illud Regis inimicis tradidit.* M. Paris.

* *William de Albiney*, whom the Barons had sent for and made Governor under the Archbishop, *William de Lancaſter* and *William de Emesford* and some others, were sent close Prisoners to *Corſ-Caſtle*. The ordinary Soldiers, except the *Croſs-bow-Men*, were all hang'd. M. Paris, An. 1215.

1215.

Rocheſter, he divided his Army into two Bodies. He gave the command of one to the Earl of *Salisbury*, to go and ravage the *Southern* Counties, whilſt with the other he march'd into the *Northern* Parts to make them feel the Effects of his Vengeance. Never was *England* in ſo deplorable a Condition. Two Foreign Armies, who had Nothing in View but Plunder, were in her very Bowels, ravaging the Country in a merciless Manner. We may eaſily gueſs that they ſpar'd not the Houſes and Lands of the Barons, who, perceiving they were not ſtrong enough to appear in the Field, kept themſelves ſhut up in *London*.

The Pope excommunicates the Barons.

A. A. Pub. I. 208.

Langton refuſes to publiſh the Bull.

He is ſuſpended, and the Bull publiſh'd.

The Barons value it not.

The Pope is reveng'd of Langton. Paris.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Pope thunder'd out an *Excommunication* againſt the Barons, and order'd *Pandolph*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* to enjoin Cardinal *Langton* in his Name, to publiſh the *Bull*. But the Archbiſhop, pretending that the Pope had been impos'd upon, refus'd to comply, till he himſelf had inform'd *his Holineſs* of all Particulars. The true Reaſon was, becauſe he cou'd not reſolve to proceed againſt thoſe whom he himſelf had excited to take up Arms. Upon his Refuſal, the two Commiſſioners publiſh'd the Sentence of *Excommunication* themſelves, and *ſuſpended* the Archbiſhop, purſuant to the Orders they had receiv'd. The Barons not valuing the *Sentence*, on pretence that they were not particularly nam'd in the *Bull*, continued their Endeavours to defend themſelves againſt the King. As for the Cardinal Archbiſhop, he was ſent for to *Rome*, where he was like to be depoſ'd. But the Pope relenting at the Intreaties of the other Cardinals, was contented with confirming his *Suſpenſion*. Some time after, he took another Opportunity to mortify him, by voiding the Election of *Simon* his Brother, who had been choſen Archbiſhop of *York*, and putting *Walter de Gray* in his Room. But however 'twas not till he had exacted from the Laſt, [for his *Pall*] the Sum of ten thouſand Pound *Sterling* *, for the Occaſions of the *Holy*

* Hence may be gueſs'd what vaſt Sums of Money the Pope in thoſe days extorted out of *England*, and what great Riches the *Clergy*

Holy See. In fine, after several Mortifications given him at *Rome*, *Langton's* Suspension was taken off, upon Condition that he wou'd not return to *England* till the Troubles were over there.

1215.

As soon as *Innocent* had been inform'd of the Pretence made use of by the Barons, for not submitting to the sentence of *Excommunication*, he had publish'd another *Bull*, wherein he excommunicated them all by Name. Their Lands were put under an *Interdict*, as well as the City of *London*, which had sided with them. As the Barons had expected this Second *Bull*, they had taken a Resolution not to regard it, and to prevent its being publish'd in *London*. They alledg'd in their Vindication, that the *Bull* was obtain'd by false Suggestions, and consequently of no value: that besides, it was not the Pope's Business to meddle with Temporal Affairs, seeing *St. Peter* had receiv'd from *Christ* none but *Spiritual Power*: for which reason it was neither Just nor Right that *Christians* shou'd suffer themselves to be sway'd by the *Ambition* and *Avarice* of Popes. One wou'd hardly believe that they who talk'd at this Rate, were the same Persons who had refus'd to serve the King on account of his being excommunicated, had we not a thousand Instances to convince us how apt Men are to square their Opinions by their Interests. In the mean time, the Pope had the Mortification to see his Authority trampled upon, without being able to help it, since the *People* were against him, in which case he ever darts his Thunders to no manner of Purpose. Whilst the Barons and Citizens of *London* were thus vigorously resolv'd not to regard the Pope, *John* continued ravaging the Kingdom, and especially the Lands of the confederate Barons. It is no hard Matter to conceive, that the Manner of the *Foreign* Troops putting his Orders in Execution was none of the mildest, and that numberless Outrages and Cruelties were

The Barons are excommunicated again.

Act, Pub.

I. 210.

They despise the Pope's Censures.
Paris.

John continues his Ravages.

Clergy possess'd, when this Archbishop was to pay the Pope as much as wou'd *Now* be equal to 50,000*l.* He is said to be promoted to the *See* of *York*, for not having known Woman.

1215. were committed on this Occasion, which increas'd the Animosity of the Barons against the King *.

*The Barons
make an
Offer of the
Crown to
Prince
Lewis of
France.
Paris.
Mezeray.*

*Philip pro-
mises to
assist them.*

In the mean time, the *confederate* Barons were in a deplorable Condition. Instead of regaining their *Privileges*, they beheld their Estates plunder'd and given to *Foreigners*, whilst the King was glutting himself with the Pleasure of Revenge. Their wretched State put them at length upon taking a desperate Course, which made them run the Risk of their own and the Kingdom's Ruin, in order to have the satisfaction of being reveng'd on the King, tho' at the Expence of the poor *People*. They sent word to the King of *France* **, that, if he wou'd send over Prince *Lewis* his Son, they promis'd to set the Crown of *England* on his Head, provided he brought Forces enough with him to free them from the Tyranny of King *John*. *Philip* wanted not much soliciting to accept of the Offer the Barons made him. He had once before had thoughts of conquering *England*, and if the Loss of his Fleet, much more than the Threats of the Pope, had made him desist from his Enterprize, he had still for all that a longing Desire to bring it about, in case a good Opportunity shou'd offer. And as this which the Rupture between *John* and the Barons furnish'd him with, seem'd a very favorable one, he laid hold of it without a Moment's Consideration. He only desir'd that the Barons wou'd give 25 Hostages for the Performance of their Word, to which they readily consented. Upon the Arrival of the Hostages at *Paris*, Prince *Lewis*, who was then in *Languedoc* warring against the *Albigenses*, came to the King his Father in order to prepare for this important Expedition. He immediately sent over some Troops to the Barons **, with Assurances that he

wou'd

* *Roger de Wendover*, (who was then alive) as well as *Radulph of Coggeshal*, has given us a particular Account of the Barbarities committed by King *John's* Mercenaries, whom he calls, *The Guards of Satan and Ministers of the Devil*.

** By *Saher* Earl of *Winchester*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, who carried Letters seal'd with the *Baron's* Seal.

** Under the Command of the *Castellan* of *St. Omars*, *Hugh Chacno*, *Eustace de Neville*, *Giles de Melan* and others, who came up

wou'd soon follow in Person with a much greater Number of Forces.

1215.

The Preparations that were making in *France*, coming to the Ears of the Pope, he dispatch'd thither one *Gallo*, as his *Legate*, to try to put a Stop to them. The *Legate* having an Audience of the King, forbid him in the Pope's Name to carry his Arms into *England*, as being Part of St. *Peter's Patrimony*, and threatned all Persons whatsoever with *Excommunication* that shou'd, directly or indirectly, give any Assistance to the *English* Barons. *Philip*, without being concern'd at these Menaces, replied, *that* the Claim to *England*, as the *Patrimony* of St. *Peter*, was built upon a false Foundation; *That* it was evident, King *John* had not the Power to subject his Kingdom, by a bare Act of his Will, without the Consent of the *States*; *That* an Act of such a Nature was beyond what any King cou'd pretend to, and *that* the Maxims which the Pope had a Mind to introduce were too pernicious to all *Civil States* to be receiv'd *. The Person that said this, was however the same *Philip*, who, three Years before, by the Pope's sole Authority, thought he might justly seize upon *England*: The which is a clear Evidence that the Exorbitant Power which the Pope claim'd, was not submitted to from a *Religious* Principle, but purely from the Motive of Interest or Fear. 'Twas thus that the Court of *Rome* met on some certain Occasions with Mortifications which she was willing to dissemble, whilst at other times she made the best of her Authority, with extraordinary Pride and Haughtiness.

1216.
Great Pre-
parations
in France
Paris.
The Pope
forbids
Philip to
war against
England.
Philip's
Answer.
Mezeray.

The

up the *Thames* to *London* on the 27th of *February*. Some of the *English* Barons holding a Tournament with these *French* Noblemen, one of them mortally wounded *Geoffrey de Mandeville* Earl of *Essex*, to the great Grief of his Party. *M. Paris*.

* *Matthew Paris* says, that all the Great-Men of *France* unanimously declared, that they wou'd maintain this Point even to Death, *That no King or Prince by his single Authority had power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enslave his Nobility*. These things were transacted at *Lyon*, about 15 days after *Easter*.

1216,
Lewis
arrives in
England ;

and takes
Rochester.

The Abbot
of St. Au-
gustin's
excommu-
nicates
Lewis.

The Ba-
rons swear
Fealty to
Lewis.

The Pope's Prohibition not being able to put a Stop to Proceedings, *Lewis* was quickly in a Readiness to sail for *England* with a Fleet of 700 Ships. In the mean time *John*, who went to *Dover* upon the first News of the Design of the *French*, not thinking himself in a condition to hinder their Descent, was retir'd to *Winchester*. So that *Lewis* finding no Opposition, landed his Troops at *Sandwich* without any Molestation. After which he march'd against *Rochester*, where he met with little or no Resistance. The taking of that City drew after it the whole County of *Kent*, except *Dover-Castle*, where *John* had left a strong Garrison with a brave and faithful Governor*.

In the mean time, the Pope had sent *Gallo* his Legate Orders to repair into *England*, and solemnly publish the Bull of Excommunication against the Barons. At the same time, he had commission'd the Abbot of St. *Augustin's*, to pronounce Prince *Lewis* excommunicated the Moment he shou'd set foot in *England*. *Lewis* endeavour'd to avert this Blow, by representing to the Abbot, in a Letter*, his Right to the Crown of *England*. Among other Reasons, he alledges, that *John* having mounted the Throne only by virtue of the Consent of the Barons, the same Authority might depose him and put another in his Place**. The Abbot not being prevail'd upon by his Arguments, pronounc'd Prince *Lewis* and his Adherents excommunicated, pursuant to the Pope's express Orders. But this did not prevent the Prince from prosecuting his Enterprize. As soon as he became Master of *Rochester*, he march'd on to *London*, where the Barons and Citizens took the Oath of Allegiance to him, after he had solemnly sworn that he wou'd restore to all their lost *Inheritances*, and to the Nation their ancient Privileges. We don't find any where in the *English* Historians that this Prince was crown'd. It is however certain that he acted as King, and manag'd every thing

* *Hubert de Burgh*.

*. This Letter is still extant in *Thorn's* History of that Abby.

*. Alluding to Archbishop *Hubert's* Speech at his Coronation.

thing relating to the Government as if he had been lawfully invested with the Royal Authority *. He made *Simon Langton* High Chancellor, who being incens'd against the Pope, had perswaded the Barons and Citizens of *London* to despise the Popes *Censures*, and notwithstanding the *Interdict*, to be present at *Divine Service*, which was celebrated as usual. *Lewis*, for his Part, was easily brought to consent to what was so agreeable to his Intentions. When he had resolv'd upon this Undertaking, he plainly foresaw he shou'd meet with Obstacles from the Pope, and therefore had determin'd beforehand not to value his *Censures*. He did no more in this than what the King his Father and the Bishops of *France* had done before him, who had appeal'd to the Pope when better inform'd, from the Sentence of *Interdict* pronounc'd upon the whole Kingdom *. Appeals to a future *General Council* were not as yet much in fashion, neither was the commodious *Distinction* between the Holy See and the Person of the Pope yet set abroad.

1216.

He makes
Simon
Langton
Chancellor

The Number of *Lewis's* Friends daily increasing, as he continued his Progress, he quickly became Master of the *Southern* Counties. After which he march'd towards *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, both which likewise submitted to him. He met with no Resistance but from *William de Colingham*, who having got together a thousand *Archers*, kept always close by the side of the Prince's Army, and never spar'd such of the *French* as went out to plunder.

Lewis
makes
great Pro-
gress.
Paris.

V O L. III.

I i

Shortly

* He summon'd on the 14th of *June* the King of *Scotland* and all the Great Men of *England* to do him Homage, or forthwith to depart the Nation. Upon this his *Proclamation* came in to him, *William Earl Warren*, *William Earl of Arundel*, *William Earl of Salisbury*, the King's base Brother, *William Marshal* the Younger, and many others. *M. Paris*.

* Pope *Boniface VIII.* upon a Quarrel with *Philip*, excommunicated him, and absolv'd his Subjects from their Allegiance, which so incens'd him, that he got the Pope condemn'd in a Synod for *Simony*, *Murder*, *Atheism*, *Adultery*, &c. And his *Bull*, wherein he asserted that he was *Supream Lord* in *Temporals*, was burnt by the *Parliament* of *Paris*, and by the *States* of *France*, who declar'd against the *Papal* Usurpations.

1216.

*He besieges
Dover,
and the
Barons
Windsor.*

*The Scotch
King does
him Ho-
mage.*

*Lewis de-
fends his
Claim to
England
before the
Pope.*

*The Ob-
jections
and Re-
plies.*

Shortly after, *Lewis's* Party in the *North* took the City of *York*, and sent for him to come into those Parts in order to finish the Conquest of all the Country beyond the *Humber*. But whilst he was making ready for that Expedition, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, reproving him for having left behind him the Castles of *Dover* and *Windsor*, which were of greater moment than the *Northern* Counties. Upon this he march'd back in order to besiege *Dover*, whilst the *English* Barons, with their own Troops, went and invested *Windsor*. At the same time, *Alexander I.* King of *Scotland*, pursuant to *Lewis's* Summons, came and did him Homage in Person, for the Lands he held of the Crown of *England*: Which done, *Lewis* and the *English* Barons promis'd him with an Oath that they wou'd never make Peace without his Knowledge. But this Promise was afterwards but ill kept. A little after, *John* had the mortification to see himself deserted by the *Flemish* and *Poitevin* Troops, whom *Lewis* had found the Means to entice away from his Service.

Whilst these Things were transacting in *England*, the Ambassadors *Lewis* had sent to *Rome*, were trying, by all manner of Means, to vindicate their Master's Claim to the Crown of *England*. They founded his Right chiefly upon his Marriage with *Blanch* of *Castile*, pretending that *John* having been lawfully depos'd by the Barons, the Crown was devolv'd to *Blanch* his Niece. As the large Account which an Historian * has given of the Conference the Ambassadors had with *Innocent*, may be of Service in clearing up this Matter, it will not be amiss to relate some of the Particulars. The Pope objected to the Ambassadors, that supposing *John* was lawfully depos'd, his Children ought not to be involv'd in the same Misfortune. But granting that his Children, young as they were, had been Partakers of their Father's Crimes,

Eleanor

* *Matthew Paris*, An. 1216. hath set forth at large the Reasons presented to the Pope on *Lewis's* Behalf, with the Pope's Replies, which contain not only the clear State of this Controversy, but also many curious Points in the *Feudal* Law of that Age.

Eleanor of Bretaign *, who was still alive, had the Precedence of all others. In fine, that the Emperor *Otho*, Son of *Henry* II's eldest Daughter, ought manifestly to succeed before *Blanch* of *Castile*, who was born of the youngest. The Ambassadors replied, that *Eleanor's* Father and *Otho's* Mother being both dead, there was no room for *Representation*, but the Mother of *Blanch* being still living, her Daughter might in Reason and Justice represent her. But, answer'd the Pope, why shou'd *Blanch* have the Preference of the King of *Castile* her Brother, and of the Queen of *Leon* her eldest Sister? This was a home Question: But however, as the Business was not on this Occasion, so much to give good Reasons, as to alledge some one whether good or bad, in order to afford a sort of Satisfaction to the Pope, the Ambassadors were not at a loss for an Answer. They affirm'd, that when there were several Heirs, and the next of Kin did not appear and put in his Claim, a more distant Relation might take Possession of the Inheritance, saving to the other his Right: That this was the Foundation their Master went upon; and therefore if afterwards a nearer than he shou'd put in his Claim to *England*, he shou'd be always ready to give him reasonable Satisfaction. *Innocent* was fain to rest satisfied with this Reply which was made, not so much to prove the Justice of *Lewis's* Title, as to show a Deference to the Pope in debating the Matter before him. Whatever his Decision might be, *Lewis* had resolv'd to go on with his pretended Right, which he built much less upon *Equity* than *Force*.

The *French* and *English* Troops being employ'd in the Siege of *Dover* and *Windsor*, *John*, who till then had perceiv'd that he was not strong enough to venture to take the Field, found himself in a Condition to leave *Winchester* and march into *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he committed great Ravages. But upon Intelligence that the Barons had rais'd the Siege of *Windsor*, with design to come and give him Battle, he retir'd to an advantageous

John ravages Norfolk and Suffolk. Paris.

* *Arthur's* Sister, in Confinement in *Bristol-Castle*.

1216.

ous Post near *Stamford*, where it wou'd be difficult to attack him. He took care not to hazard a Battle, apprehensive as he was, that the Officers of his Army, the greatest part whereof were Subjects to the King of *France*, wou'd make their Peace with *Lewis* by some notable piece of Treachery. He was further induc'd to avoid coming to a Battle, by the Advantages he expected from prolonging the War. He believ'd he had reason to hope, that the *English* wou'd quickly grow weary of the *French*, who began already to take very much upon them, and never troubled themselves to conform to their Temper and Ways. It was not without Grounds that he flatter'd himself with these Hopes. The Barons cou'd not behold without extreme Regret, all Rewards conferr'd upon Foreigners, and their own *Inheritances* bestow'd on the Favorites of the Prince whom they had invited over, as if the *English* had no manner of Right to the Conquests which were made. But all this wou'd not perhaps have been sufficient to engage them to take other Measures, if what they learnt from the Mouth of the Viscount of *Melun*, one of *Lewis's* prime Confidents, had not as it were compell'd them to look to themselves. If we may believe certain Historians, this Nobleman being seiz'd by a mortal Distemper at *London*, caus'd such of the Barons as were posted there for the Security of the City, to be sent for. When they came where he was, he told them, that he cou'd not forbear discovering a *Secret* to them, which lay heavy upon his Conscience, and which, if it was any longer conceal'd from the *English*, wou'd infallibly hurry them to utter Destruction. Then he acquainted them, that the Prince had resolv'd to rid himself, either by Banishment or otherwise, of all the Barons that had taken up Arms against King *John*, deeming them *Traytors to their King and Country*. He added, that this Resolution was taken at a Council of sixteen *French* Lords, of whom he himself was one, and that the Prince had confirm'd it with an Oath. He declar'd, upon the Word of a dying Man, what he had told them was true, and that they had the less Reason to question it, as he was just upon the

*A Secret
discover'd
by the Vis-
count of
Melun.
Knygh-
ton.
Paris.*

Point

Point of going to render an Account of his Actions before God. The *French* Historians look upon this *Secret* as all a Fiction. It must be confest indeed, that it is no easy Matter to conceive the Reason that shou'd induce Prince *Lewis* to make such an Oath beforehand, in the presence of sixteen Witnesses, supposing he had intended to insinuate to them by it, that this wou'd be a Means amply to reward their Services. For it wou'd have been very imprudently done to reveal so long beforehand so black a Design. However, whether the Thing was fact, or whether it was invented to sow Discord between the *French* and *English*, this pretended *Secret* being whisper'd about, made a very deep Impression on the Minds of the Barons. It had the greater Effect upon them, as it agreed with the Suspicions the Barons had already conceiv'd against the *French*. From thence forward many began to repent of having call'd in the *Foreigners*, and seriously to think of returning to the Obedience of their Sovereign. Accordingly no less than forty privately gave the King Assurances of their good Intentions: But the rest durst not venture to trust a Prince, whom they had offended so grievously, and with whole cruel and revengeful Temper they were too well acquainted.

1216.

Remark on
this Secret.Several
Barons
think of
returning
to the King.

In the mean time that unhappy Prince was in perpetual Motion, not knowing whom to trust, being suspicious of his own Friends. For which Reason he carefully avoided coming to a Battle, and incessantly march'd from Place to Place, in order to break the Measures of his Enemies. He look'd upon himself as safest in the County of *Norfolk*, where he pitch'd upon the little Town of *Lynn* as a Place of Security for his Treasures, his Crown, Sceptre, and other Things of value. This Town had given him such Proofs of Affection and Loyalty, that as a Mark of his Gratitude he granted it great *Privileges*. Among other Things, he made it a *Mayor-Town*, and presented the first *Mayor* with his own Sword, which is still carefully kept there. However, as he found himself press'd by the Barons, and fearing that his Treasures were not safe at *Lynn*, he resolv'd to remove them to a certain Place in

John carries
his
Crown to
Lynn.He grants
that Town
great Pri-
vileges.He retires
into Lin-
colnshire.*Lincoln,*

1216. *Lincoln*, whither he intended to retire. He very narrowly escap'd drowning he and his whole Army in the large Morafs * which parts the two Counties of *Lincoln* and *Norfolk*. Before he was got quite over, the *Tide* coming up the River *Well-stream*, which overflows the Marshland at *High Water*, put him in extream Danger. But if he escap'd himself, he cou'd not save his Baggage, which was all swallow'd up by the Waters. He arriv'd that Night at *Swines-head Abbey*, where he took up his Lodging. His anguish of Mind for his Loss, which was irretrievable in the Circumstances he was in, threw him into a violent Fever, which was much heightned by his inconsiderately eating some Peaches. On the Morrow, not being able to ride on Horseback, he was carried in a Litter to *Sleford-Castle*, from whence, the next Day, he went to *Newark*. Here it was that finding his Illness encrease, he made his Will, wherein he appointed *Henry* his eldest Son, then but ten Years of Age, his Heir. He wholly spent, in the Care of his Soul, the remaining Time of his Sicknes, which put an end to his Days on the 28th of *October* 1216, in the 51st Year of his Age, after an unhappy Reign of 17 Years, 7 Months, and 10 Days. His Body was carried to *Worcester* according to his own Order, and buried with little Funeral Pomp in the *Cathedral*, where his Tomb [with his Image upon it] is still to be seen. Some will have it that he was poison'd by a Monk of *Swines-head Abbey*; but that is very unlikely, since none of the Contemporary Historians say a Word of it *.

He loses all
his Baggage
and falls
Sick.

He makes
his Will,
and dies at
Newark.

If

* The *Washes* between a Place call'd the *Cross-Keys* in *Norfolk*, and *Forsdike* in *Holland* in *Lincolnshire*.

* *Caxton* is the first that mentions it in *English*, from whom *Speed* and *Baker* have borrow'd it. He says, that the King hearing it said how cheap Corn then was, answer'd, *He wou'd e're long make it so dear that a Penny Loaf shou'd be sold for a Shilling*. At which a Monk there present took such Indignation, that he went and put the Poyson of a *Toad* into a Cup of Wine, and came and drank to the King, which made him pledge him the more readily. But finding himself very much out of order upon it, he ask'd for the Monk, and when it was told him he was dead,

God

1216.
The Cha-
racter of
King John.

If in giving the Character of this Prince I shou'd copy after *Matthew Paris*, his chief Historian, I must represent him as one of the vilest Wretches that ever liv'd. But, as I have elsewhere observ'd, the Histories of Princes, who have had any Contests with the Court of *Rome*, must be read with a great deal of Caution. The best way therefore will be, not to regard the particular Sentiments and Expressions of Historians, but solely to examine the Actions of this Monarch, in order to come at the knowledge of his Temper and Inclinations. It is certain, one can't but have a very disadvantageous *Idea* of him, when one considers his unjust Proceedings, with regard to *Richard* his Brother ; the Death of Prince *Arthur* his Nephew, of which he never clear'd himself thoroughly ; the perpetual Imprisonment of *Eleanor* of *Bretaign* his Niece ; his divorcing *Avisa* of *Glocester* ; his extreme Indolence, when *Philip Augustus* was taking from him his Dominions in *France* ; the Meanness he show'd in resigning his Crown to the Pope ; his Breach of Faith with his Barons ; and lastly, his bringing into the Kingdom an Army of *foreign* Mercenaries, in order to be reveng'd of his Subjects. However, if one had a mind to undertake his Vindication in most of these Articles, it wou'd not perhaps be so difficult a Task as it seems to be at first Blush. But without meddling with a Subject, which wou'd lead me too far, I shall content my self with saying of this Prince, what I elsewhere said of *William Rufus* : That finding in King *John* scarce any one valuable Qualification, it is not worth

God have Mercy upon me (says the King) *I doubted as much.* But it is a very improbable Story for a Man to poyson himself to be reveng'd of another. But *Walter Hemingford* tells it a different way ; he says, the Abbot perswaded the Monk to poyson the King, because he wou'd have lain with his Sister ; and that he did it by a Dish of Pears which he poison'd all but three, and then, presenting them to the King, he bid him taste them himself, which he did, eating only the three that he had mark'd ; and so escap'd, whilst the King was poyson'd with the rest. From *Hemingford*, *Higden* and *Knayhton* copied this Story, which is not mention'd by any Historian that liv'd within sixty Years of that Time.

1216.

worth the while to stay to justify some particular Actions of his, though it evidently appears, that the Writers of his Life have drawn him in blacker Colours than he deserv'd. This Prince had great Faults, which wou'd have been less visible, or less heighten'd by Historians, had he been Cotemporary with a *King of France* of less Abilities and Ambition, with a *Pope* of less Pride and more Conscience, and with a *Nobility* of a less turbulent Spirit. As for the Taxes, which he rais'd without the Consent of the *States*, it may be said, that was no very unusual thing ever since *William the Conqueror*, as the Reader may have observ'd in some of the former Reigns. And yet this is what several *modern* Historians bitterly exclaim against, as if in those Days *England* enjoy'd the very same Privileges it does at present. It is easy to see that Matters were *then* upon a different Foot, when one considers, there is a necessity of going back to the time of the *Saxon* Kings, in order to come at the Foundation of the *English* Rights and Privileges.

King *John's* Fortune never squar'd with his Temper. He was a lover of Ease and Quiet, and his Fate was to be perpetually in Action. He was cut out neither for *Prosperity* nor *Adversity*. The former made him too Insolent, and the latter dejected him to a very strange Degree. So that a middle Fortune wou'd doubtless have been most suitable to his *Genius*.

He is accus'd of having exceeded his Father *Henry II.* in his Lust, a failing which one seldom thinks of aggravating in Princes, unless one has a settled Design to cry them down, for other Reasons. It can't be denied, but that the Monks have endeavour'd to paint King *John* in the blackest Colours, in order to make the Proceedings of the Pope against him pass the more smoothly down. This is evident from the Calumny they wou'd fain have cast on his Memory, of sending Ambassadors to the *Miramolin* of *Africa*, to make him an Offer of his Kingdom, with a Promise to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion, the which has no appearance of likelihood. However, as unlikely as this Charge is, there are modern Historians who make no scruple

Paris.

ple to vent it for Truth; purely upon a Belief that *Mist-
theu Paris* *, who wrote in the Reign of *Henry III.* Son
of *John*, wou'd not have dar'd to relate it, if it had not
been well grounded. But this Argument seems of little
Force, seeing this Historian has ventur'd to speak in very
disrespectful Terms of *Henry III.* himself, without any
Dread of his Resentment, of which perhaps he was out
of the reach when he wrote. Add to this, that in those
Days, Books were not immediately dispers'd abroad, but
remain'd many Times a long while conceal'd in the Mo-
nasteries, before they became *Publick*.

John was always unfortunate, and if we may believe
the Historians, always hated by his Subjects. One is at
a loss however to reconcile this constant Hatred of the *En-
glish*, with the great Ease wherewith he levied *Arms*
when he wanted them, and even whilst he was under the
Sentence of *Excommunication*. We must therefore di-
stinguish two *Periods* in this Prince's Reign. The first
takes in the time from his Coronation, to his Resignation
of the Crown to the Pope. During this Interval, if he
was in no great Esteem, at least it does not appear that he
was so odious as his ill Conduct afterwards render'd him.
The second Period begins at his Resignation, and ends
with his Life. It can't be denied but that during this
time, his Subjects had a mortal Hatred against him. And
yet if one considers his *Government*, separately from his
Personal Qualities, one may say, it was none of the worst.
To him was owing chiefly the regulating of the *Civil Go-
vernment* of the City of *London*, and of most of the o-

* He not only gives the Names of the Ambassadors, (*viz.*) *Tho-
mas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas*, Knights, with *Robert of
London*, a Priest, but also describes at large the Manner of the *Au-
dience*, and their Conversation with the *Black King*, and how he de-
spis'd the King their Master for his Meanness of Spirit, and dis-
miss'd them with Contempt. It is likewise reported of King *John*,
that he shou'd say some time after he had made his Peace with *Inno-
cent*, *That nothing had prosper'd with him since he was reconcil'd to
God and the Pope*. Again, having been a hunting, at the opening
of the *Buck* 'tis affirm'd he shou'd say, *See how fat that Deer is,
and yet I dare swear he never heard Mass*.

1216. ther Cities of the Kingdom, in the Manner it is in at present. According to *Cambden* and some others, *John* was the first that coin'd *Sterling* Money. The Ceremonies observ'd at the *Instalment* of an *Earl*, had him for their Author. In fine, he establish'd the Laws of *England* in *Ireland*, and gave the *Cinque-Ports* the Privileges they enjoy at this Day.

His Wives
and Issue.

John had no Issue by his two first Wives. *Isabel'a* of *Angouleme* his third Wife, brought him two Sons and three Daughters. *Henry* succeeded him. *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and afterwards chosen King of the *Romans*. Of his three Daughters, *Joanna* was married to *Alexander II.* King of *Scotland*, *Eleanor* espous'd first *William Marshal* Earl of *Pembroke*, and after his Death, *Simon de Monfort* Earl of *Leicester*. The Emperor *Frederick II.* married the third, whose Name was *Isabella*.

Remarkable
Events
Abroad.

The most remarkable Events *Abroad* during this Reign, were the taking of *Constantinople* by the Arms of the *French* and *Venetians* in 1204, and the *Crusade* against the *Albigenses* *, which gave Birth to the *Inquisition* *.

* About the Year 1160. one *Waldo* a Merchant of *Lions*, applying himself to the Study of the *Scriptures*, and finding there were no Grounds there for several of the *Romish* Doctrines, particularly *Transubstantiation*, publicly oppos'd them. His Followers, from him call'd *Waldenses*, being chas'd from *Lions*, spread over *Dauphine* and *Provence*. Upon which *Philip Augustus* is said in order to stop their Growth. to have raz'd 300 Gentlemen's Seats, and destroy'd several Wall-Towns. But this instead of decreasing their Numbers, made them overspread a great Part of *Europe*, and multiply so fast, that in less than 100 Years after *Waldo*, in the small Bishoprick of *Passau* alone, there were above 80,000. It appears from the Articles of their Faith, which they drew up and dedicated to the King of *France*, that they agreed in most Points with the present *Protestants*. In 1200 those People in the Province of *Albigois* in *Languedoc*, from whence they were call'd *Albigenses*, stood upon their Defence. Upon which, *Philip Augustus* warring against them, drove them into *Bohemia* and *Savoy*, and several fled into *England*. The *Crusade* against them is said to consist of 500,000 Men, who wore their *Crosses* on their Breasts; in order to distinguish themselves from those that went to the *Holy Land*, who wore them on their Shoulders.

*† Pope *Gregory IX.* was the first that set on Foot this horrid Tribunal,

Tribunal, and establish'd it at *Tbolouſe*, where it was ſoon pull'd down for its Cruelties. *Italy* and *Spain* embrac'd it, but *Charles V.* endeavouring to ſet it up in the *Low Countries*, loſt thoſe Provinces by it. This Court is in the Hands of the *Dominicans*, and takes Cognizance of *Heresy*, *Judaism*, &c. The Delinquents are imprison'd in Dungeons, and never ſee the Light till they accuſe themſelves and their Accomplices, for they never know or are confronted with their Accuſers. The *Congregation of the Inquiſition* was eſtabliſh'd by *Paul III.* and confirm'd by *Sixtus V.* It conſiſts of twelve *Cardinals*, and abundance of *Prelates* and *Divines*. The *Cardinals* are *Inquiſitors General*, and depute Subſtitutes in the Provinces.

THE
 CHARTER *of* LIBERTIES,
 OR, THE
 GREAT CHARTER
*Granted by King JOHN to his
 Subjects in the Year 1215* *¹.

JOH^N, by the Grace of God, King of Eng-
 land, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain,
 and Earl of Anjou : To all Archbishops,
 Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons,
 Sheriffs, Officers, and to all Bailiffs and
 other his faithful Subjects, Greeting.

*The
 GREAT
 CHAR-
 TER.*

KNOW ye, that we, in the Presence of God, and for
 the Health of our Soul, and the Souls of our Ancestors
 and

*¹ As 'tis to be found in *Matthew Paris*, p. 255, and divided
 into Chapters. As I shall compare it with the *Latin Original* and
Dr. Brady's Translation, I shall add what *Rapin* has omitted, and ac-
 cordingly have inserted in the Preamble, the King's Titles, and the
 Names of the Earls and Barons as they stand in *M. Paris*, which
 our Author had left out.

and Heirs, and to the Honour of God, and the Exaltation of *Holy Church*, and Amendment of our Kingdom, by Advice of our venerable Fathers, *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Cardinal of the *Holy Roman Church*; *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin*, *William* Bishop of *London*, *Peter* of *Winchester*, *Jacelin* of *Bath* and *Glastonbury*, *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, *Walter* of *Worcester*, *William* of *Covenry*, *Benedict* of *Rochester*, Bishops; and Master *Pandolph* the Pope's Sub-Deacon and ancient Servant, Brother to *Amyerick* Master of the *Temple* in *England*, and the Noble Persons *William* the Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Alan de Galway*, Constable of *Scotland*, *Warin Fitz-Gerald*, *Peter Fitz-Herbert*, and *Hugo de Burgh*, Seneschal of *Poitou*, *Hugo de Nevil*, *Matthew Fitz-Herbert*, *Thomas Basset*, *Alan Basset*, *Philip de Albiney*, *Robert de Roppele*, *John Marshal*, *John Fitz-Hugh*, and others our Liegemen, have in the first Place granted to God, and by this our present *Charter* confirm'd for us and our Heirs for ever.

I.

That the *Church* of *England* shall be free, and enjoy her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable. [* And we will have them so to be observ'd, that it may appear that the Freedom of Elections, which was reckon'd most necessary for the *Church* of *England*, and which we granted and confirm'd by our *Charter*, and obtain'd the Confirmation of from Pope *Innocent* the *Third*, before the Discord between Us and our Barons, was of our meer free Will; which Charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observ'd by our Heirs for ever.]

II.

We have also granted to all the Freemen of our Kingdom, for Us and our Heirs for ever, all the under-written
Liberties,

* Whatsoever is inserted between these two Marks [] are such Clauses as were omitted in the *Magna Charter* of *Henry III.* and all the *Charters* that follow'd.

Liberties, to have and to hold to them and their Heirs of Us and of our Heirs.

III.

If any of our Earls*, or Barons, or others, who hold of Us in *Chief* by military Service, shall die, and at the time of his Death his Heir shall be of *full Age*, and owe a *Relief*, he shall have his Inheritance by the antient *Relief**; that is to say, the Heir or Heirs of an Earl, for a whole Earl's Barony, by an hundred Pounds; the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for a whole Barony, by an hundred Marks; the Heir or Heirs of a Knight, for a whole Knight's *Fee*, by an hundred Shillings; and he that oweth less shall give less, according to the antient Custom of *Fees*.

IV.

But if the Heir of any such shall be *under Age*, and shall be in *Ward*, his Lord shall not have the *Wardship* of him, nor his Land, before he hath received his Homage; and after such Heir shall be in *Ward*, and shall attain to the Age of One and Twenty Years, he shall have his Inheritance without *Relief* or without *Fine*: Yet so, that if he be made a *Knight* while he is under Age, nevertheless the Land shall remain in the Custody of the Lord, until the aforesaid Time.

V.

The Warden of the Land of such Heir, who shall be under Age, shall take of the Land of such Heir, only reasonable Issues, reasonable Customs, and reasonable Services; and that without Destruction and Waste of the Men or Things upon the Estate: And if we shall commit the Guardianship of those Lands to the Sheriff, or any

* There was never a *Duke*, *Marquess*, or *Viscount* then in *England*. The first *Duke* was *Edward the Black Prince*, who was created *Duke of Cornwall*, in 11 *Edw. III.* *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford* was created *Marquess of Dublin*, in 8 *Rich. II.* The first *Viscount* on Record, and that sat in Parliament by that Name, was *John Viscount Beaumont*, created 18 *Henry VI.*

* The antient *Relief* (from the *Latin* Word *Relevare*, to ease by *Abatement*, or to take up again) was the fourth Part of the yearly Value.

ny other, who is answerable to us for the Issues of the Land; and if he shall make Destruction and Waste upon the *Ward-Lands*, we will compel him to give Satisfaction, and the Land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet *Tenants* of that *Fee*, who in like Manner shall be answerable for the Issues to Us or to Him whom we shall assign, as hath been said.

VI.

But the *Warden*, so long as he shall have the Wardship of the Land, shall keep up and maintain the Houses, Parks, Warrens, Ponds, Mills, and other things pertaining to the Land, out of the Issues of the same Land; and shall restore to the Heir, when he comes of full Age, his whole Land stock'd with Ploughs, and all other Things, at least, whatever he receiv'd. And all these things shall be observ'd in the *Custodies* of vacant Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbies, Priories, Churches, and Dignities which appertain to us; except that these *Wardships* are not to be sold.

VII.

Heirs shall be married without Disparagement*; [so that before Matrimony shall be contracted, those who are nearest to the Heir in Blood shall be made acquainted with it.]

VIII.

A Widow, after the Death of her Husband, shall forthwith and without any Difficulty, have her *Marriage**, and her Inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her *Dower*, or her *Marriage*, or her Inheritance, which her Husband and she held at the Day of his Death: And she may remain in the *Capital Messuage* or *Mansion-House* of her Husband, forty Days after his Death; within which Term her *Dower* shall be assign'd, if it was not assign'd before, or unless the House shall be a Castle; and if she departs from the Castle, there shall forthwith be provided

* That is, according to their Rank, &c.

*† *Maritagium*, that is, shall have Liberty to marry where she will.

provided for her a compleat House, in which she may decently dwell, till her *Dower* be to her assign'd, as hath been said; and she shall in the mean time have her reasonable *Estate*, (i. e. *competent Maintenance*) out of the *Common [Revenue]*. And there shall be assign'd to her for her *Dower*, the third Part of all her Husband's Lands, which were his in his Life-time, except she were endow'd with less at the Church-Door.

IX.

No Widow shall be *destin'd* * to marry herself so long as she has a mind to live without a Husband. But yet she shall give Security that she will not marry without our Assent, if she *holds* of Us; or without the Consent of the Lord of whom she *holds*, if she holds of another.

X.

Neither we nor our *Bailiffs* shall seize any Land or Rent for any Debt, so long as there shall be *Chargels* of the Debtor's upon the Premises sufficient to pay the Debt, and that the Debtor be ready to satisfy it. Nor shall the Sureties of the Debtor be distrain'd, so long as the principal Debtor be sufficient for the payment of the Debt.

XI.

And if the principal Debtor fail in the Payment of the Debt, not having wherewithal to discharge it, or will not discharge it when he is able, then the *Sureties* shall answer the Debt, and if they will they shall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor, until they shall be satisfied for the Debt which they paid for him; unless the principal Debtor can show himself acquitted thereof, against the said Sureties.

XII.

[If any one have borrow'd any thing of the *Yew*, more or less, and dies before the Debt be satisfied, there shall be no Interest paid for that Debt, so long as the Heir is under Age, of whomsoever he may hold: And if the Debt falls into our Hands, we will take only the *Charge* mention'd in the *Charter* or *Instrument*.]

XIII.

* Compell'd by seizing her Goods.

XIII.

[If any one shall die indebted to *Jews*, his Wife shall have her *Dower*, and pay Nothing of that Debt; and if the *Deceas'd* left Children under Age, they shall have Necessaries provided for them according to the *Tenement* (or *real Estate*) of the *Deceas'd*, and out of the Residue the Debt shall be paid; saving however the *Service* of the Lords. In like Manner the Debts due to other Persons than *Jews* shall be paid.]

XIV.

I will not impose any *Scutage* (a) or *Aid* in our Kingdom, unless by the *Common Council* of our Kingdom, except to redeem our Person, and to make our Eldest Son a *Knight*, and once to Marry our Eldest Daughter; and for this there shall only be paid a reasonable *Aid*.

XV.

[In like Manner it shall be concerning the *Aids* of the City of *London*; and] the City of *London* shall have all its antient Liberties and free Customs, as well by Land as by Water.

XVI.

Furthermore, we will and grant that all other Cities and Burroughs, and Towns and Barons of the *Cinque-Ports* (b), and all other Ports, shall have all their Liberties and free Customs: and shall have the *Common Council* of the Kingdom concerning the *Assessment* of their *Aids* *, except in the three Cases aforesaid.

(a) *Scutage* was *Military Service*, which was due to the King from the Tenants in Chief. It is to be understood also of what the *Fen-darries* paid the King in lieu of that *Service*, and likewise of the *Tax* which was impos'd on each Vassal for the Service of the Publick. Since *William the Conqueror*, the Kings had frequently impos'd *Scutages*, without the Consent of the *States*.

(b) The *Cinque Ports* lay in the County of *Kent*. They had great Privileges, which King *John* himself had augmented. The Governors of them were call'd *Barons*, as they are at this Day.

* That is, according to Dr. *Brady's* Explanation, they shall send their Representatives or Commissioners to the *Common Council* of the Kingdom.

XVII.

[And for the assessing of *Scutages* we shall cause to be summon'd the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons of the Realm *singly* by our *Letters*.]

XVIII.

[And furthermore, we shall cause to be summon'd *in General* by our *Sheriffs* and *Bailiffs*, all others who hold of us *in Chief* (c), at a certain Day, that is to say, Forty Days (*before their Meeting*) at least, to a certain Place, and in all Letters of such Summons, we will declare the Cause of the Summons.]

XIX.

[And Summons being thus made, the Business shall proceed on the Day appointed, according to the Advice of such as shall be present, altho' all that were summon'd come not.]

XX.

We will not for the future grant to any one, that he may take *Aid* of his own Free-Tenants, unless to redeem his Body, and to make his Eldest Son a *Knight*, and once to marry his Eldest Daughter; and for this there shall only be paid a reasonable *Aid*.

XXI.

No Man shall be distrein'd to perform more Service for a *Knight's-Fee* or other Free Tenement than is due from thence.

XXII.

Common Pleas shall not follow our Court, but shall be holden in some certain Place: Tryals upon the Writs of *Novel Disseisin** and of *Mort d'Ancestor**¹ and of *Darrein Presentment**² shall be taken but in their proper Counties and

(c) It seems to follow from this Article, that none but *Tenants in Chief* had a Right to sit in the *Common Council* or *Parliament*. Otherwise it was natural to mention here the *Representatives* of the *Commons*, had they enjoy'd that Right in those days.

* To require that the Possessor of an Estate be turn'd out.

*¹ *Death of the Ancestor*, a Process carried on by the Son or Descendent of a Person murdered.

*² *Last Presentment*.

and after this Manner: We, or (if we shall be out of the Realm) our Chief Justiciary, shall send our Justiciaries through every County by turns yearly, who with the *Knights* of the Shires, shall hold the said Assizes in the Counties (a).

XXIII.

And those Matters, which at the coming of the Justiciaries so sent into the Counties to hold the said Assizes, cannot be determin'd, shall not be determined in any other Place in their Circuits: And those things which by reason of the Difficulty of the Articles, cannot be determin'd by those Justiciaries, shall be referr'd to our Justiciaries of the *Bench*.

XXIV.

Assizes of *Darrein Presentment* to Churches shall be always taken before the Justiciaries of the *Bench*.

XXV.

A *Free-Man* (b) shall not be amerc'd for a small Fault, but according to the Manner of the Fault, and for a great Crime, in Proportion to the Heinousness of it, *Saving to him his Contenement* *, and after the same Manner a Merchant, *Saving to him his Merchandise*.

XXVI.

And a *Villain* of any other than our own, shall be amerced after the same Manner, saving to him his *Wainage* **, if he falls under our Mercy; and none of the aforesaid *Amerciements* shall be assess'd but by the Oath of honest and lawful Men of the Neighbourhood of the County.

(a) In all appearance, since the *Conquest*, the King's had abolish'd or very much alter'd this way of Trying Causes, that they might have the Decision of Matters in their own Power.

(b) By *Freemen* here and in most Places must be understood *Freeholders*, i. e. Those that held their Lands of the King or some other Lord by a certain *Relief*.

* *Contenementum* is to be understood of the Means of a Man's *Livelihood*, as the Arms of a Soldier, the Plough and Carts of a Husbandman, &c.

** That is, his Carts and Implements of Husbandry.

XXVII.

Earls and Barons shall not be amerc'd but by their *Peers*, (a) and according to the Quality of the Offence.

XXVIII.

No *Ecclesiastical* Person shall be amerc'd in Proportion to his *Benefice*, but according to his *Lay-Tenement* and the Greatness of his Offence.

XXIX.

Neither a Town, nor any Person shall be distrein'd to make Bridges over Rivers, unless that *antiently* and of *Right* they are bound to do it.

XXX.

No River for the future shall be imbank'd but what was imbank'd in time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

XXXI.

No *Sheriff*, *Constable* *, *Coroner* or other our *Bailiffs*, shall hold *Pleas* of the Crown.

XXXII.

[All *Counties*, *Hundreds*, *Wapentakes*, and *Tytthings*, shall stand at the old *Farm*, without any Increase, except in our *Demesne* Lands.]

XXXIII.

If any one, that holds of us a *Lay-Fee*, dies, and the *Sheriff* or our *Bailiff* show our *Letters Patents* of Summons concerning the Debt due to us from the Deceased, it shall be lawful for the *Sheriff* or our *Bailiff* to Attach and Register the *Chattels* of the Deceased found upon his *Lay-Fee*, to the Value of the Debt, by the View of *Lawful* Men, so as Nothing be remov'd, until our whole Debt be paid; and the Rest shall be left to the Executors to fulfill the *Will* of the

(a) In *England* there are two Orders or Degrees of Subjects, *Peers of the Realm*, and *Commoners*. The *Nobles* have for their *Peers*, all the *Peers* of the Realm; and the *Commoners* are all reckon'd *Peers* of one another.

* Is here taken for *Constable* of a Castle. They were Men in antient times of Account and Authority; and for *Pleas* of the Crown, &c, had the like Authority within their Precincts, as the *Sheriff* had within his *Bailwick*, before this Act; and they commonly seal'd with their Portraiture on Horseback. Regularly every Castle contains a *Manor*, so that every *Constable* of a Castle is *Constable* of a *Manor*.

the Deceas'd ; and if there be Nothing due from him to Us, all the *Chattels* shall remain to the Deceas'd, saving to his Wife and Children their reasonable Shares.

XXXIV.

[If any *Freeman* dies *Intestate*, his *Chattels* shall be distributed by the Hands of his nearest Relations and Friends by View of the *Church*, saving to every one his Debts, which the Deceased ow'd.]

XXXV.

No *Constable* or *Bailiff* of Ours shall take Corn or other *Chattels* of any Man who is not of the Town where the Castle is, unless he presently gives him Money for it, or hath respite of Payment from the Seller : But if he be of the same Town, he shall pay him within forty Days.

XXXVI.

No *Constable* shall distrein any *Knight* to give Money for *Castle-Guard*, if he himself will do it in his own Person, or by another able Man, in case he shall be hindred by any reasonable Cause.

XXXVII.

And if We shall lead him, or if We shall send him into the Army, he shall be free from *Castle-Guard*, for the time he shall be in the Army, by our Command, for the *Fee*, for which he did *Service* in the Army.

XXXVIII.

No *Sheriff* or *Bailiff* of Ours or any other, shall take Horses or Carts of any one for Carriage without paying according to the Rate *antiently* appointed ; that is to say, for a Cart and two Horses Ten Pence a Day ; and for a Cart with three Horses Fourteen Pence a Day.

XXXIX.

No *Demesne* Cart of any Ecclesiastical Person, or Knight, or any Lady, shall be taken by our Officers ; neither shall We or our Officers or others, take any Man's Timber for our Castles, or other Uses, unless by the Consent of the Owner of the Timber.

XL.

We will retain the Land of Those that are convicted of *Felony* but one Year and a Day, and then they shall be deliver'd to the Lord of the *Fee*.

XLI.

XLI.

All *Wares* for the time to come shall be demolish'd in the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, and throughout all *England*, except upon the Sea-Coast.

XLII.

The *Writ*, which is called *Pracipe* (a), for the future shall not be granted to any one of any *Tenement*, whereby a Free-Man may lose his Cause.

XLIII.

There shall be one Measure of Wine and one of Ale through our whole Realm, and one Measure of Corn; that is to say, the *London-Quarter*; and one Breadth of dyed Cloath and *Russets* and *Haberjects* *; that is to say, Two Ells within the List; and the Weights shall be as the Measures.

XLIV.

From henceforward Nothing shall be given or taken for a *Writ* of *Inquisition*, from him that desires an *Inquisition* of Life or Limbs, but shall be granted *gratis* and not denied.

XLV.

If any one holds of us by *Fee-Farm*, or *Soccage*, or *Burgage*, and holds Lands of another by *Military-Service*, We will not have the *Wardship* of the Heir or Land, which belongs to another Man's *Fee*, by reason of what he holds of us by *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage* or *Burgage*: Nor will we have the *Wardship* of the *Fee-Farm*, *Soccage*, or *Burgage*, unless the *Fee-Farm* is bound to perform *Military Service*.

XLVI.

We will not have the *Wardship* of an Heir, nor of any Land, what he holds of another by *Military Service*, by reason of any *Petit-Serjeanty* he holds of us, as by the *Service* of giving us *Daggers*, *Arrows*, or the like.

XLVII.

* A Sort of coarse Cloath.

(a) The *Writs* called *Pracipe quod Reddat* from the first Words in it, has several Uses. It signifies in general an Order from the King or some Court of Justice, to put in Possession one that complains of having been unjustly outed. Apparently several Abuses had crept in upon this Article.

XLVII.

No *Bailiff* for the future shall put any Man to his Law*, nor to an Oath, upon his single Accusation, without credible Witnesses produc'd to prove it.

XLVIII.

No *Freeman* shall be taken, or imprison'd or disseis'd of his *Free-hold* or Liberties, or Free-Customs, or Outlaw'd, or Banish'd, or any way Destroy'd; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to Prison, unless by the legal Judgment of his *Peers*, or by the Law of the Land.*.

XLIX.

We will sell to no Man, we will deny no Man, nor defer *Right* nor *Justice*.

L.

All Merchants, unless they be publickly prohibited, shall have safe and secure Conduct to go out of, and to come into *England*; and to stay there, and to pass as well by Land as by Water, to buy and sell by the antient and allow'd Customs, without any *evil Tolls*, except in time of War, or when they shall be of any Nation in War with us.

LI.

And if there shall be found any such in our Land in the beginning of a War, they shall be attack'd, without damage to their Bodies or Goods, until it may be known unto us, or our Chief *Justiciary*, how our Merchants be treated in the Nation at War with us; and if ours be safe there, they shall be safe in our Land.

LII.

[It shall be lawful for the Time to come, for any one to go out of our Kingdom, and return safely and securely by Land or by Water, saving his Allegiance to us; unless in time of War by some short Space for the common Benefit of the Kingdom, except Prisoners and *Out-laws*, (according to the Law of the Land) and People in War
with

* To make his Law, is as much as to say, to take his Oath, &c.

† That is, says Dr. Brady, by legal Process, &c.

with us, and Merchants who shall be in such Condition as is above-mention'd.]

LIII.

If any Man holds of any *Escheat*, as of the *Honour* of *Wallingford*, *Bologne*, *Lancaster*, *Nottingham*, or of other *Escheats* which are in our Hands, and are *Baronies*, and dies, his Heir shall not give any other *Relief*, or perform any other *Service* to us than he wou'd to the Baron, if the *Barony* were in Possession of the Baron; we will hold it after the same manner the Baron held it; nor will we by Reason of such *Barony* or *Escheat*, have any *Escheat* or *Wardship* of any of our Men, unless he that held the *Barony* or *Escheat*, held of us in *Chief* elsewhere.

LIV.

[Those Men who dwell without the *Forest*, from henceforth shall not come before our Justiciaries of the *Forest* upon *Summons*, but such as are impleaded, or are Pledges for any that were attach'd for something concerning the *Forest*.]

LV.

[All Woods that were taken into the *Forest* by King *Richard* our Brother, shall forthwith be laid out again, unless they were our *Demesne Woods*.]

LVI.

No Freeman for the future shall give or sell any more of his Land, but so that out of the Residue, the *Service* due to the Lord of the *Fee* may be sufficiently perform'd.

LVII.

All Patrons of Abbies, who have *Charters* of the Kings of *England* of the Advowson, or have it by any antient *Tenure* or Possession, may have the Custody of them when void, as they ought to have, and as was declar'd before.

LVIII.

No Man shall be taken or imprison'd upon the Appeal of a Woman for the Death of any other Man than her Husband.

LVIX, No

LIX.

No *County-Court* for the future shall be holden, but from Month to Month ; and where there used to be a greater Interval, let it be so continued.

LX.

Neither any *Sheriff*, nor his *Baliff*, shall keep his *Turn* in the *Hundred* oftner than twice in a Year, and only in the accustomed Place ; that is, once after *Easter*, and once after *Michaelmas* ; and the view of *Frank-Pledge* shall be held after *Michaelmas*, without *Occasion* *, and so that every one shall have his *Liberties*, which he had and was wont to have in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather, or such as he obtain'd afterwards.

LXI.

But the View of *Frank-Pledge* shall be so made, that our Peace may be kept, and that the *Tything* be full, as it wont to be.

LXII.

And the *Sheriffs* shall not seek *Occasions* **, but shall be content with what the *Sheriff* was wont to have for making his View in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

LXIII.

For the time to come, it shall not be lawful for any Man to give his Land to a *Religious House*, so as to take it again, and hold it of that *House*.

LXIV.

Nor shall it be lawful for any *Religious House* to receive Land, so as to grant it to him again of whom they receiv'd it, to hold of him. If any Man for the future shall so give his Land to a *Religious House*, and be convicted thereof, his Gift shall be void, and the Land shall be forfeit to the Lord of the *Fee* **.

Scutage

* *Sine Occasione*, i. e. without Oppression, Dr. Brady.

** *Occasiones*, Causes to oppress any Man, Dr. Brady.

* The Reasons of these two Articles were, because by holding their Lands of the Church, the *Service* due from the *Fees*, which were intended for the Defence of the Realm were unduly with-

LXV.

Scutage for the future shall not be taken as it was used to be taken in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather; [and that the *Sheriff* shall oppress no Man, but be content with what he was wont to have.]

LXVI.

All the aforesaid Customs and Liberties, which we have granted to be holden in our Realm, as much as belongs to us, towards all our Men of our Kingdom we will observe: And all Men of this our Kingdom, as well *Clerks* as *Laicks* shall observe the same, as much as belongs to them towards their Men.

LXVII.

Saving to the *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Templars*, *Hospitallers*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Knights*, and all others, as well *Ecclesiasticks* as *Seculars*, the Liberties and free Customs which they had before: These being Witnesses, &c.

drawn, and because the Chief Lords lost these *Escheats*, *Wardships*, *Reliefs*, and the like. Abundance of Ways were us'd to evade the Force of this Law. But an effectual stop was put to them at last by the Statute of *Mortmain*. 7 Ed. 1.

T H E
CHARTER of FORESTS (a)

*Granted by King JOHN to his
Subjects in the Year 1215*.*

JOHN, by the Grace of God, King of
England, &c. Know ye, that for the
Honour of God, and the Health
of our Soul, and the Souls of our
Ancestors and Successors, and for the
Exaltation of *Holy-Church*, and for
the Reformation of our Kingdom, We
have of our free and good Will given and granted for
Us and our Heirs, these *Liberties* hereafter specified, to
be had and observ'd in our Kingdom of *England* for
ever.

VOL. III.

M m 2

L. Imo

(a) The *Forests* belong'd originally to the Crown, and the Kings had granted several Parts and Parcels to private Men, who had grubb'd them up and made them Arable, or Pasture. But yet all that was thus grubb'd was still call'd *Forest*. These *Forests* belonging to the King as his own *Demesnes*, or as the Sovereign Lord, were a continual Source of vexatious Suits, as well against those which held them of the King, as against the neighbouring Freemen under pretence of the Rights of the Crown.

* As it is to be found in *Matthew Paris*, p. 250.

I.

Imprimis, All the *Forests* made by our Grandfather King *Henry*, shall be view'd by honest and lawful Men; and if he turn'd any other than his own proper Woods into *Forests*, to the Damage of him whose Wood it was, it shall forthwith be laid out again and *disforested*. And if he turn'd his own Woods into *Forest*, they shall remain so, saving *the Common of Pasture* to such as were formerly wont to have it.

II

Is the LIV and LV of the GREAT CHARTER put into one Chapter.

III.

The Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free-Tenants, who have Woods in any Forests, shall have their Woods as they had them at the Time of the first Coronation of our Grandfather King *Henry*, so as they shall be discharg'd for ever of all *Purprestures* *, *Wastes*, and *Affarts* *; made in those Woods, after that Time, to the beginning of the second Year of our Coronation; and those who for the time to come shall make *Waste*, *Purpresture* or *Affart* in those Woods without our License, shall answer for them (b).

IV.

Our Inspectors or Viewers shall go through the Forests to make a View, as it was wont to be at the Time of the first Coronation of our said Grandfather King *Henry*, and not otherwise.

V.

The Inquisition or View for *Laving* *¹ of Dogs, which are kept within the *Forest*, for the future shall be when the View is made, that is, every three Years, and

* *i.e.* Encroachments upon the King's Lands.

*¹ *i.e.* Grubbing up Wood, and making it Arable, without License

(b) Every Article of this *Charter* is a clear Evidence how much the Subject was oppress'd under Pretence of preserving the *Royal Forests*.

*² Cutting off their *Claws*, &c.

and then shall be done by the View and Testimony of lawful Men, and not otherwise; and he whose Dog at such Time shall be found *unlawed*, shall be punish'd three Shillings; and for the future, no one shall be taken for *Lawing*, and such *Lawing* shall be according to the *common Assize*, namely, the three Claws of the Dog's Forefoot shall be cut off, or the Ball of the Foot taken out. And from henceforward Dogs shall not be *law'd* unless in such Places where they were wont to be *law'd* in the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather.

VI.

No *Forester* or *Bedel* * for the future shall make any *Ac-Shots*, or collect Sheafs of Corn, or Oats, or other Grain, or Lambs, or Pigs, nor shall make any gathering whatsoever but by the View and Oath of twelve Inspectors; and when they make their View, so many *Foresters* shall be appointed to keep the *Forests* as they shall reasonably think sufficient.

VII.

No *Swainmote* for the Time to come shall be holden in our Kingdom oftner than thrice a Year; that is to say, in the beginning of fifteen Days before *Michaelmas*, when the *Agisters*, come to *agist* the *Demesne Woods*, and about the *Feast* of St. *Martin*, when our *Agisters* are to receive their *Pannage* *; and in those two *Swainmotes*, the *Foresters*, *Verderers*, and *Agisters* shall meet, and no other by Compulsion or Distress; and the third *Swainmote* shall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen Days before the *Feast* of St. *John Baptist*, concerning the *Fawning* of our *Dogs*; and at this *Swainmote* shall meet the *Foresters* and *Verderers*, and no others shall be compell'd to be there.

VIII.

And furthermore 'every forty Days throughout the Year, the *Verderers* and *Foresters* shall meet to view the *Ac-*

* Baliff of the Forest.

* Money for the feeding of Hogs with *Mast*, in the King's Forests.

Attachments of the Forest, as well of *Vere* *, as Venison, by *Presentment* of the *Foresters* themselves; and they who committed the Offences, shall be forc'd to appear before them: But the aforesaid *Swainmotes* shall be holden but in such Counties as they were wont to be holden.

IX.

Every *Freeman* shall *agist* * his Wood in the *Forest* at his Pleasure, and shall receive his *Pannage*.

X.

We grant also, that every *Freeman* may drive his Hogs through our *Demesne* Woods, freely and without Impediment, and may *agist* them in his own Woods, or elsewhere as he will; and if the Hogs of any *Freeman* shall remain one Night in our *Forests*, he shall not be troubled, so as to lose any thing for it.

XI.

No Man for the time to come shall lose Life or Limb for taking our *Venison*; but if any one be seized and convicted of taking Venison, he shall be grievously *fin'd*, if he hath where-withal to pay; and if he hath not, he shall lie in our Prison a Year and a Day. And if after that time he can find *Sureties*, he shall be releas'd; if not, he shall abjure our Realm of *England*.

XII.

It shall be lawful for every Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron, coming to us by our Command, and passing through our *Forest*, to take one or two Deer by View of the *Forester*, if present; if not, he shall cause a Horn to be sounded, lest he shou'd seem to steal them. Also in their return, it shall be lawful for them to do the same thing.

XIII.

Every *Freeman* for the future may erect a *Mill* in his own Wood, or upon his own Land, which he hath in the *Forest*; or make a *Warren*, or *Pond*, a *Marl-Pit*, or Ditch,

* That is, the Offences that have been committed in cutting Wood, or killing Deer.

** That is, take in his Neighbour's Cattle to feed.

Ditch, or turn it into *Arable*, without the *Cover* in the *Arable Land*, so as it be not to the Detriment of his Neighbour.

XIV.

Every Freeman may have in his Woods the *Ayries* of Hawks, of Spar-Hawks, Falcons, Eagles, and Herons; and they shall have likewise the Honey which shall be found in their Woods.

XV.

No *Forester* for the future, who is not a *Forester* in *Fee*, paying us Rent for his Office, shall take *Cheminage* *; that is to say, for every Cart two Pence for half a Year, and for the other half Year two Pence; and for a Horse that carries Burthens, for half a Year a Half-penny; and then only of those, who come as Buyers, out of their *Bailliwick*, to buy Underwood, Timber, Bark, or Char-coal, to carry it to sell in other Places, where they will: And for the time to come there shall be no *Cheminage* taken for any other Cart, or Carriage-Horse, unless in those Places where antiently it was wont, and ought to be taken; but they who carry Wood, Bark, or Coal upon their Backs to sell, altho' they get their Livelihood by it, shall for the future pay no *Cheminage*: But for Passage through the Woods of other Men, no *Cheminage* shall be given to our *Foresters*, but only in our own Woods.

XVI.

All Persons outlaw'd for Offences committed in our *Forests* from the Time of King *Henry* our Grandfather, until our first Coronation, may reverse their *Outlawries* without Impediment, but shall find Pledges that for the future they will not forfeit to us *¹ in our *Forest*.

XVII.

No *Castellan* or other Person shall hold *Pleas* of the *Forest*, whether concerning *Vert* or *Venison*: But every *Forester* in *Fee* shall attach *Pleas* of the *Forest* *², as well
con-

* Money for passing through the Forest.

*¹ That is, commit no Offence. Dr. Brady.

*² May seize the Body or Goods of the Offenders to make them appear.

concerning *Vert* as *Venison*, and shall present the *Pleas* or Offences to the *Verderers* of the several Counties; and when they shall be inroll'd and seal'd under the *Seals* of the *Verderers*, they shall be presented to the chief *Forester*, when he shall come into those Parts, to hold *Pleas* of the *Forest*, and shall be determined before him.

XVIII.

And all the *Customs* and *Liberties* aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden in our Kingdom; as much as belongs to us towards our Vassals, all of our Kingdom, as well *Laicks* as *Clerks*, shall observe as much as belongs to them towards their Vassals *.

* There is no Original of this Charter extant, nor no Copy older than the first of *Henry III.*

facsim. p. 269 Vol. 3

S E C T. II.

8. HENRY III.

Sirnam'd of W I N C H E S T E R.



WE are going to enter upon a long Reign crowded with Events, which, for the most Part, have no great Connexion one with another. Shou'd I undertake to give a particular Account of every Thing that was any Way remarkable, during the long Administration of *Henry III.* I shou'd be carried out to so tedious a Length, as wou'd be more apt to tire the Reader's Patience than afford him a distinct Knowledge of the Affairs of those Days. I shall confine my self therefore to certain Heads, which are as it were the Substance of what happen'd during this Reign. In the first Place, I shall endeavour to give an *Idea* of the State of the Kingdom, of the *Temper* and *Genius* of the King, and of the Character and pernicious Designs of his *Ministers*. In the next Place, the Reader will see the insatiable Avarice of the Court of *Rome*, and the Tyranny she exercis'd over the Nation. In the third Place, the League entered into by the Barons, to oppose the *despotick* and *arbitrary* Power which was intended to be introduc'd into the Kingdom. And lastly, the ill Use the Barons made of the Authority, which they had usurp'd under that Pretence, and the unfortunate Success which render'd all their Proceedings fruitless.

*HENRY
III. 1216
Principal
Events of
this Reign.*

1216. These are the principal Points we are going to run thro', as briefly as the great Length of this Reign will permit, and to which almost all the Events related in the Sequel will refer.

*The State
of the King-
dom.*

King *John* had left his Crown to his eldest Son. But the young Prince, who was but ten Years of Age, was very incapable of applying a Remedy to the Disorders of so distemper'd a *State*. A few Lords, who had firmly adher'd to the Service of the King his Father, and an Army of *Foreigners*, whom *John* himself durst never confide in, seem'd to be very unlikely Instruments of restoring the Affairs of the Royal Family. There was the less Room to hope for any favourable Turn, as almost all the *Peers* of the Realm, back'd with the Forces of *France*, appear'd strictly united against the Family of the late King. Besides, the great Progress which *Lewis* had already made, seem'd in some Measure to promise him the Reduction of the whole Kingdom. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable Difficulties, young *Henry* found in the wise and brave Earl of *Pembroke*, a loyal Subject, and one capable withal of projecting and bringing about the greatest Designs. Without being disheartned in this Extremity, the generous Earl undertook to raise the Hopes of the Honest and Well-meaning *English*, and to drive the *Foreigners* out of the Kingdom.

*The Earl
of Pem-
broke sup-
ports Hen-
ry.*

*His Speech
to the
Lords of
the King's
Party.
Heming-
ford.*

As soon as *John* had resign'd his last Breath, the Earl of *Pembroke* conven'd the Lords who had follow'd the Fortunes of that Prince, and presenting young *Henry* to them, made a Speech, beginning with these Words: *Behold your King*. Then he represented to them, " That altho' the
" Conduct of the late King had given the confederate Ba-
" rons a plausible Pretence to complain, it was not reason-
" able to take the Crown from a Family, which had
" worn it so long, much less to give it to a *Foreigner*.
" That King *John*'s Faults being personal, it wou'd be un-
" just to punish the Prince his Son for them, whose
" tender Age secur'd him from all Imputations on that
" Score. " He told them further, " That the Remedy
" made use of by the confederate Barons was worse than
" the

“ the Disease, since it tended to the reducing the Kingdom
 “ under a shameful Servitude. And therefore in the pre-
 “ sent Posture of Affairs nothing was able to deliver them
 “ from the impending Yoke, but their firm Union under
 “ a Prince who was beyond all Doubt the lawful Heir to
 “ the Crown. ” This Speech met with Applause from
 the whole Assembly, who cried out with one Voice,
We will have Henry for our King *. Upon which, tho’
 the Earl of *Chester* made some Opposition at first, which
 however he afterwards dropp’d, a Day was appointed for
 the Coronation. The Ceremony was perform’d with little Henry III.
crown’d.
Paris.
 Pomp, by the Bishops of *Bath* and *Winchester*, in the Pre-
 sence of an inconsiderable Number of Lords, *¹ with
Gallo the Legate, who espous’d young *Henry*’s Interest to
 the utmost of his Power. King *John*’s Crown being late-
 ly lost in the *Well-stream*, as hath been related, they were
 fain to make use of a plain Circle or Chaplet of Gold, be-
 cause they had neither the Leisure nor Means to make a
 Better. Before the Crown was set on his Head, the usu-
 al Oath was administred to him. Which done, the Legate,
 who had ever his Master’s Interest in view, caus’d the
 young Prince to do *Homage* to the *Holy See*. It was no
 Time then to oppose this Homage, for fear of losing the
 Pope’s Assistance, and increasing the Obstacles *Henry* was,
 in all likelihood, to encounter in the Beginning of his
 Reign.

These Ceremonies being over, the Assembly of the Lords, The Earl
of Pem-
broke
made Re-
gent.
Paris.
How qua-
lified for
that Office.
 who represented at that Time the whole Nation, chose
 the Earl of *Pembroke* Guardian to the King, and Protector
 of the Realm, that is, *Regent* of the Kingdom. They
 cou’d not chuse to that High Office, a Person of greater
 Abilities, of more Zeal for the Publick Good, or a faster

* *Fiat Rex, Fiat Rex.* Hemingford. l. 3

*¹ The Coronation was solemniz’d at *Glocester* on *St. Simon* and
St. Jude’s Day, in the Presence of the Pope’s Legate, *Peter* Bishop of
Winchester, *Jocelin* of the *Bath*, *Silvester* of *Worcester*, *Ranulph* Earl
 of *Chester*, *William* Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of
Ferrars, *John* Marshal, and *Philip de Albiny*, with the Abbots and
 Priors. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (says *Walter of Coventry*)
 was then at *Rome*, soliciting the taking off his Suspension.

1216.

Friend to the Royal Family. Ever since the Beginning of King *John's* Reign, on whose Head he had been very instrumental in setting the Crown by his Diligence and Address, he had all along remain'd attach'd to the Service of that Prince, without ever deserting him in his greatest Distress, His approv'd Loyalty having gain'd him the Favour and Confidence of his Master, he had always had a Share in his most secret Counsels. It was This also that partly qualified him better than any other to be at the Helm of Affairs in so tempestuous a Season. He was perfectly well acquainted with the Source of the Troubles, and the Interests and Intrigues of Those that had caus'd them. He was not ignorant that the greatest Part of the Barons were extremely dissatisfied with the Prince they had call'd to their Aid; and upon the Knowledge of This it was that he chiefly built his Hopes. The Submission which forty of them had privately made the King, gave him Room to believe, that Dissentions were rising among them, and that their Example wou'd quickly be followed by the rest. Indeed nothing but Despair of Pardon prevented the major Part from deserting Prince *Lewis*. And therefore the *Regent* thought he had Reason to hope, that the making known how ready the new King was to grant a general Pardon, wou'd soon dissolve the *Confederacy*. Besides, there was no Appearance, that after the Death of King *John*, so many Lords cou'd be brought to continue in Obedience to a *Foreign* Prince, who gave them every day fresh Occasions of Complaint. With these Hopes the Earl of *Pembroke* sent Letters to all the *Barons* and *Corporations* in the Kingdom, to acquaint them of *Henry's* Accession to the Crown, promising at the same Time great Rewards to all that wou'd return to their Duty *. These Assurances, and the known Probity of the *Regent*, having shaken the Resolution of a good Number of the *confederate* Barons, they began

He notifies
to the Ba-
rons the
Coronation
of Henry.

* There is a Letter still extant to *Hugh de Lacy* a Baron of Note, containing a *Safe-Conduct* to come and treat with the King, with a Promise of the Restitution of his Estate and Privileges. The Earl of *Pembroke's* Name is affix'd alone to the Letter, which is dated Nov. 18. in the 1st Year of this Reign. See *Brady's App.* p. 143.

began to think in earnest of the Means of making their Peace with their lawful Sovereign. The *Excommunication* of Prince *Lewis*, which was publish'd afresh every *Sunday*, furnish'd them with a further Motive to change, which carried no less Force with it. It was not possible but that among such a Multitude of Lords, there were some whose tender Consciences made them uneasy at following the Banners of an *excommunicated* Prince. Much less cou'd they bear to see themselves involv'd in the same *Sentence*, what Endeavours soever were us'd to remove their Scruples. So that the Affairs of *Lewis* began to decline, at the very Time that they seem'd to be in the most prosperous Condition. The Raising of the Siege of *Dover* contributed likewise very much to their Decay. Prince *Lewis* had frequently tried to bribe *Hubert de Burgh* Governor of that Place. But he had always found in that brave Man a Loyalty which was Proof against all Temptations. He had been able to do still less by Force of Arms, having been repuls'd with Loss in all his Assaults. The Death of King *John's* falling out during this Siege, *Lewis* was in Hopes the Governor wou'd become more tractable. Accordingly he order'd him to be summon'd afresh to surrender: At the same time, he represented to him, that since by *John's* Death, he was releas'd from his Oath of Allegiance, he might with a safe Conscience swear Fealty to a Prince, whom his Countrymen had own'd for their Sovereign, and who wou'd take a Pleasure in showing him Marks of his Esteem. *Hubert* answer'd, that the late King having left an Heir, to whom his Allegiance was due, he wou'd maintain his Cause to the last Drop of his Blood. Adding, he cou'd never believe that a shameful Cowardice cou'd be a means to gain the Esteem of any brave Prince. Promises proving ineffectual, *Lewis* threatned *Hubert* to put his Brother, who was in his Power, to death. This Threat made no Impression on the faithful Governor, who continued to defend, with the same Resolution, the important Place committed to his Trust. *Lewis* finding he did but lose Time before *Dover*, rais'd the Siege, and went and invested the Castle of *Hertford*, which made but a faint Resistance.

1216.

Several think of deserting Lewis.

Lewis tries in vain to bribe the Governor of Dover.

1216.
Lewis dis-
pleases the
English.

ance. The taking this Place gave the *English* fresh Cause to complain. *Robert Fitz-Walter*, to whom the Custody of that Castle belong'd by Antient Right, having demanded the Government of it, had the Mortification to be denied, and to see a *French* Governor plac'd there with Troops of the same Nation. This Piece of Injustice caus'd great Murmurings among the *English* Lords: 'Twas with extreme Regret that they beheld their own Estates of Inheritance given about to *Foreigners*, without any Regard to their Complaints. Their Discontents were still heightned by the Indiscretion of some *Frenchmen*, who upbraided the *English* Barons for *Traytors*, and plainly told them, they were not fit to be trusted with the Custody of Castles. These Expressions, added to what the Viscount of *Melun* is reported to say, caus'd among the *English*, and especially among the *Nobility*, an universal Dissatisfaction, which *Lewis* perceiv'd not as yet, but of which he soon felt the Effects. In the mean while continuing his Progress, he became Master of several Places before he return'd to *London*, where he came not till towards the latter End of the Year.

Whilst *Lewis* was improving his Advantages, the *Regent* for his Part omitted nothing that might help to support the just Rights of young *Henry*. The first Step he made, and which he judg'd very necessary at the present Juncture, was to send speedy Notice to the Pope of the Death of King *John* and the Coronation of his Son. At the same time, he entreated him to take into his Protection the young Prince, who was surrounded on all Sides with *Foreign* and *Domestick* Enemies. *Innocent* took Care not to be wanting where his own Interests were concern'd. The Business at present was, to keep *England*, which he consider'd as the *Patrimony* of *St. Peter*, and even gave it that Name. With this View, he sent *fresh Powers* to his *Legate* to renew the *Excommunication* of the Prince of *France* and *confederate* Barons. *Lewis*, to whom the *Legate* communicated his new Orders, solemnly protested against All shou'd be done to his Prejudice, In the mean Time, to prevent

prevent the *new Censure* from having any Effect, he requir'd all the *English* Lords to renew their Homage to him at a certain stated Day. His *Protestation* hindred not the *Legate* from executing the Pope's Orders. He held a *Synod* at *Bristol*, where he excommunicated *Lewis* a-new with all the customary *Formalities*. By which Means he furnish'd some of the Barons with a Pretence to dispense with doing the Homage *Lewis* required.

1216.

Christmas approaching, the two Parties agreed upon a Truce during the *Holydays*. *Lewis* made use of that Opportunity to hold a General Assembly at *Oxford*, whilst the *Regent* held another, tho' not so numerous a one, at *Cambridge*. The King's Party having propos'd that the Treaty shou'd be prolong'd, *Lewis* at first refus'd to agree to it. But the News which he receiv'd presently after, that the Pope design'd to confirm in a full *Consistory*, the *Excommunication* thundred out by his *Legate*, caus'd him to consent that it shou'd be prolong'd till a Month after *Easter*, his Design was to take a Turn to *Paris*, and consult the King his Father *.

A Truce
between
the two
Parties.
Walt. of
Cov.

This Truce prov'd of very great Advantage to the Earl of *Pembroke*. He made use of it to good Purpose, in reinforcing his Army with new Levies, and in gaining by secret Practices, several of the *confederate* Barons. On the contrary, it was extremely prejudicial to *Lewis*, whose Absence gave the Barons an Opportunity of taking Measures to free themselves from his Yoke, by returning to the Allegiance of their lawful Sovereign. Several took that Opportunity to treat with the King. Among whom was *William Marshal*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who till then had been one of the most zealous Partisans of *France* *'. The *Cinque-Ports* declar'd likewise for *Henry*,

1217.
The Truce
turns to
Henry's
Advantage.

The Cinque
Ports de-
clare for
the King.

* *Walter of Coventry* says, the Pope order'd his *Nuncio* in *France* to hold a *Synod* at *Melun*, and put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, unless *Philip* recall'd his Son out of *England*. Upon which the King presently order'd him to come over, and be himself in Person at the *Synod*.

*' At the same time came over to the King, *William Longsword* Earl of *Salisbury*, with the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warren*.

1217. and sent out a Fleet to see to oppose *Lewis's* Return: But tho' their Fleet fought the *French*, and destroy'd several of their Ships, yet they cou'd not hinder the Prince's landing at *Sandwich*. He was so exasperated at being thus boldly attack'd, that no sooner had he set his Foot on Shore but he reduc'd the Town to Ashes, as being one of the *Cinque-Ports*.

*Lewis
burns
Sandwich.*

*The Earl
of Perche
raises the
Siege of
Mont-Sor-
rel.*

Upon the Expiration of the Truce, the *Regent* sent the Earl of *Chester* to besiege *Mont-Sorel*, a Town in *Leicestershire*, where there was a *French* Garrison. The Loss of this Place might have prov'd of great Prejudice to *Lewis's* Affairs, not so much on account of its Importance, as because at such a Juncture it greatly behov'd him to hinder the King's Party from appearing to be in a Condition to lift up their Heads again; for which Reason *Lewis* thought it necessary, at any Rate, to cause the Siege to be rais'd. To make sure of the Matter, he put the Earl of *Perche* * at the Head of twenty thousand Men, with Orders to march directly towards the Enemy. Upon the Approach of this Army, the Earl of *Chester*, who was not near so strong, rais'd the Siege, and return'd to the *Regent*. But the *French* General was not content with that Advantage. As he was perswaded that the Earl of *Pembroke* cou'd not make Head against so great Number of Forces, he form'd the Design of going and besieging *Lincoln-Castle*, which held out for the King, though the City had declar'd for the Barons *. In his march thither, the *French* Troops committed such terrible Ravages, that the Historians describe them as an Army of *Devils* rather than Men. But perhaps they have represented Matters worse than they really were.

*He besieges
Lincoln-
Castle.*

*The Regent
marches to
its Relief.*

The Castle of *Lincoln* was of so great Moment, that the *Regent* cou'd not resolve to look on and see it taken, with-

* *Mareschal* of France, a young Man of great Courage, whom he had just brought over with him. *Saher* Earl of *Winton* was Lord of this Castle.

* *Gibert de Gant* had besieg'd it a long time in vain, and been vigorously repuls'd in all his Assaults. He was made Earl of *Lincoln* by *Lewis*.

without using his utmost Endeavours to relieve it. Whilst the *French* were battering the Castle with all possible Vigour, and the Besieg'd making as brave a Defence, he drew all his Forces together with a Resolution to run all Hazards to save that Place. He us'd such Expedition, that he advanc'd as far as *Newark*, which is but 12 Miles from *Lincoln*, before the Besiegers had determin'd whether they shou'd stay and wait his coming, or march towards him to give him Battle. They had all along expected to be Masters of the Castle, before he cou'd possibly draw his Army together. Surpriz'd at the sudden Approach of the Enemy, the *French* General call'd a Council of War, in order to consult what was to be done on this Occasion. Some were of Opinion, the best way wou'd be to go and meet the Enemy, because if they had the good Fortune to come off Victorious, the Castle wou'd immediately surrender. They added, that by going out of the City, they might make use of their *Cavalry*, in which consisted their chiefest Strength, whereas the *Horse* wou'd be of no Service, if they resolv'd to wait the Enemy's coming within the Walls. This Advice was the safest; but others were of a contrary Opinion. They affirm'd, that as the Castle was reduc'd to Extremities, it wou'd be better to keep within the City and continue the Siege; that 'twou'd be an easy matter to defend the Walls, till the Castle surrender'd; after which the Earl of *Pembroke* wou'd think of nothing but retreating, or in case he did not, they shou'd always have it in their Power to give him Battle. This Advice being approv'd of, all Things were prepar'd for the Defence of the City, whilst the Siege of the Castle was continued. In the mean time, the *English* Army approaching the City without any Opposition, the *Regent* caus'd a Body of chosen Troops, commanded by *Fulk de Brent*, to enter the Castle at a *Postern-Gate* which open'd into the Fields. It is strange, the Besiegers should never think of that Gate. *Fulk* was no sooner in, but pursuant to the Orders he had receiv'd from the *Regent*, he sallied out upon the Besiegers, whilst the King's Army storm'd one of the Gates of the City.

1217.
The French
Army de-
feated at
Lincoln.

The Earl of *Perch* perceiving himself thus attack'd from two different Quarters, exerted his utmost in his Defence. But his Troops not having room to fight, and besides, being depriv'd of the Assistance of the *Horse*, were quickly in Disorder and Confusion. On the other side, the Royal Army, animated by the Presence of the *Regent*, and encourag'd by the *Indulgences* which the *Legate* liberally bestow'd upon all that shou'd be slain in Battle, continued in a furious Manner to storm the Gate. Their Assault was so vigorous, that in spite of the obstinate Resistance of the *French*, the King's Troops at length enter'd the City, whilst *Fulk de Brent* press'd hard upon the Enemy on the other side. The Earl of *Perch* perceiving all was lost, was resolv'd not to out-live the Shame of his Defeat. He was slain upbraiding the *English* of his Party for having betray'd him by their Counsels. After the death of the General, a dreadful slaughter was made of the *French* Troops, who almost all perish'd on this Occasion. The City of *Lincoln*, which had all along sided with the Barons, was deliver'd up to be plunder'd by the Soldiers, who met with a prodigious Store of rich Booty, which made them give it the Name of *Lincoln-Fair* *.

Lewis
raises the
Siege of
Dover,
and re-
treats to
London.
He de-
mands
Succours
of his Fa-
ther.

Whilst the Earl of *Perch* had been employ'd in these Parts, Prince *Lewis* had made a fresh Attempt upon *Dover* Castle; but having met with no less brave a Defence than before, he made no great Progress in the Siege. The News of the Defeat at *Lincoln*, made him resolve to retire to *London* in order to take new Measures. Upon his Arrival, his first Care was to send to the King his Father for speedy Succours, and answerable to his Wants, without which he let him know there was no likelihood of being able to retrieve his Affairs. *Philip*, willing to keep fair with the Pope, pretended he did not care to have any thing to do in his Son's Matters. He publickly sent him
Word,

* One may guess at the great Riches of the *Cathedral*, which was pillag'd, when *Geoffrey de Draping*, the *Precentor*, complain'd that he had lost eleven Thousand Marks for his own Share.

Word, that he had nothing to do but to get clear of the Business in the manner he thought best. However, he order'd it so that *Blanch* his Daughter-in-law, in her own Name, had quickly got ready a Body of Troops and Ships to transport them into *England*. Had these Succours safely arriv'd, they might have made up *Lewis's* Loss at *Lincoln*. But his Fortune was no better at Sea than at Land. The Commanders of the Fleet of the *Cinque-Ports*, having received Intelligence that the *French* Troops were to embark at *Calis*, laid wait for them in their Passage and gave them Battle, wherein they took and sunk the greatest part of the *French* Fleet *.

They are
defeated at
Sea.

These two successive Losses threw *Lewis* into great Straits, which were still encreas'd by the Approach of the *English* Army. He had scarce received the News of the Defeat of the Succours which were coming from *France*, before he saw himself besieg'd in *London*, or at least closely block'd up. So many Misfortunes in the Neck of one another, the Discontents of the *English*, which openly broke out since his Disgraces, the Pope's *Thunders*, which began to inspire him with Terror, upon the decline of his Affairs, made him sensible it was high time to think of retreating. He determin'd therefore to sue for Peace of the *Regent*. But maugre the wretched Posture of his Affairs, he gave him to understand that he wou'd never consent to a dishonourable Peace, or such a one as wou'd not secure those that had invited him into *England* from being ever call'd in Question. But, by the

Lewis is
block'd
up in
London.

He sues
for Peace.

V O L. III.

O o 2

way,

* As the *English* had but forty, and the *French* eighty large Ships, the King's Fleet durst not attack them in the Front, but tacking about, and getting to the Windward, they bore down upon them and made great slaughter of them with their *Archers*; but what contributed most to their Victory, was their having great Quantities of *Quick-lime* in Powder, the which being cast into the Air, was blown by the Wind into the *Frenchmens* Eyes and blinded them. The Commanders of the *English* Fleet were *Philip de Albiny* and *John Marshal*. The *French* Admiral was one *Enflace*, who from a Monk turn'd *Pirate*, and at last was made Admiral of the *French* Fleet. *M. Paris* says, *Richard* base Son of King *John* cut off his Head.

1217.

The Earl
of Pem-
broke con-
sents to it.

way, the generous Care this Prince show'd for the *Eng-
lish* Barons, is hardly reconcilable with the Resolution,
which the Viscount of *Melun* affirm'd he had taken.

The Earl of *Pembroke* granted his Demand without a
Moment's Hesitation. He consider'd that the King of
France was not so drain'd of Men and Money, but that
he was still able to exert himself powerfully in defence
of the Prince his Son. On the other Hand, he was afraid
the Barons wou'd become desperate, shou'd he refuse them
a Pardon, and that too great a Severity wou'd involve
the Kingdom in fresh Troubles. In fine, he saw that
by using his Success with Moderation, he shou'd be able
to restore Peace to the Kingdom, and put the young King
in quiet Possession of the Crown, the which was the
sole End of all his Wishes. These Considerations induc'd
him readily to agree to a Treaty of Peace upon the
following Terms:

Conditions
of the
Peace.
Act. Pub.
T.I.p.221.

That all Persons who had sided with *Lewis*, ever since
the Beginning of the War, shou'd be restor'd to all the
Rights they enjoy'd before the Troubles.

That the City of *London* shou'd have her antient Pri-
vileges.

That all the Prisoners taken since the coming of *Lewis*
into *England* shou'd be set at Liberty. But as to those
that were taken on either Side, before that Time, Com-
missioners shou'd be appointed to enquire whether those
of his Party had actually join'd him, at the time of their
being made Prisoners.

That the Ransoms already paid shou'd not be return'd,
and *that* such as were become due shou'd be punctually
paid: But *that* nothing shou'd be demanded of the Pri-
soners, whose Ransoms had not been agreed upon.

That all the *English*, of what Rank and Condition
soever, Prisoners or others, who took up Arms against
King *John*, shou'd swear Allegiance to King *Henry*.

That the Hostages Prince *Lewis* had taken for the Pay-
ment of the Ransoms which were become due, shou'd
be releas'd immediately upon the Payment of the Money.

That

That all the Places, Towns and Castles in Possession of *Lewis*, shou'd be deliver'd up to the King. 1217.

That the King of *Scotland* shou'd be included in the Treaty upon his restoring all that he had taken during the War, and that the King of *England* shou'd do the like with regard to him.

The same thing was stipulated in Behalf of the Prince of *Wales*. *That Lewis* shou'd cause all the Islands to be given up that had been taken in his Name.

That he shou'd renounce the Homages he had receiv'd from the Subjects of the King of *England*.

That whatever was due to him, and of which the Time of Payment was expir'd, shou'd be punctually paid him.

That in the first Article, relating to those that had sided with *Lewis*, *Ecclesiasticks* were not included, but with respect to the *Lay-Fees* they held before the War.

An Historian adds two Articles more, which are not found in the Treaty. *First*, That *Lewis* shou'd use his utmost Endeavours to oblige his Father to restore all that he had taken from King *John* beyond Sea. *Secondly*, That in case he cou'd not prevail with his Father, he himself shou'd do it when ever he came to the Crown. Tho' these two Conditions were not inserted in the Treaty it self, yet is it very likely they were stipulated among the *secret* Articles, since the *French* Historians make no scruple to own them. Besides, we shall see in the Sequel, that when *Lewis* came to the Crown, the Court of *England* call'd upon him to perform his Promise, and that St. *Lewis* his Son had very great Scruples of Conscience about this Matter. Paris.

The Treaty being sign'd, and afterwards confirm'd by the Authority of the *Legate*, the King and Prince *Lewis* swore to perform their respective Engagements, with the usual Formalities; which done, *Lewis* receiv'd *Absolution* from the Hands of the *Legate* *. All Thing being thus concluded, *Lewis* returns to France.

* The *Chronicle of Mailross* says, that Prince *Lewis* walk'd bare-foot and ungirt from his own, to the Pavilion of the *Legate*, where

1217. concluded, the Prince set sail for *France*, after having borrow'd five thousand Marks of the City of *London* to pay his Debts.

Henry makes his Entry into London. Immediately after the Prince's Departure, *Henry* made his Entry into *London*, where he was receiv'd with a great deal of Pomp, and with Demonstrations of an universal Satisfaction. 'Twas not without Reason that the People express'd so great Joy, since, notwithstanding the Advantages the young King had just gain'd, he took a solemn Oath, that he wou'd maintain the Nation in their Privileges. Thus by the prudent Management of the *Regent*, the Barons, tho' worsted, obtain'd more solid Advantages than they cou'd have expected from a Victory which wou'd have subjected them, and perhaps beyond all Redress, to a *Foreign* Power.

The Legate proceeds against the Ecclesiasticks that adher'd to Lewis. Paris. Of all *Lewis's* Party, the *Ecclesiasticks* were the only Persons that had no Reason to rejoice at the Peace, seeing they were left to the Pope's Mercy, whom they had wounded in the most sensible Part. He bore, with a great deal of Impatience, the Contempt wherewith *Lewis* and the Barons treated his *Censures*; but the Disregard of the *Clergy* made him still more outrageous. As soon as the Legate was at Liberty to proceed against the *Ecclesiasticks*, pursuant to the last Article which he had caus'd to be inserted in the Treaty, he order'd strict Inquiry to be made throughout the Kingdom, after those who contemn'd the *Interdict*. All that were found guilty were *suspended*, or depriv'd of their *Benefices*, or constrain'd to make amends for their Fault by large Sums of Money *. A remarkable Instance of the wide Difference between the *Ecclesiastical* and the *Civil* Power.

The

where he and all his Followers were absolv'd. This Treaty was concluded upon an Island in the *Thames* near *Staines*.

* *Hugh*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, paid to the Pope's Use 1000 Marks, and 100 to the *Legate*, whose Examples being follow'd by many of the Bishops, and other *Religious* Persons, vast Sums of Money were rais'd for the Pope, who was always sure to gain, whoever lost.

The King of *Scotland*, who had been excommunicated for doing Homage to a *foreign* Prince, embrac'd the Offer of being included in the Treaty. Accordingly he came to *Northampton*, where he was absolv'd by the *Legate*, after which he did Homage to *Henry* for the *Fees* he held in *England*. And then he deliver'd up *Carlisle*, which he had taken during the late Troubles.

1218.
The King of
Scotland
does Ho-
mage to
Henry.
Chr. Mail.

Pope *Innocent* III. dying this Year, *Honorius* III. was promoted to the *Papal Chair*.

Honori-
us III.
made Pope.
1218.
Disturban-
ces in Eng-
land.
Paris.

One wou'd think, after the going off of the *French*, *England* at length wou'd have enjoy'd some Repose, to which she had been so long a Stranger. But it was not possible that a perfect Calm shou'd immediately succeed so violent a Storm. The Treaty made with *Lewis* became a new Source of Troubles, which threw the *Regent* into great Perplexities. Those Barons that had faithfully serv'd King *John*, and to whom he had given the confiscated Estates of the *Rebels*, cou'd not bear the Thoughts of restoring them to the old *Proprietors*, according to the Tenor of the Treaty. On the other Hand, the *Ecclesiasticks* loudly complain'd of having been left open to the *Legate's* Persecutions, without any one's thinking it worth the while to take the least Care of their Concerns. However, the *Regent* was resolv'd, let the Consequence be what it wou'd, to execute the Treaty, being perswaded it was the only Means to cut up all Disturbances by the Roots. Pursuant to this Resolution, he march'd with a good Body of Troops, in order to bring to Reason such as forcibly and obstinately with-held divers Castles and Lands from the former Owners. *Robert Gauzy* was the only one however that held out a Siege of eight Days, in the Castle of *Nottingham* *, belonging to the Bishop of *Lincoln*. But at length, finding there was no help for it, he surrender'd the Castle to the Bishop, upon Condition he wou'd pay him 100 Pound Sterling. The rest that were in the same Case, disheartned by his Example, made the like Compositions.

The

* Of *Newark*. M. Paris.

1218:
The Regent
stands by
the Legate
against the
Clergy.

The executing the Articles of the Treaty was so necessary towards restoring Tranquillity to the Kingdom, that the Regent was of Opinion, the Interests of some private Persons, how faithfully soever they had serv'd the King, were not to be put in the Scale against the general Good which wou'd result from the punctual Performance of his Word. In the mean time, to compleat the thorough Establishment of the young King on the Throne, he had still upon his Hands the satisfying the Pope, who was not in Humour to pardon the *Ecclesiasticks*, who had been so presumptuous as to despise the *Interdict*. In the Beginning of a Reign, when the Fidelity of the Subjects was yet wavering, and the King a *Minor*, it wou'd have been very imprudent in the Earl to exasperate the Court of *Rome*, by maintaining the Interests of the Clergy. On the contrary, there was but too great likelihood that the young King wou'd stand in need of the Pope's Protection. For which Reason he made no Scruple to publish at the Instance of the *Legate*, a Proclamation commanding all the *Excommunicated Ecclesiasticks* that had not been *absolved*, to depart the Kingdom on pain of Imprisonment. These rigorous Proceedings put them upon compounding Matters with the *Legate*, who demanded nothing but their Money.

He orders
King
John's
Charter
to be ob-
serv'd.

All Troubles being thus happily appeas'd, the *English* impatiently expected the Fruits of the King's Promises, with regard to their *Liberties*, the effectual Re-establishment whereof they had been made to hope for. How great Zeal soever the Regent might have for the King's Service, he did think himself oblig'd to carry it so far as to go from his Word. Accordingly, he sent express Orders * to all the *Sheriffs* of the Kingdom, that they shou'd see the two *Charters* of King *John* duly observ'd, and shou'd punish without Mercy all Violators of the same. How happy wou'd the *English* have been, if those that succeeded this Great Man in his Post and Credit

* These *Letters* or *Orders* are not to be found in our Histories, but remain upon Record in the *Tower* on the *Clause-Roll* of this Year. See Dr. Brady's Appendix. N. 144.

Credit with the King, had trod in his Steps, and possess'd betimes with his generous Principles the Mind of this young Monarch ! But by taking a contrary Course, they were the Cause of all the Troubles the Kingdom was involv'd in.

1218.

Whilst the *French* were in *England*, *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, who was in League with them, had taken several Places, which it wou'd have been a hard Matter to dispos- less him of; without drawing together the Troops which had been disbanded. This however was what the *Regent* wou'd willingly avoid, that he might not be forc'd to put the Subjects out of Temper, by levying Men and Money, at a Time when it was necessary to gain their Affections, by causing them to enjoy the Fruits of Peace. For this Reason, he granted the Prince of *Wales* an honourable and advantageous Peace, and procur'd him the *Legate's Absolution*, hoping by that Means to induce that turbulent Prince to sit down in Quiet *.

The Prince of Wales makes Peace with the King.
Act. Pub. I. 2.5.

This Affair being finish'd, *Gallo* the *Legate*, who had been recall'd, set out for *Rome* *. *Pandulph*, whom I have had frequent Occasion to mention in King *John's* Reign; succeeded him in his *Legateship*.

Pandulph is Legate for Eng- land.

The *Orders* concerning the two *Charters* not having been duly executed, the *Regent* sent *Itinerant Justices* into all the *Counties* to cause them to be strictly observ'd. He was perswaded, that he cou'd not without Injustice, and great Injury to the Honour and Interests of the young King, dispense with putting in Execution, what the Prince and the King his Father had sworn to perform. Had he liv'd any Time longer, he wou'd have infallibly set that Affair in so good a Way, that it wou'd have been a difficult Matter to turn it out of its Course again. But this great Man, equally qualified for War and Peace, died a little af-

1219.
The Regent issues fresh Orders about the Charters.

He dies; and is suc- ceeded by the Bishop

* He had the Custody of the Castles of *Caermarthen*, and *Caer-digan* with their Lands and Appurtenances, deliver'd up to him during the King's Minority, after which he was to restore them.

of Win- chester.

Tho' the Kingdom was then reduc'd to the lowest Degree of Poverty, yet he made a shift to carry off 12000 Marks with him.

1219. ter, to the great Grief of the whole Kingdom, which he had freed from *Slavery*, by his Prudence and Valour *.
 Hubert de Burg is made Jus- *William des Roches* *¹, Bishop of *Winchester*, was made
 titiary. *Regent*, and *Hubert de Burg*, who had defended *Dover*,
 Chief Justiciary of England (a).

1220. The Coronation of the King had been perform'd at
 Henry is crown'd again. *Winchester* *², in the Presence of so few Lords, and with so little Solemnity, that it was thought proper to renew the Ceremony in a more pompous Manner, in the usual Place. Cardinal *Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being return'd into *England* after the Troubles were over, set the Crown on the King's Head, after he had administred to him the Customary Oath *³.

1221. Immediately after his Coronation, *Henry*, attended by
 The Earl of Albemarle resists the King. the new *Regent*, went on Progress into several *Counties*. His Design was to make some Alterations with regard to the Government of the Castles, which the King his Father had committed to such as the new Regent thought he cou'd not confide in. He met with no Opposition but from *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Rockingham* Castle, who having set up for a *Petty Sovereign*, or rather a *Tyrant*, took little or no Notice of the *Orders* sent from *Court*. The Garrison made some Show of defending themselves, but when they saw the whole Country in Arms to assist the King, and cast off their Yoke, they did not stay to be compell'd to surrender, but chose rather to procure some little Advantages by a Capitulation.

This Year, the new Building of the Abby-Church of *Westminster* *⁴ was begun, the King himself laying the First-Stone.

William

* He died about the Middle of *May*, and his Body was buried in the Church of *the Knights-Templars* (now the *Temple-Church*) where his Effigy in a Coat of Mail is still to be seen in the Middle of the Round.

*¹ *Peter des Roches* or *de Rupibus*. M. Paris.

*² At *Glocester*. M. Paris.

(a) He was as it were the King's *Lieutenant General*.

*³ *Walter* of *Coventry* says, the King was crown'd with *St. Edward's* Crown on the 27th of *May*.

*⁴ Then call'd *St. Mary's Chapel*. See Note, Vol. II. p. 89.

William [*de Forz*] Earl of *Albemarle* took to Heart the Loss of his Castle, which he thought he was unjustly depriv'd of. To revenge this pretended Injury, he endeavoured to fortify himself in his Castle of *Biham* *, by the Means of which he held the whole Country round in Subjection. He even compell'd Merchants and Tradesmen to take *Passes* of him for leave to go through the Neighbourhood, without which they ran the Risk of being rifled. The Complaints of these Violences having been laid before the *Parliament*, then assembled at *Westminster*, he was summon'd to appear and answer for himself. He pretended he wou'd come, and accordingly set out, with Design, as was thought, for *London*. In the meantime, he took the Road for *Northamptonshire*, and by Surprise seiz'd the Castle *Fortheringay*, where he plac'd a strong Garrison, and then return'd to *Biham*. Upon News of This, the *Parliament* resolv'd, that an Army shou'd be forthwith rais'd, to lay siege to *Biham*, and that the Earl shou'd be punish'd for his Insolence according to the utmost Rigour of the Law. As soon as Earl *William* found that the King's Army was on the March, he withdrew into the *North*, leaving the Castle to the Government of one, who surrender'd not till after a long Resistance. 'Twas believ'd, that the Rebel wou'd be pursued, or at least compell'd to quit the Kingdom: but he found the Means to make his Peace by the Mediation of the Archbishop of *York*. The Archbishop having represented in his Behalf, that it was but just to balance this Offence with the great Services he had done the late King, the *Regent* was prevail'd with by that Consideration. A fatal Precedent, which afterwards gave Encouragement to other Barons to commit the same Fault without Dread of Punishment.

1221.
The Earl of
Albemarle
rebels.

He is pardon'd.

The Court had taken a Progress last Year to *York*, where a Marriage had been agreed upon between the King of *Scotland* and the Princess *Joanna*, Sister to the King. But as she was in the Hands of the Earl of *March*, to whose eldest Son she had been contracted, it was no easy Matter to get her

Joanna the King's Sister is married to the King of Scotland. Act. Publ. I. 193, & 240.

1221. her thence. However, after some treating, she was at length sent back to the King her Brother, and her Nuptials with the King of *Scotland* were solemniz'd this Year. Shortly after *Hubert de Burg*, chief Justiciary, elpous'd the eldest Sister of that Prince: An Honour, which by procuring him the Alliance of two Monarchs, might one Day cause some one of his Posterity to mount the Throne of *Scotland*.

Pandulph
made Bi-
shop of
Norwich.

The Term of *Pandulph's* Legateship being expir'd, he laid down his Office, and went and resided at his See of *Norwich*, of which the Pope had got him to be made Bishop as a Reward for his Services.

A Quarrel
between
the Lon-
doners
and Men
of West-
minster.
Paris.
M. West.

What Care soever the late Earl of *Pembroke* had taken, and those which were now at the Helm still took, to keep the Peace of the Kingdom, there were some Persons who made it their Business to disturb it. They laid hold of an Opportunity which a Quarrel between the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster* furnish'd them with. A great *Wrestling-Match* being made between the *Londoners* and the Country-People, Abundance of *Westminster-Men* came to the Place appointed, and being desirous of disputing the Prize, had the Mortification to see their Neighbours carry off the Honour of the Victory. This Triumph, tho' in it self scarce worth minding, rais'd however the Spleen of the Citizens of *Westminster*, who lay open to the insulting Railleries of the Conquerors. The Steward of the Abbot of *Westminster*, preposterously imagining that his Master's and his own Honour were concern'd in the Case, undertook to revenge the Quarrel of his Fellow-Citizens, and to put them in a Way to be even with their Neighbours. To that End, he appointed another Match at *Westminster*, to which the Citizens of *London* flock'd in great Numbers. But as they went thither without Arms, they were rudely set upon by the *Westminster-men*, who wounded several, and put the rest to Flight. This Piece of Treachery caus'd a terrible Commotion in *London*. The Mob being got together, resolv'd to go and be reveng'd for this Outrage, the Authority of the *Mayor* not being able to curb their Fury. A Citizen of *London*, one *Constantine*,

an Incendiary, who had been a zealous Stickler for the *French*, during the late Troubles, having put himself at the Head of the Rabble, did all he cou'd to spirit up their Rage. He represented to them, that 'twas in vain to expect Justice from the Magistrates, who were not concern'd at all about the *Honour* of the City, and that it was necessary, without Delay, to go and make their Enemies know to their Cost that the Citizens of *London* were not to be thus dealt by with Impunity. His Speech meeting with Applause, He fell to crying as loud as he cou'd, *Monjoye St. Dennis*, which is what the *French* Soldiers shouted before a Battle, and marching towards *Westminster* at the Head of the Mob, he caus'd the Steward's House to be pull'd down to the Ground, after which he return'd in Triumph to *London*. The Tumult being appeas'd, *Hubert*, Chief Justiciary, came to the *Tower*, and commanded several of the Citizens to appear before Him. *Constantine* was there among the rest, and maintain'd to the Justiciary's Face, that the Citizens of *London* had done nothing that was punishable by the Law, and that happen what wou'd, they were resolv'd to stand by what they had done. *Hubert*, perceiving his Insolence, dismiss'd all the others, and detaining *Constantine*, order'd him to be hang'd next Morning, tho' he offer'd a thousand * Marks for his Life. The Justiciary's Severity did not stop here. A few days after, he caus'd to be seiz'd in their Houses those that had the chief Hand in the *Riot*, some of whom had their Hands, and some their Noses and Ears cut off, and then were sent back thus maim'd into the City; which done, he chang'd all the Magistrates of *London*, and oblig'd thirty of the most considerable Citizens to be *Pledges* for the Good Behaviour of the City, to which the *Corporation* agreed by a *Charter*, seal'd with their common Seal *.

1222.
Constantine stirs up the Londoners to a Riot.

Hubert orders him to be hang'd;

and punishes some more of the Rioters.

This

* *M. Paris* says fifteen thousand, for it seems he was very rich.

* They bound themselves to deliver up the *Sureties* to the King or Justiciary whenever they were called for; and if any of them died, to add others in their Stead. This is mention'd by no Historian, but the *Recognisance* is found upon Record in the *Tower*. See *Dr. Brady's Appendix*. N. 147.

1222. This Rigour might have been justifiable, if *Hubert* had not acted in an arbitrary Manner, and directly contrary to the *Tenor* of the *Great Charter*, which orders, pursuant to the antient Custom of the Kingdom, that every Man shall be tried by his *Peers* (a). Hence therefore he became odious to the Nation, and especially to the *Londonsers*, who did not fail to make him feel the Effects of their Hatred, when they had it in their Power.

1223.
The Parliament petitioned the King that the Charters may be observed.
Paris.

These arbitrary Proceedings of the *Chief Justiciary*, put the *Parliament*, which met some time after at *Oxford*, upon requesting the King, that he wou'd be pleas'd to cause the *Charter of Liberties* which he had sworn to confirm, to be observ'd throughout the Kingdom. This Request was not at all relish'd by Those that were then at the Head of Affairs. Since the Death of the *Earl of Pembroke*, the *Court*, with the *new Ministry*, had taken up *new Maxims*, insomuch that what appear'd in the Eyes of the former *Regent* to be highly Just, seem'd the quite contrary to the present *Ministers*. When the *Parliament* presented their *Petition* to the King, one of the Members of the *Council* * replied, that it was unreasonable to desire the Execution of a Charter which had been extorted by Violence. This imprudent Answer gave great Offence to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who sharply reprov'd the Councillor, telling him, if he really lov'd the King, whose Interests he seem'd to have so much at Heart, he wou'd not seek to involve the Kingdom again in Troubles, from which it was happily freed. *Henry*, who was not then but sixteen years of Age, approv'd of what the Archbishop had said, and declar'd to the Deputies who had presented the *Petition*, that His Interest was to cause the *Charters* of the King his Father to be strictly observed. Accordingly, some Days after, he dispatch'd Orders to all the *Sheriffs* to see them put in Execution. If he had always continued in this Mind, it wou'd have saved him a World of Vexations and Misfortunes which befell him afterwards.

(a) See Chap. XLVIII. of the *Great Charter*.

* *William Brewster*. M. Paris.

afterwards. In the mean Time the *Parliament*, satisfied with what the King had done, granted a *Subsidy* * of three Marks for every *Earl*, one Mark for every *Baron*, a Shilling for every *Knight*, and for every House in the Kingdom one *Penny*. 1223.

Philip Augustus King of *France* dying about this Time, and *Lewis VIII.* his Son succeeding him, the King's Council thought proper to send Ambassadors to the new King, to challenge the Performance of his Word with Regard to the Territories *Philip* had taken from King *John*. *Lewis* return'd in Answer, that he did not look upon himself as oblig'd to the Performance of a Treaty which the King of *England* had violated the first, in exacting large Ransoms of the Prisoners, and neglecting to re-establish the antient Laws, as had been agreed upon: That for his Part, he held *Normandy* and the other Provinces taken from the *English* by Right of Conquest, and as their Sovereign Lord, and in case any one had a Mind to dispute his Title, he was willing to submit it to the Judgment of the *Peers*. Some * say that he alledg'd also the Death of *Constantine* out of Spite, as he pretended, for his Affection to *France*, as one of the Reasons why he thought himself freed from all his Engagements; after which, he dismiss'd the Ambassadors without any further Reply. *The King of France dies, and is succeeded by Lewis his Son, who refuses to perform his Oath.*

Whilst these Things were transacting, the Favour and Credit of the *Chief Justiciary* were increas'd to such a Degree, that he openly assum'd a Power, which none in his Post had ever pretended to before. But however, all wou'd not satisfy him, as long as there was one above him, from whom he was oblig'd to receive Orders. This was the Bishop of *Winchester*, who having been appointed *Regent* by Authority of *Parliament*, cou'd not easily be removed. As the *Regency* was still to last some Years, *Hubert* thought he had found out an infallible way to shorten it, by obtaining from the Pope a *Bull*, whereby the King was declar'd *Great Credit of the Justiciary,*

He gets the Pope to declare the King of Age.

* *Walter of Coventry*, who is the only Author that mentions it, says, 'twas a *Poll-tax* for the Succours of the *Holy Land*.

1223.

*The Barons
agree not
to it.*

*Hubert's
Artifice
to get the
Castles
from the
Barons.
Rad. de
Cog.*

declar'd of *full Age*. This same *Bull* authoriz'd *Henry* to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, without being oblig'd any longer to make use of a *Regent*. The *Bull* likewise enjoin'd All that had the Custody of the King's Castles forthwith to surrender them to the King, to be dispos'd of according to his Pleasure. But how express soever this Order might be, the Barons refus'd to comply with it, because it was directly contrary to the Laws of the Realm, by which the King was not to be of *Age* till one and twenty.

This Artifice not having had the Success *Hubert* expected from it, he invented another in order to compass his Ends. As his procuring the Pope to declare the King of *full Age* was to no Purpose, since the Barons wou'd not agree to it, and as it was impossible to extort their Consent as long as they were Masters of the Castles, he devis'd this *Stratagem* to wrest them out of their Hands. He got the King to demand of him the Castles he had the Custody of; to which he submitted, on Condition the rest of the Barons shou'd do the same. Accordingly he surrender'd to the King the *Tower of London* and Castle of *Dover*, which were the two most important Places in the Kingdom. Some of the Barons follow'd his Example, not imagining there was any Fraud in the Matter. But when once the King was in Possession of their Castles, he restor'd to *Hubert* all those he had voluntarily given up, thus openly making a Jest of their Credulity. A Procedure so unworthy of a Prince, began from thenceforward to raise in the Barons an ill Opinion of the King. They were chiefly incens'd against the *Favourite*, whom they look'd upon as the principal Contriver of the Cheat. Most of Those that had Places at Court, not being able to bear the Pride and Haughtiness of this *Minister*, threw them up, and retir'd into the Country, with a Resolution to lay hold of the first Opportunity to be reveng'd. In the mean Time, all the Lords not having fallen into the Snare, *Hubert* tried to bring them to Obedience, by causing them to be threatned with *Excommunication*. Some were fright-

ned

ned into a Compliance ; but others resolv'd to stand their Ground in spite of the King and his *Justiciary*. 1223.

These domestick Broils were somewhat interrupted by foreign Wars. *Lewis VIII.* King of *France*, not content with having refus'd to perform what he had promis'd with an Oath, confiscated all the Territories which the *English* held in *France*, and march'd directly into *Saintonge*, where he became Master of several Places ; after which he went and laid Siege to *Rochelle*, where *Savary de Malleon* was Governor. 'Tis said, that this Lord, who had receiv'd Intelligence of the King of *France's* Design, having demanded an Aid of Money of the Court of *England*, they had sent him, instead of the Money, a Coffer full of old Iron. So shameful a Neglect in the Defence of a Place, which deserv'd the whole Care of the *Ministry*, irritated the Governor to such a Degree, that he surrender'd the City in a few Days, and turn'd to the *French* (a). The Pretext *Lewis* made use of to break the Peace, was, that *Henry*, as Duke of *Guienne*, had not appear'd at his Coronation. But the true Reason was, that he had a Mind to take Advantage of that Prince's *Minority*, to expel the *English* entirely out of his Kingdom. This War begun upon so slight an Occasion, of which *Lewis* had not so much as made any Complaint, made the Court of *England* sensible that there was an indispensable Necessity of sending an Army into *France*. Accordingly a *Parliament* was conven'd to consult about the Way and Means to raise it. 1224.

The King of France attacks Saintonge, and takes Rochelle. Paris.

Whilst the King and Parliament were taken up in this Affair, the Outrages committed by *Fulk de Brent* interrupted their Debates. *Fulk*, encourag'd by *William of Albemarle's* coming off with Impunity, tyranniz'd over his *Vassals* and Neighbours, and had committed such Violences, that he was condemn'd in a Fine of a hundred

Rebellion of Fulk de Brent. Paris.

V O L. III.

Q q

Pounds

(a) We find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, a Letter, whereby it appears that there was Treachery, in the Loss of *Rochelle*, either in the Governor, or some of the Inhabitants. T. I. p. 269.

1224.

Pounds Sterling, by three Judges sent down on purpose *. His fierce and haughty Temper causing him to consider this *Verdict* as a great Injury, he resolv'd to be reveng'd. To that End, he sent *William* his Brother to *Dunstable*, where the Judges were holding the *Affizes*, with Orders to seize them by Force, and bring them to him. Two of them escap'd, but the third, *Henry de Braibrock*, was taken and carried to *Bedford-Castle*, where he suffer'd a thousand Indignities. News of this being brought to the Parliament, it was unanimously resolv'd, that this Disturber of the Peace shou'd be exemplarily punish'd; and that all other Affairs shou'd be laid aside till that was over. Pursuant to this Resolve, *Fulk's* Brother, who commanded in *Bedford*, being summon'd to give up the Town to the King, and refusing to obey, he was attack'd so vigorously, that he was at length forc'd to surrender at Discretion. What Endeavours soever his Friends might use to appease the King, they cou'd not prevent his being hang'd, with four and twenty *Knights* that were found in the Garrison; which done, he order'd the Castle to be raz'd to the Ground. In the mean time, *Fulk*, who was fled into *Wales*, upon the Assurances several Lords had given him to stand by him, finding they were not as good as their Word, implor'd the King's Mercy by the Mediation of the Bishop of *Coventry*. The Prelate using the same Arguments which the Archbishop of *York* had done in behalf of *William* of *Albemarle*, got the Rebel pardon'd as to Life and Limbs: But he cou'd not hinder his being deliver'd to the Custody of the Bishop of *London* till the Year following, when the *Parliament* confiscated his Estate, and banish'd him the Realm. *Henry* obtain'd, for the Charges of this Expedition, a *Subsidy* of two Shillings upon every *Hide* of Arable Land.

1225.
A Subsi-
dy granted
on Condi-
tion that the
Charters
were ob-
serv'd.

But he stood in need of much greater Sums to carry on the War with *France*. For the obtaining of which he call'd

* *Matthew Paris* says, he had 30 *Verdicts* given against him in Tryals of *Novel Deseizin*, in each of which he was fin'd a hundred Pounds, that is in all three thousand Pounds. *M. Paris, Ann 1224.*

call'd another *Parliament*, of whom he demanded a *Fifteenth* upon *Moveables*. The *Parliament* told him, they wou'd readily grant him the *Subsidy* he requir'd, provided the *Charters* of King *John*, which had all along been neglected, were punctually observ'd for the future. The King's Circumstances not suffering him to deny their Request, he granted it in a handsom Manner, and even sent into every *County* Commissioners to see the *Charters* put in Execution *: But the Effects of these Orders were of no long continuance. However, People were so well satisfied of the King's good Intentions, that never was Tax levied with greater exactness. That it might meet with the fewer Rubs, the Bishops excommunicated all those who were guilty of any Fraud.

1225.

Act. Pub.
I. 277.

The King made use of this Money to raise an Army, which he sent into *Guienne*, under the Command of Prince *Richard* his Brother, whom he had just made Earl of *Cornwal*. *Richard*, having the Earl of *Salisbury* for his Lieutenant, made some Progress in *Guienne*, where he took *St. Macaire*. After which he besieg'd the Castle of *Rioh*, a strong Place, which, by the Resistance it made, gave the Earl of *March*, General of the *French* Army, time to come to its Relief. The *English* Historians affirm, that *Richard* obtain'd a considerable Advantage over the Earl. The *French*, on the contrary, say, that perceiving he was not strong enough to hazard a Battle, he retir'd on the other side of the *Dordonne*, and shortly after into *England*. It is certain however, that *Richard* quitted not *Guienne* till 1227, as appears from the *Collection of Publick Acts*.

I. 291:

The Year 1226 was usher'd in with a *Parliament*, wherein the King, who was recover'd from a dangerous Illness, was declar'd of full Age, tho' he was not so old as the *Law* requir'd. But this was not the only Business for which the *Parliament* was call'd. A *Legate*, lately arriv'd

1226.

The King
is declar'd
of Age.An extra-
ordinary
Demand of
the Pope.

VOL. III.

Qq 2

* The King sign'd and sent two *Charters* to every County, one concerning the *Common Liberties*, the other of the *Liberties of the Forests*. M. Paris. Ann. 1225.

1226. arriv'd from *Rome*, had an extraordinary Proposal from the Pope to lay before them, which concern'd the whole Kingdom, and the *Clergy* especially. The Substance of the Proposal was, That since the *Holy See* had of a long time lain under the Scandal of doing nothing without Money, it was for the Honour and Interest of all Christians to wipe out this Reproach, by removing the Cause of it. That it was notorious to all the World, that the extreme Poverty of the *Church of Rome* laid her under an absolute Necessity of demanding some *Acknowledgment* for the *Favours* she dispens'd to her Sons ; that she desir'd nothing more than to be in a Capacity to do this with Moderation ; and that the best Means to that End, wou'd be for the *Faithful* to grant her such Aids as shou'd be proportionable to her Wants. Then the *Legate* propos'd, that in order to supply the urgent Occasions of the *Holy See*, there shou'd be set apart to the Pope's Use, out of every *Cathedral Church* two *Prebendaries*, and out of every *Monastery* two Monks Portions ; and that this Giant shou'd be confirm'd by *Parliament*. He back'd his Proposal with the most specious Reasons he cou'd devise, without promising, however, that the Pope wou'd take nothing for the *Favours* he shou'd grant for the time to come ; but insinuating only, that he wou'd use more Moderation in that Respect. It was no hard Matter to see the Pope's Drift ; and therefore the *Legate's* Eloquence was not able to prevail with the *Parliament*. He had even the Mortification to see that they did not so much as vouchsafe to give him an Answer. When he wou'd have complain'd of their uncivil Usage of the Pope, he was told, that the Absence of the King, and of some of the principal Bishops, hinder'd them from taking into Consideration a Proposal of that Nature. Not discouraged at this Repulse, he requir'd that the *Session of Parliament* shou'd be prolong'd till the King and the absent Prelates shou'd come. But no Regard was had to his Instances ; and the *Parliament* broke up without coming to any Resolution in the Matter ; so that the *Legate* was forc'd to wait with Patience till

The Parliament makes no Reply to the Legate's Demand.

till the next *Session*. In the mean time he took a Journey into the *Northern* Counties, where, under Pretence of the Right of *Procurations* (a), he oppress'd the *Churches* to such a Degree, that they were fain to complain of him to the Pope, who recall'd him for fear of exasperating the *English* at so critical a Juncture. However the Pope, who was still in hopes of obtaining what he had demanded, injoin'd the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to get the Parliament conven'd again, and to require them to give a positive Answer to the Proposal made by his *Legate*. The King having advis'd with the Bishops, sent the Pope Word, that since this Affair concern'd not *England* alone, but all *Christendom*, he was ready to conform to the Resolutions which shou'd be taken in the Matter in other Christian Countries. This was properly a civil Denial; for 'twas well known that a *Legate* had made the same Proposal in *France*, but to no manner of Purpose.

In the mean time *Henry* went on with his Preparations to carry War into *France*: But he found himself constrain'd to put a Stop to them, by Reason that *Lewis* having taken upon him to head a *Crusade* against the *Albigenses*, had procur'd of the Pope private Orders to all Christian Princes not to give him any Disturbance during his Expedition. *Henry* having consulted his *Parliament* about these Orders, was advis'd to put off the War till the Return of the King of *France*, who was then besieging *Avignon*, where Entrance had been denied him. This Prince died a little after his taking that Place, not without Suspicion of being poison'd by the Earl of *Champaign*, who was desperately in love with the Queen. *Lewis IX.* his Son, succeeded him, under the Guardianship of *Blanch* of *Castile* his Mother, who, tho' a Foreigner, had Credit enough to obtain the *Regency* of the Kingdom.

The Pope insists upon it.

Lewis VIII. Head of the Crusade against the Albigenses

He dies, and is succeeded by his Son.

Whilst

(a) The Legates had a Right to demand their Expences to be defray'd, when they visited the *Churches* and *Monasteries*, the which had been converted into ready-Money.

1226.
Henry
causes all
Charters
to be re-
new'd in
Order to
raise Mo-
ney.

Whilst the *English* Arms were suspended by the superior Orders of the Court of *Rome*, *Henry* enter'd upon his *Majority* with an Act of Injustice, for which he had not the least Colour. As he durst not demand any Money of the *Parliament*, who had so lately granted him a very considerable Subsidy, he bethought himself of an Expedient, formerly made use of by *Richard* his Uncle upon the like Occasion, after his Return from the *Holy Land*: And that was, to oblige all those that had *Charters* to renew them, upon payment of such a Sum: This Order, the only End whereof was to fill the King's Coffers, fell the heaviest upon the *Monasteries*. All the unjust Methods invented by Princes to extort Money from their Subjects, are so many Fountains of Oppression, which never dry up, Successors seldom failing to follow the ill Example of their Predecessors.

1227.
Hubert is
suspected of
poisoning
the Earl of
Salisbury.

Charter of
Henry III.

The Bishop
of Win-
chester is
sent to his
Diocese.

In the Beginning of the next Year, the sudden Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, natural Son to *Henry II.*, at a Banquet, to which the *Chief Justiciary* had invited him, gave occasion for strong Suspicions against that *Minister*. However, no Inquiry was made into the Matter, no Body daring to attack directly a Favourite who had an absolute Sway over the King. As *Henry* advanc'd in Years, he was observ'd to have *Qualities* ill-becoming a great Prince; an extreme Avarice, an astonishing Fickleness, a deal of Caprice and Unsteadiness in his Behaviour, an unusual easiness to suffer himself to be govern'd by those about him; and what was worst of all, Principles of Oppression and Tyranny, which afforded a frightful Prospect for the Time to come. Tho' he had been declar'd of Age the Year before, he had kept the Bishop of *Winchester* near his Person, for the sake of his Advice: But *Hubert de Burg* wou'd not suffer him to retain him any longer. He represented to him, that although he had been declar'd of *full Age*, he wou'd always be look'd upon as under the Guardianship of a *Regent*, as long as that Prelate was at Court; and that it wou'd be for his Honour and Interest to let his Subjects see he was capable of holding the Reins of the Government himself. This Advice being

being readily embrac'd by the King, who div'd not into the Motives of it, the Bishop of *Winchester* had Orders to return to his Diocese.

1227.

The *English* wou'd have been unconcern'd, and perhaps glad at the Bishop's Disgrace, if it had not been immediately follow'd by an Event, which convinc'd them that it wou'd have been better for them had the King always divided his Favours. As soon as *Hubert* saw himself without a Rival in the *Ministry*, he endeavour'd to set himself above the Laws, by perswading his Master that his sole Aim was to render him absolute. It was no hard Matter for him to engage the King in a Project, to which he was but too much inclin'd of himself. Besides the Renewing of the *Charters* before-mentioned, he had extorted five thousand Marks from the *Londoners*, under Pretence of their having lent the like Sum to Prince *Lewis*, when he left *England*. The Town of *Northampton* had been compell'd to pay him twelve hundred Pounds, on much the same frivolous Pretence. The Monasteries had been no better dealt by. Maugre their Appeal to *the Holy See*, he had exacted from them large Sums, whilst the Affair was depending before the Pope. These Things were plain Indications how little he was dispos'd to keep any Measures with his Subjects, and accordingly began to make him lose their Esteem. But what he did further, by the violent Counsels of the Chief Justiciary, entirely alienated their Affections. On a sudden, when 'twas least expected, he annull'd the two *Charters* of the King his Father, tho' he had bound himself by Oath inviolably to observe them, pretending he was not oblig'd to stand to what he had promis'd during his *Minority*. *Hubert* for his Part, without giving himself any Trouble about the Murmurs of the People, by whom he was look'd upon as the Author of these pernicious Counsels, caus'd himself to be created Earl of *Kent*, as a Reward for the great Service he had done his Master in freeing him from the Yoke of these *Charters*.

Hubert
advises the
King to
become ab-
solute.
Paris.

The King
begins to
oppress the
People.

He annulls
King John's
Charters.

Hubert
made Earl
of Kent.

The

1227.
*Quarrel
 between
 the King
 and Prince
 Richard.
 Paris.*

*Richard's
 bold An-
 swer to
 the King.*

The Proceedings of the King and his Prime Minister, rais'd such Discontents among the Barons, that it was easy to see the little Affection they had for their Sovereign. Prince *Richard*, who arriv'd from *Guienne* a little after the Revoking of the *Charters*, laid hold of this Juncture, to brave the King his Brother in a Contest he had with him. The Occasion whereof was this, King *John* having given to one *Waleran*, a German, a certain Manor belonging to the Earldom of *Cornwal*, *Richard*, as soon as he was invested with that Earldom, order'd *Waleran* to appear and produce his Title, and in the mean time caus'd the Manor to be seiz'd. Whether *Waleran* had lost his Charter, or whether he thought it not good, he refus'd to obey the Summons. On the contrary, as if great Injustice had been done him, he carried his Complaints to the King, who, without examining the Affair, sent Orders to the Prince's Officers to restore the Manor. They found Means however to put it off till the Return of their Master. Upon his Arrival, *Richard* represented to the King, that he had done *Waleran* no wrong in obliging him to show his Title : That his Intent was not to deprive him of his Lands by force, but to have the Matter decided by the Laws, and to that End offer'd to refer it to the Judgment of the *Peers* of the Realm. *Henry*, offended at this Proposal, fell into a Passion with his Brother, and commanded him to give back the Manor in Dispute, by such a Time, or else to depart the Kingdom. *Richard* boldly replied, That he wou'd do neither without the Judgment of his *Peers*, and immediately retir'd without staying for an Answer. The *Chief Justiciary*, who never ceas'd inspiring the King with violent Maxims, advis'd him to take the Prince into Custody. But whilst *Henry* was considering what to do, *Richard* withdrew from Court, and hasten'd to the Earl of *Pembroke* in order to consult him in this Affair. *Pembroke* approv'd of what the Prince had done, and perceiving this to be a favourable Opportunity to check the arbitrary Power, the King had a Mind to usurp, believ'd he ought not to let it slip. And therefore he assur'd

Richard

Richard he was ready to stand by him with his Life and Estate ; and that he did not question in the least but that the greatest Part of the Barons wou'd do the same. And indeed, shortly after, by the Diligence of the *Earl-Marshal*, the Earls of *Glocester*, *Chester*, *Warren*, *Warwick*, *Ferrars*, and *Hereford*, with a great Number of other Barons, enter'd into a Confederacy with *Richard*, and took up Arms to compel the King to restore the *Charters* he had lately cancell'd. *Hubert* was alarm'd at this Confederacy. As he foresaw it might be attended with fatal Consequences, he thought it his best way to accommodate Matters between the two Brothers. In order to give Prince *Richard* Satisfaction, who was the Chief of the *Confederates*, he got the King to settle upon him the Queen their Mother's *Dower*, to which he pretended a Right ; and likewise to augment his *Appennage* with the Lands which the Earl of *Boloign* had held in *England*. *Richard*, fully satisfied with these Grants, said not a Word about restoring the *Charters*, and the Confederacy was dissolv'd. Thus it is that the *Great* make use of the Pretence of the *Publick Good* to advance their own Interest, or to gratify their Passions : But when once they have found Means to attain their own private Ends, they quickly let the World see the *Good* of the *Publick* was what they had least in View.

1227.

He makes
a League
with di-
vers Barons
who take
up Arms.

Richard is
satisfied,
and the
League
broken.

Pope *Honorius* III. died this Year, and was succeeded by *Gregory* IX.

Gregory
IX. Pope.

Stephen Langton, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, outliv'd *Honorius* but a few Months. His Eyes were no sooner clos'd, but the Monks of *St. Augustin*, willing to secure the Privilege of electing their Archbishop, immediately chose *Walter de Hemesham*, one of their Fellow Monks. The King was offended at this Election being made without his License, and refus'd to confirm their Choice ; because, as he alledg'd, the Father of this Monk had been hang'd for Theft. On the other Hand, the *Suffragan* Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, angry that he was chosen without their Consent, refus'd to accept him on the Score of his having corrupted a *Nun*,

1228.

Death of
Archbi-
shop Lang-
ton.

The Electi-
on of ano-
ther, whom
the King
refuses to
confirm.
Paris.

1228. by whom he had had several Children. Upon this, both sides sent *Agents* to *Rome* to have the Matter decided there. In the mean time the Church of *Canterbury* remain'd vacant.

War with the Welsh. This Year the *Welsh* having made Irruptions into *England*, the King march'd into their Country to chastise them. But after he had harrafs'd his Troops to no manner of purpose, he was fain to return without having made any Progress.

Frederick II. excommunicated Paris. This same Year the new Pope thunder'd out a *Bull* of Excommunication against the Emperor *Frederick II.* for having fail'd to carry his Arms into *the Holy Land*, as he had solemnly vow'd to do. How haughty soever this Monarch might be, he was forc'd to truckle to the Pope's Authority, and perform his Vow the Year following.

Troubles in France, which Henry takes not the Advantage of. Paris. Whilst these Things were transacting, the Regency of *Blanch*, Mother of *St. Lewis*, occasion'd, in *France*, Disturbances which *Henry* might have turn'd to his Advantage, had he known how to make the best of them. But this Prince was not of a *Genius* fit for great Designs. If ever he form'd any, it was always at an improper Time, whilst he neglected to lay hold of the most favourable Opportunities. A better had never offer'd than the Present one, to recover the Provinces which the *English* had lost in *France*, had it been well manag'd. The *Normans* having espous'd the Side of the Barons in League against the Queen-Regent of *France*, had sent *Henry* Word, that if he wou'd come over, he shou'd be receiv'd with open Arms, and put in Possession of that rich Province. On the other Hand, the *Poitevins* importun'd him to come and seize such of their Towns as were in the Hands of the *French*, and offer'd him their Assistance. At the same time the *Gascons* sent the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* to inform him, that it was his own Fault, if he laid not hold of the present Juncture to expel the *French* out of the Places they were possess'd of in *Guienne*. Instances so urgent, at such a seasonable Time, shou'd have induc'd *Henry* to make a vigorous Push for the Recovery of what the

the King his Father had lost by his Carelessness. But, 1228.
 blinded by the Advice of the *Chief Justiciary*, he return'd
 in answer, that he wou'd stay for a more convenient
 Opportunity, as if he had been sure of one every Day.
 We shall see hereafter that he rashly embark'd in this
 Undertaking at a Time when there was not the least
 Appearance of succeeding. 'Twas thus that this Prince
 blindly suffer'd himself to be guided by his *Ministers*, who
 abus'd his Easiness and Weakness to advance their own
 Affairs, without any Regard to the Interests of their
 Master.

In the mean time, the Dispute about the Election of
 the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was carrying on at *Rome*
 with great warmth, without the Pope's being yet pleas'd
 to determine the Matter. But at length, the King's
 Envoys having bethought themselves to make the Pope
 an Offer of a *Tenth* of all the *Moveables* in *England* and
Ireland, and this Offer having given him some more Light
 into the Affair than he had before, he voided the Election
 made by the Monks. At the same time, on pretence to
 cut off all Disputes that might arise from a new Election,
 he conferr'd the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity on *Richard le Grand*,
 Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln*; in which he out-
 did even *Innocent III*, who was willing at least to keep
 up some Form, by causing *Langton* to be elected by the
 Monks that were sent to him by the rest. Though this
 Step of *Gregory's* was of a more dangerous Consequence
 than that of *Innocent's*, yet the King and *Suffragan* Bishops
 receiv'd the new Archbishop, well satisfied with having
 voided the Monk's Election, without troubling themselves
 about the Damage done by it to the Church of *England*.
 Quickly after *Geoffrey*, who was in haste for the Perfor-
 mance of the Promises lately made him, sent one of his
 Chaplains into *England* to gather the promis'd *Tenths*,
 which were to be expended in his Wars against the Em-
 peror. The King having assembled the *Parliament* upon
 this Occasion, the Chaplain laid before them the Pope's
 Letters, wherein he urg'd the Performance of what he
 had been made to expect. Every one's Eyes were fix'd
 upon

*The Pope
 nominates
 another
 Archbishop
 of Canter-
 bury.
 Paris.*

*He de-
 mands the
 promis'd
 Tenths.*

1228.
He meets
with Oppo-
sition;

but gains
his Point.

The Nun-
tius raises
the Tenths
with ri-
gour.

upon the King, all imagining that he wou'd oppose this Exaction, and disclaim what his Envoys had done. But when they saw that he kept silence, they were convinc'd that the Promise had been made by his Order, or at least that he had not Courage enough to contradict the Pope's Will and Pleasure. The Lords therefore thought it be-
hov'd them to show greater Resolution than the King. The Business seem'd to them of so great Moment, that they unanimously resolv'd not to suffer their *Lay-fees* to be thus liable to the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*. However, to satisfy the Pope in some Measure, they propos'd to give him a certain Sum, without inquiring into the Effects of each particular Person. In all appearance this Method wou'd have succeeded, had not *Stephen Segrave*, one of the Barons, voluntarily submitted to the Pope's Demands, and drawn in others by his Example. The Number of those that had suffer'd themselves to be gain'd, being increas'd by degrees, the greatest Opposers found themselves constrain'd to yield, for fear of incurring the Indignation of the King and Pope. The *Clergy* durst still less venture to stand out, lest they shou'd be liable to the *Excommunication* they were threat-
ned with. The *Nuntio*, having thus attain'd his Ends, produc'd a *full Power* from his Master to collect the Tax, which was to be paid out of all *Moveables*, of what kind soever. He executed his Orders so rigorously, that he caus'd the *Tenths* of all Sorts of Fruits, even of such as were yet growing, to be paid him in Money. Neither was this all: That this Tax might be levied with the more speed, he oblig'd the Bishops to advance the Money for the inferior *Clergy*, leaving them a Power to reimburse themselves in the manner they shou'd think proper. The Prelates and Abbots therefore were under a Necessity of finding ready Money. But as several of them were not able to raise it soon enough, the *Nuntio* had provided against this Inconvenience, by bringing along with him certain *Italian* Usurers, who lent them Money at an extravagant Interest. 'Twas thus the Pope abus'd the King's Weakness, who might easily have prevented this Exaction,
if

if he had but vigorously oppos'd it. For the Earl of *Chester*, his Subject, had the Power to hinder this Tax from being levied in his Earldom, by stoutly maintaining, in spite of the *Nuncio's* Clamours, that the Pope had nothing to do with *Lay-Fees*. But besides that *Henry* was terrify'd by the Example of the King his Father, which he had ever before his Eyes, he had another Reason that induc'd him to this Compliance with the Pope's Will. In his Project of rendring himself absolute, and raising Money upon his Subjects by all sorts of Ways, he was very sensible he shou'd stand in need of the Pope's Protection, and nothing cou'd procure it him sooner, than the letting him go Shares in these Exactions. Accordingly we shall see in the Sequel of this Reign, that the Pope and King mutually stood by one another whenever the Business was to extort Money from the *Englsh*.

1228.

The King and Pope stand by one another.

The Nation had scarce forgot the Oppression they had lately suffer'd from the Hands of the Pope, when they saw themselves oblig'd to furnish the King with Means to wage War with the King of *France*. After the Disturbances in that Kingdom were over, and consequently the Opportunity of taking advantage of them was lost. *Henry* form'd the Design of recovering by Arms the Provinces which had been taken from the King his Father; without considering that the Posture of Affairs in *France* was very much alter'd, the Lords, that had oppos'd the *Queen-Regent* being return'd to their Obedience, and no longer in a Condition to assist him. To put his Design in Execution, he resolv'd to make great Preparations; and with this View he summon'd all the Vassals of the Crown to meet him, immediately after *Michaelmas*, at *Portsmouth*, where he assembled one of the finest Armies that had ever been rais'd in *England*. However this extraordinary Armament prov'd in vain, by Reason when the Troops came to be embark'd, there were not Ships enough to transport them. This Disappointment threw the King into such a Passion that he call'd *Hubert de Burg*, who had taken up him to get all Things ready, *Old Traitor*

The King forms the Design of carrying War into France. Paris.

Ships are wanting to transport the Troops. The King is angry, and wou'd have kill'd several Hubert.

1228.

*The Expedition is
deferr'd.*

several times. He charg'd him with receiving a Bribe from the Court of *France* to put a Stop to this Design, and in his Rage drew his Sword to kill him. He wou'd certainly have done it, if the Earl of *Chester* had not interpos'd, not so much to save the *Justiciary*, as to prevent the King from imbruing his Hands in the Blood of one of his Subjects. It does not appear whether *Hubert* had acted out of Design or Negligence: but, be that as it will, the Expedition was forc'd to be retarded the whole Winter. To which did not a little contribute the Arrival of *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Bretaign*, who perceiving that so much time had been lost in waiting for Transport-ships, and that the *Eng'ish* Army, the Season being too far advanc'd, wou'd be oblig'd to take up their Winter Quarters in his Dominions where they were to land, advis'd the King to put off his Undertaking till the next Spring. During this Interval, *Hubert* found Means to get into Favour again, and to have the Administration of Affairs as Before.

*Affairs of
Palestin.
Paris.*

This same Year the Emperor *Frederick* carried his Arms into *Palestin*, and compell'd the Sultan of *Egypt* to give him up *Jerusalem* *. He wou'd have been able to make a greater Progress, if the *Excommunication*, the Pope had thunder'd out against him the Year before, had not been of greater Weight with the *Templars* and *Hospitallers* of the *Holy Land*, than the Valour and Bravery of that Prince. Their Prejudice against him rose to that Height, that they had laid a Plot to deliver him into the Hands of the *Sultan*, to whom they had even communicated their Design. But this Prince, tho' an *Infidel*, abhorring their Treachery, was so generous as to give *Frederick* Notice of it. This Generosity turn'd more to his Advantage, than the having of the Emperor in his Power. By that Means he sow'd among the *Christians* of *Palestin* such Dissentions as were extremely prejudicial to their Affairs. *Frederick* finding he cou'd expect no Assistance from the Christians of the *Holy*

* The Emperor sent King *Henry* a large Account of his Proceedings in a Letter under his own Seal, the Copy of which *Masbeu Paris* has inserted in his History under the Year, 1229.

Holy Land, and that the Pope diverted to other Uses, 1228.
the *Crusades* design'd against the *Saracens*, made a Truce with the *Sultan* for ten Years, and return'd into *Europe*.

Altho' *Henry* waited with Impatience for the coming of 1229.
the Spring, in order to transport his Army into *France*, Henry
his Stay in *England* during the Winter was not lost Time. raises Mo-
He procur'd a considerable Present from the *Clergy*, and ney by un-
and exacted a large Sum from the City of *London*; and to leave just Me-
no Means untried to raise Money, he compell'd the *Jews*, thods.
who were then very numerous in the Kingdom, to pay Paris.
him a third Part of their Substance. As soon as the
Spring was come, he embark'd with his Army at *Portsmouth*, Makes a
and landed at *St. Maloes*, where he was receiv'd by Descent in-
the Duke of *Bretaign*, who put into his Hands all his to Bri-
strong Towns and Castles. In the mean time the *French*, taign.
having had all the Winter to prepare themselves, were post-
ed near *Angiers*, with design to hinder his March into
Poitou. *Henry* gave them Time to fortify themselves in
their Post, whilst he continued at *Nants* expecting the
rest of his Troops which were to come from *Ireland*.
Altho' by the prudent Conduct of the *Queen-Regent* of
France, the Male-contents had submitted and promis'd to
sit down in Quiet, they no sooner saw the King of *Eng-*
land in *Bretaign*, and all *Lewis's* Forces employ'd in those
Quarters, but they began to stir again. Upon which the
King and *Queen-Regent* were oblig'd to quit *Anjou*, in
order to quash the Designs of the Male-contents, which
seem'd to them of worse Consequence than the Progress
the *English* Arms might make. This was the Time for
Henry to act vigorously, and lay hold of the present Junc-
ture, especially as the *Normans* were urgent with him to Marches
march into their Country, where they were ready to re- into Gui-
ceive him and assist him to the utmost of their Power. enna, and
But tho' he was inclin'd to turn that way, 'tis affirm'd from
he was dissuaded from it by his Favourite, who told thence re-
him that the Attempt was liable to too many Difficul- turns into
ties. Instead therefore of marching into *Normandy*, he *Bretaign*,
went directly to *Poitou*, where he took the Castle of without
Mirabel. doing any
French. thing a-
gainst the

1219. *Mirabel.* After which, as if he had intended to let the *French* Male-contents see they were to expect nothing from him, he came to *Guienne*, in order to receive the Oath of Allegiance from the *Gascons*. Then, after loss of much Time, he return'd into *Bretaign*, where he employ'd himself in such a Manner as plainly show'd his little Inclination for War. This Behaviour made it suspicious that his *Ministers* held Intelligence with the Enemy, who had Leisure enough afforded him to appease the Troubles in his Kingdom. Accordingly the *Queen-Regent* took this Opportunity, which was so unseasonably given her, to accommodate Matters with the confederate Barons. They readily consented to a Peace, when they found that *Henry* took not one Step in their Favour.

At the
Approach
of the
French he
retires in-
to Eng-
land.

As soon as the *Queen-Regent* had nothing to fear from the Barons, she order'd the Army to march towards *Bretaign*, where *Henry* was lavishing away the Remains of his Money in Feastings and Diversions, as if his Design in leaving *England* had been only to take a Journey of Pleasure. Upon the first News of the Enemies Approach, finding his Treasure spent, and fearing he shou'd draw upon him the whole Power of *France*, he shamefully return'd into *England*. 'Twas not even without great Difficulty that he was brought to consent that Part of his Army shou'd be left in *Bretaign* under the Command of the Earls of *Chester* and *Pembroke*, for the Defence of the Duke whom he had unseasonably engag'd in the War. These Earls, not so fearful as their King, with the few Troops left them, not only hinder'd the *French* from entering *Bretaign*, but made Incursions into *Anjou* and *Normandy*, from whence they carried off great Spoils. Thus ended this Expedition. Instead of procuring any Advantage to *Henry*, it serv'd only to render him contemptible in the Eyes of his Subjects, who wou'd never hearken any more to an Expedition against *France*, seeing he had made such Ill-Use of so favourable a Conjuncture. He cast the whole Blame on the Treachery of the Earl of *March* and the *Poitevins*, who had not made good what they had promis'd him. But he himself was the Cause of their Change,

Change, since, in all Appearance, they cou'd not have deserted him, had they seen him behave in such a Manner as might have put them in hopes of a powerful Protection.

1229.

During *Henry's* Absence in *Bretaign*, some Commotions happen'd in *Ireland*. The King of *Connaught*, willing to take the Advantage of the Weakness of the *English*, whose best Troops had been sent to the King, invaded their Territories with a great Army, or rather with Multitudes of unwarlike People. But he found in *Geoffrey de Maris*, chief *Justiciary* of *Ireland*, a more formidable Enemy than he expected, who, having kill'd twenty thousand of the *Irish*, took their King himself Prisoner.

1230.
Rebellion
in Ireland.

Altho' the King had laid out in needless Expences, the Sums granted him for his War with *France*, yet he made that Expedition a Pretence to demand a new *Subsidy*. The *Parliament* was with great Difficulty brought to comply with his Demands. However being prevail'd upon at length out of Consideration of his great Wants, he had three Marks granted him out of every *Knight's Fee*, which was held of the Crown.

1231.
Subsidy
granted
the King.

Shortly after, *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* complain'd to the King, that after the Death of the Earl of *Glocester*, *Hubert de Burg* had seiz'd the Castle of *Tunbridge*, tho' it was a *Fief* of the Archbishoprick. *Henry* told him that the *Wardship* of the young Earl of *Glocester* belonging to him, it was his Prerogative to dispose of it to his *Justiciary*, during the Heir's Minority; adding, he thought it very strange that he shou'd call his Right in Question. This Answer not being satisfactory to the Archbishop, he excommunicated, without Distinction, all such as wrongfully detain'd the *Church's* Lands, and forthwith set out for *Rome* to prosecute his Suit in that Court.

Disgust of
the Arch-
bishop of
Canterbu-
ry.
Paris.He goes to
Rome.

Much about the same Time, Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, married the Countess-Dowager of *Glocester*, Sister of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who died quickly after his Sister's Marriage. He left his Estate by *Will* to *Richard*

Prince
Richard's
Marriage.

1231.
*Death of
the Earl
of Pem-
broke.*

*The King
defrauds
his Brother
of the Inhe-
ritance.*

*He re-
venges
himself in
Ireland.*

*The King
gives him
his Estate.*

*Henry
makes War
with the
Welsh, but
to little
Purpose.*

his Brother who was still in *Bretaign*, where he did the State signal Services. A Truce for three Months, which was concluded shortly after, having afforded him Leisure to return into *England*, he demanded his Brother's Inheritance, which the King had seiz'd. *Henry* wanting an Excuse to enjoy the Profits, gave this Answer: That he heard his Brother's Widow was with Child, and therefore he cou'd not dispose of the Inheritance till she was delivered. But as he knew this was false, he sought a more plausible Pretence. He charg'd *Richard* with having held criminal Correspondence with *France* whilst he was in *Bretaign*, and without suffering him to vindicate himself, commanded him to depart the Kingdom within fifteen Days. It was very shocking to an *English* Earl to see himself treated in this Manner. But it was still more so to the Son of that Earl of *Pembroke*, who had set the Crown on the King's Head, and establish'd him in the Throne, in Spite of the Endeavours of his Enemies to the contrary. *Richard* indeed quitted *England*, but it was to pass over into *Ireland*, where he was put in Possession of the Castles and Lands belonging to his Family. Which done, he levied some Troops, and made himself amends out of the King's *Demesnes*, for what was unjustly detain'd from him in *England*. Whether *Henry* dreaded the Consequences of this Revolt, or whether he had been made sensible that the Injustice done the Earl was too bare-fac'd to be maintain'd, he recall'd him from Banishment, put him in Possession of his Estate, and invested him with the Dignity of *Earl-Marshal*, which his Brother had enjoy'd. It was the Temper of this Prince to behave haughtily to such as he thought were not able to resist him, and to stoop on a sudden to those that oppos'd him.

Llewellyn Prince of *Wales*, having lately made some Incursions into the Borders of *England*, *Henry* let him go on for some Time. But when he thought the *Welsh* Prince no longer expected to be attack'd, he resolv'd to go in Person and chastise him. However, upon the first Resistance he met with, his Warlike Heat abated, and he return'd without doing any Thing.

Tho'

Tho' *Henry* was now arriv'd to the twenty fifth Year of his Age, he had been forc'd to live unmarried, by Reason he had met with Disappointments in all the Matches hitherto propos'd. His first Design had been to espouse *Volante* Daughter of the Duke of *Bretaign*, to whom he was engag'd by Oath. But whether the Pope had refus'd to give him a Dispensation, or for some other Reason, the Matter was broke off. A Match was likewise propos'd between him and the Duke of *Austria's* Daughter, but with no better Success. Some time alter, he wrote to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, to impart to him his Intent of entering into a strict Alliance with the Empire, by marrying the Daughter of the King of *Bohemia*. But we don't find this Affair was carried any further. He had also the Mortification to be disappointed this very Year, in his Design of espousing the Second Daughter of the King of *Scotland*, Sister of the *Chief Justiciary's* Wife. The Jealousy of the *English* Barons was a Bar to this Marriage. As they cou'd not bear to see the King married to the younger Sister of the Wife of one of his Subjects, they were so urgent with him to divert him from it, that he thought fit to drop an Affair, wherein he met with so strong Opposition. I shall add here, that, four Years after, he had a Mind to marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Pontieu*; but this Project like the rest came to nothing. Tho' he was contracted to her, and Ambassadors were dispatch'd to get the Pope's Dispensation, he alter'd his Mind whilst they were on the Road, and sent them Orders not to mention the Affair.

1231.
Several
Matches
propos'd,
come to no-
thing.
Act. Pub.
I. 271, 283,
275.

293.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* had so effectually pleaded his Cause at *Rome*, that he had obtain'd an Order from the Pope to take Possession of the Castle of *Tunbridge*, during the Nonage of the Earl of *Glocester*. But he cou'd not reap the Benefit of this Favour: Death having surpris'd him, as he was returning to *England*. As soon as the Monks of *St. Augustin* heard the News of it, they forthwith elected the Bishop of *Chichester* * Chancellor of the

Death of
the Arch-
bishop of
*Canterbu-
ry*.

1231.
An Election confirm'd by the King, and null'd by the Pope.

Kingdom. The King having confirm'd their Choice, invested the Prelate with the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick. But the Archbishop elect cou'd never obtain the Pope's Confirmation, to whom it was represented * that he was too much a Courtier. This single Reason was enough to induce the Pope to void the Election, and send orders to the Monks to chuse one more devoted to the *Holy See*.

1232.
The King demands a Subsidy, but is refus'd.

In the Beginning of the Year 1232, *Henry* call'd a *Parliament*, of whom he demanded a *Subsidy* to enable him to pay the Debts he had contracted by Reason of his Expedition against *France*. The Earl of *Chester* replied, in the Names of all the Barons, that they had assisted him not only with their Money, but also their Persons, and therefore they ow'd him no further Aid. The *Clergy*, who were no better inclin'd, having demanded Time to consider of the Matter, the *Parliament* was prorogu'd till *Easter*.

A Confederacy against the Foreign Ecclesiasticks. Paris.

Besides that the King had made an Ill-Use of the Aids granted him by the *Parliament*, he gave the *Clergy*, *Nobility*, and *People*, another Cause of Discontent, which they no less took to Heart. They saw that the King openly favour'd the Usurpations of the Court of *Rome*, and by an affected Connivance, suffer'd the Pope to trample daily upon the Rights of the *Church* and Kingdom. The Popes, not contented with exacting from Time to Time, on divers Pretences, large Sums from the *Clergy*, were manifestly aiming at getting into their Hands the *Collations* to all the vacant *Benefices*, and consequently the Rights of the Patrons were going to be quickly abolish'd. Moreover the conferring of almost all the *Benefices* upon *Italians*, or other Foreigners, cou'd not but very much incense the *English*. Their Disgust was arriv'd to that Height, that above fourscore Persons of Quality enter'd into a Confederacy to turn the *Italian Ecclesiasticks* out of all they held in *England*, by Force of Arms. The Confederates, having chosen one *Twyngham* for their Leader, forcibly enter'd

* By Stephen Langton.

1232.

Act. Pub.
T.I.

rer'd several Houles of these Foreigners, and having carried off what Things of Value they met with, distributed them among the Poor. This was done with so little Noise, that not a Soul stirr'd either to oppose or punish the Authors. But the Pope, who had quickly Intelligence of it, wrote so severe a Letter to the King, that if one were to judge by the Contents, one wou'd think the *Church* had receiv'd a mortal Wound. Besides, without considering that the Laws and Customs of *England* requir'd a previous Process and Examination of Matters, he commanded the King, to punish on the Spot the Disturbers of the *Church's* Peace, upon Pain of *Excommunication* and *Interdict*, if he deferr'd a Moment the Chastisement of the Guilty. These Threats having oblig'd the King to issue out Orders to make strict Inquiry after the Authors of this Violence, he found there were more Persons concerned in it than he had imagin'd, and that the Bishops themselves were either in the Plot, or had countenanc'd it by their Silence. However, for the Pope's Satisfaction, the chief Leader of the Confederates was apprehended, and sent to *Rome*, pursuant to his *Holiness's* Order. Some of the *Sheriffs* and other Officers were imprison'd for having neglected to suppress the Riot. In all Likelihood the Number and Quality of the Parties concern'd prevented this Affair from being prosecuted any further.

During these Transactions, the Monks of St. *Augustin* having elected another Archbishop, according to the Orders they had receiv'd, and their Choice not having pleas'd the Pope any more than the former, they were enjoin'd to proceed to a third Election.

Another
Election of
an Arch-
bishop
voided by
the Pope.

How smooth soever Things seem'd to go outwardly for some Years at Court, the Minds of the Courtiers were not the less in Agitation. There was gathering against the *Chief Justiciary*, a Storm, which prov'd the more fatal to him, as he was not prepar'd against it. Ever since it had been perceiv'd that the King was capable of entertaining Suspicions against his Favourite, the Enemies of *Hubert* had not ceas'd to do him ill Offices. They had so well laid their Schemes, that they had prevail'd with the
King

Disgrace
of Hubert.

1231.

King to call the Bishop of *Winchester* to Court again, and make him one of his Counsellors. This Prelate had no sooner the King's Ear, but he labour'd incessantly at the Ruin of the Favourite, being sensible that his own Safety depended on the Downfal of his Rival. As he earnestly sought all Opportunities to compass his Ends, there was one that soon offer'd, which he fail'd not to lay hold of. The Prince of *Wales* having made without any Opposition several Inroads into *England*, the Bishop of *Winchester* represented to the King, how great a Reproach it was, that so despicable a People as the *Welsh* shou'd thus plunder his Subjects, without any one's endeavouring to prevent them. The King replied, that he was so far from having Money to undertake a War, that his Treasurers had given him to understand, his Revenues wou'd scarce suffice the necessary Expences of his Family. These Words furnish'd the Bishop with what he wanted, a Pretence to blame the Conduct of the *Prime Minister*. He told the King, that the Scarcity of Money which he complain'd of, proceeded from the Ill-management of his Treasury: That they, thro' whose Hands the Money pass'd, were not call'd to an Account: That the *Wardship* of Minors were continually given away to private Persons without any Benefit to his *Exchequer*: That he receiv'd no Profit from the Revenues of the vacant Benefices; or from the Lands which by Death or Confiscation, fell to the Crown. He added, that by these Means the Kings his Predecessors were wont to fill their Coffers, and consequently stood not so much in need of Parliamentary Aids, but liv'd in a greater Independence. *Henry*, improving this Advice, call'd all his *Sheriffs*, and such as had the Management of the Treasury, to an Account, and made *Peter de Rivaux*, the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Nephew, Treasurer of his Chamber. The Bishop did this to make Trial of his Credit, in order to bring about with the more Ease the Execution of his main Design. These Alterations were followed by some others, which tended to the removing from Court the Creatures of the *Chief Justiciary*, whose Interest visibly decreas'd, in Proportion as his Rival's gain'd Ground. In short, the

Hubert
turn'd out,
and Se-
grave put
in his
Room.

Bishop

Bishop knew so well how to manage the King, that he caus'd *Segrave*, his principal Confident, to be promoted to the Office of *Chief Justiciary* in the room of *Hubert*, who was turn'd out, tho' he had a *Patent* to hold that Dignity for Life.

It seldom happens that a Favourite falls easy. The Hatred of the Prince is in proportion to his past Affection, the Former hardly ever failing to be as violent as the Latter. Princes generally act on these Occasions from Principle of Pride, which they themselves very often do not perceive. As their Affection grows cool, they endeavour to justify their Inconstancy, and frequently upbraid the Favourite for the very Thing which before was the Cause of their Love. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in the Downfal of *Hubert de Burg*. Never had Favourite so great an Ascendent over his Master. His Counsels, which flatter'd all the King's Passions, were look'd upon, whilst in Favour, as so many Oracles: But no sooner had he entertain'd a Prejudice against him, but he consider'd his former Advices as so many Treacheries. It is true indeed, 'twou'd be difficult to vindicate all the Actions of this Favourite. But it is very probable, that among the Things laid to his Charge, there were several false Imputations. Be this as it will, some few Days after he had been turn'd out, the King sent for him, and requir'd him to give an Account of all the Money that had pass'd thro' his Hands; the which being very hard to do, *Hubert* endeavour'd to be exempted from it. He produc'd King *John's Charter*, wherein that Prince declar'd he was so well satisfied of his Faithfulness, that he discharged him from all Accounts. The Bishop of *Winchester* replied, That the *Charter* might be valid as to what had been done in the late Reign; but it was of no Force to exempt him from giving an Account of his Administration during the present Reign. He added, this was not the only thing he was charg'd with: That he was accus'd moreover of several Crimes, and particularly of having given the King treacherous Advices, to the great Prejudice of His and the Kingdom's Affairs. *Hubert* perceiv-

The King orders Hubert to give in his Accounts. Hubert endeavours to evade it.

1232. perceiving by these Accusations, that they were bent upon his Ruin, requir'd some Time to give in his Answer; which they cou'd not well refuse him. The Bishop of *Winchester*, who stood in need of the Barons to get him condemned, durst not disoblige them, by denying *Hubert* a Privilege which was common to him with all the *Peers* of the Realm. It may be, they wou'd have made it their own Cause, if the Court had persisted in denying his Request.

Violence of
the King
against
Hubert.
Paris.

Whether *Hubert* was conscious of his Guilt, or whether he despair'd of being able to vindicate his Innocence before Judges, several whereof were his profess'd Enemies, instead of appearing on the Day appointed, he took Sanctuary in the Priory of *Merton*, from whence he hop'd they wou'd not dare to force him. Some time after, the Parliament being met at *Lambeth*, a Subsidy of the fortieth Part of the *Moveables* of the whole Nation was granted to the King. Which done, the Lords having requested that *Hubert de Burg's* Tryal might go on, he was summon'd to appear; but he refus'd to obey the Summons. Upon which the King, who was of a violent Temper, commanded the Mayor of *London* to go and force him from his Sanctuary, and bring him either dead or alive. The Citizens of *London* very joyfully embrac'd this Opportunity of being reveng'd of *Hubert*, against whom they had entertain'd a mortal Hatred ever since his severe Proceedings against them in the Affair of *Constantine*. They immediately flock'd together to the Number of twenty thousand, with a Resolution to execute the King's Orders without Mercy. In the mean Time, some of the chief Citizens dreading the Consequences of so rash an Order, went and advis'd with the Bishop of *Winchester*, who told them, that whatever might be the Consequence, the King must be obey'd. But the Remonstrances the Earl of *Chester* made the King himself, had a better Effect. He represented to him, that such tumultuous Proceedings might be very dangerous, and raise in the City a Seditious which wou'd not be easily appeas'd. Moreover he made him sensible that so violent

an Action wou'd be blam'd by all the World, and especially by Foreigners, who not being prejudic'd, like the *English* against the Party accus'd, must needs think it very strange that he shou'd treat him in this manner, since other Means were not wanting to punish him if he was guilty. Lastly, He put him in Mind of the Pope's Resentment, who wou'd never suffer the Sacredness of the *Sanctuary* to be violated with Impunity. *Henry* being prevail'd upon by these Reasons, sent a Countermand to the Mayor of *London*, who had enough to do to disperse the Mobb.

Of all the Friends *Hubert* had in his Prosperity, there was but one left that durst open his Mouth in his Behalf. This was the Archbishop of *Dublin*, who, by his Solicitations, obtain'd of the King, that he wou'd grant *Hubert* some further Time to prepare his Answer. In the Interim, *Hubert* coming out of his Sanctuary, in order to visit his Wife at *St. Edmunds-bury*, the King, who had notice of it, caus'd him to be pursu'd by some Soldiers, who found him in a small Chapel *, whither he had fled for Refuge, with *the Cross* in one Hand, and *the Host* in the other: Both which being violently wrung from him, they chain'd his Feet under his Horse's Belly, and in that ignominious Manner conducted him to the *Tower of London*. All Churches, as well as all that belong'd to them being in those Days so many *Sanctuaries*, which cou'd not be violated without Punishment, the King's Attempt alarm'd the whole Body of the *Clergy*. The Bishop of *London* was no sooner inform'd of the Matter, but he went to the King, and declar'd he wou'd excommunicate all those that, directly or indirectly, had any Hand in the Breach of the *Church's* Privileges. The King being terrified at these Threats, order'd *Hubert* to be sent back again to the Chapel from whence he had been taken: But at the same Time he commanded the *Sheriffs* of *Herefordshire* and *Essex*, upon pain of being hang'd, to guard the Church so strictly, that the Prisoner

Hubert is dragg'd by force out of a Church.

He is sent back.

1232.
The Arch-
bishop of
Dublin in
vain inter-
ceeds for
him.

might neither make his Escape, nor receive Viſuals from any Perſon. The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* plainly perceiving that his Friend cou'd not long remain in this Condition, interceded for him once more, and intreated the King with Tears in his Eyes, to let him know what he deſign'd to do with the Priſoner. *Henry* replied, he intended to have him condemn'd for a *Traytor*, unleſs he wou'd own himſelf guilty, and abjure the Kingdom for ever.

He is con-
fin'd to the
Tower.

This Condition having appear'd too hard to *Hubert*, he voluntarily yielded himſelf to the *Sheriffs*, who carried him to the *Tower* fetter'd, and chain'd, amidſt the Shouts of the People, who took a Pleaſure in inſulting over his Diſgrace.

The King
relents.
Paris.

But whiſt he was anxiously expecting the rigorous Sentence he was threatned with, his Affairs began to have a new Face by the fickle Temper of the King, who cou'd not for any time continue in the ſame Mind. Two Things contributed to this Change : Firſt, The Death of the Earl of *Cheſter* *, profeſs'd Enemy of *Hubert*, tho' he had diſlik'd the illegal Ways the King wou'd have taken to deſtroy him. Secondly, A large Sum of Money which the Priſoner had lodg'd in the Hands of the *Knights Temp'ers*, and which he readily deliver'd up to the King upon demanding it. Thus *Hubert* ſaw the King's Anger cool by degrees, at the very time that he expected to feel the moſt terrible Effects of his Wrath.

The Biſhop
of Win-
cheſter
tries to ſtir
him up
aſreſh.

This ſudden Change alarm'd the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who dreading the revival of the King's Affection for his old *Minifter*, made a freſh Attempt to compleat the Deſtruction of his formidable Rival. He took Occaſion from the Money, lodg'd with the *Temp'ers*, to accuſe him of Fraud and Rapine ; alledging, 'twas impoſſible for him to heap up ſuch immense Riches by lawful Means. This Charge was back'd by all *Hubert's* Adverſaries, who,

* He died at *Wallingford-Caſtle* without Iſſue, and was ſucceeded in the Earldom of *Cheſter* by his Nephew *John*, Son to Earl *David*, Brother of the King of *Scotland*.

who, finding the King began to relent, came in a Body and urg'd that he might be put to Death. But the King resolutely made answer, that he wou'd never consent to the Death of a Person, from whom he himself and the King his Father had received such signal Services. He dropp'd therefore his Prosecution, and leaving him in Possession of his Estate of Inheritance, and of such Lands as he had purchased with his own Money, was contented with depriving him of the rest. As soon as 'twas known how the King stood affected, some of the Lords *, who till then had not dar'd to speak for *Hubert*, solicited the King in his Behalf, and so far prevail'd upon him, that he was sent to the Castle of the *Devises*, till it shou'd please the King to dispose of him otherwise. Thus ended this Affair, which had made so much Noise, to the great Sorrow of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who had been in hopes that *Hubert* wou'd not have been able to come off without the loss of his Head.

Richard * *Bland*, Professor in *Divinity* at *Oxford*, being elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, forthwith set out for *Rome* with the King's License, in order to obtain the Pope's Confirmation.

One wou'd think that *Hubert's* Disgrace shou'd have oblig'd the new Minister to keep within the Bounds of Moderation, and behave better towards the *English*. But contrary to every one's Expectation, it prov'd quite otherwise. Instead of taking a different Course from that of his Predecessor, the Bishop of *Winchester* thought of nothing but how to govern with absolute Power, and at the same time to screen himself from the Plots of those that shou'd oppose his Designs. He gave the King to

1232.

Hubert is sent to the Devises.

A Fourth Election of an Archbishop.

The Bishop of Winchester forms the Project of governing absolutely.

* *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, *William* Earl of *Warren*, *Richard* Earl-Marshal, and *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his Good-behaviour.

* *John. M. Paris*. About this Time was collected the Fortieth Part of all Goods lately granted by Parliament. The Form of the Commission to the Sheriffs, and the Manner how it was to be levied and collected is to be seen in *M. Paris*, under the Year 1232. to which the curious Reader is referr'd.

1233.

*He brings
into Eng-
land great
Numbers
of Poict-
evins.*

understand, that among the Barons there were few that were really devoted to his Service, and that their sole Aim was to make themselves Independent: Adding, that it was absolutely necessary to think of Means to repress their Insolence: But that it wou'd be next to impossible to succeed, whilst they were, as one may say, Masters of the Kingdom, by having in their Hands all the Places of Trust and Profit; in a Word, whilst they had in their Possession what might serve to increase their Audaciousness: That their Power therefore was to be undermin'd by degrees, by turning them out of their Posts, Offices, and Governments, which might be conferr'd upon Foreigners who shou'd be invited into *England*, to the End the King might depend upon their Assistance in case of Necessity: That the strong Places and Posts which drew after them the greatest Credit and Authority among the People, being in the Hands of such as were devoted to the King, out of Gratitude and their own Interest, it wou'd be in vain for the *English* Barons to attempt the re-establishment of their pretended Rights. This Advice, so conformable to the King's Inclinations, cou'd not but be very agreeable to him; accordingly he put it forthwith in Practice. Quickly after were seen to arrive above two thousand Knights, *Gascons* or *Poictevins*, whom the Bishop of *Winchester*, their Countryman, and *Peter de Rivaulx* his Son, who pass'd for his Nephew, had sent for over. These Strangers not only were promoted to the most considerable Posts and Governments, but moreover the King committed to them the Wardships of the young Nobility; by which Means they mutually procur'd one another very advantageous Matches, to the great Detriment of all the Noble Families. This Step very much exasperated the Barons, who plainly saw the Consequences of it. Besides, they cou'd not bear to see themselves remov'd from Places and Posts to which they had a Right to pretend, whilst the King was profuse in bestowing his Favours on Foreigners. But the Bishop of *Winchester* prevented their Murmurs from reaching the Ears of the King:

King : Or, if he cou'd not do that, he had the Address to hinder their making any Impression on his Mind. 1233.

Richard, Earl of *Pembroke*, was the first that ventur'd openly to complain of these Proceedings. He boldly represented to the King, that by placing his whole Confidence in Strangers, he alienated to such a Degree the Affections of his Subjects, that it was not possible but their Discontents wou'd be attended with fatal Consequences. He told him roundly, that in case he continued thus to give the Preference to Foreigners before the *English*, the Barons wou'd be forc'd to find Means to rid the Kingdom of these Blood-suckers. The Prime Minister, who was present, gave not the King time to reply. He told the Earl, that his Insolence deserv'd Correction, in thus pretending to abridge the King of the Liberty of employing whom he thought most proper for the Defence of his Crown : Adding, that if the Foreigners, which were already in the Kingdom, were not sufficient to reduce his rebellious Subjects to due Obedience, a greater Number shou'd be call'd in. This haughty and imprudent Answer caus'd a general Discontent among the Barons. From thenceforward they began to withdraw from Court, and to form a Confederacy, in order to put a Stop to the Despotick Power the King was assuming by the violent Counsels of his *Minister*.

The Earl of Pembroke makes a Remonstrance to the King.

The Bishop's Answer exasperates the Barons.

Some time after, the King having summon'd a Parliament, the Barons, pursuant to the Resolution they had taken among themselves, refus'd to meet. They were summon'd a second Time, but to no purpose. At last, having been inform'd that a fresh Troop of Foreigners were landed in *England*, in order to strengthen the Court-Party, they met together in a Body, to consult about what was to be done. The Result of their Consultation was to send Deputies to the King, to let him know, that if he remov'd not from his Person and Counsels, the Bishop of *Winchester* and the *Poitevins*, they were resolv'd to place on the Throne a Prince, who shou'd better observe the Laws of the Realm. So formal a Declaration having furnish'd the *Prime Minister* with a plausible Pre-
tence

They refuse to meet in Parliament ;

and threaten to elect another King.

1233. tence to exasperate the King against the Barons, he omitted nothing that might put him upon the most violent Measures to reduce them to Obedience. *Henry* blindly giving himself up to the Guidance of the Bishop, began, by his Advice, with compelling some of the Lords to deliver to him their Children as Pledges of their *Allegiance* :

Henry undertakes to reduce them by Force.

The Earl of Pembroke retires into Wales.

The King treats the Barons roughly.

Pembroke leagues with the Prince of Wales.

After which, he prepar'd, very unadvisedly, to prosecute by Arms such as refus'd to submit. When he thought himself in a Condition to make himself dreaded, he call'd a Parliament, with Design to get the most Stubborn condemn'd. The Barons obey'd the Summons indeed, but came so well attended, that they had nothing to fear. The Earl of *Pembroke* was on the Road in order to be present with the rest, being perswaded that it was not in the King's Power to get any Thing *pass'd* to his Prejudice : But upon Notice that the Court design'd to go a speedier and surer way to work with him, he turn'd back and retir'd into *Wales*. The Precautions the Barons had taken having broken the King's Measures, he porogu'd the Parliament, for fear what he had projected might fall on his own Head. Having fail'd in his Design of causing the Parliament to proceed against the Barons, he resolv'd to act with open Force. To that End, he summon'd all the *Vassals* of the Crown to meet him with their Troops at *Glocester* ; but the Earl of *Pembroke*, and some others, did not think fit to appear. Their Refusal furnishing him with a plausible Reason to attack them, he order'd their Estates to be plunder'd, their Parks to be destroy'd, their Houses to be pillaged, and their Spoils to be distributed among his *Poitevins*. If the Barons had held together, the King wou'd never have ventur'd to proceed to such Violences. But Dissention having arisen among them, some of them broke the Confederacy, and left the rest expos'd to the King's Resentment. The Earl of *Pembroke* perceiving he was too weak to make head, after being thus deserted by the greatest Part of his *Associates*, applied to *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, who granted him Protection and Assistance.

In the mean time, *Henry* having receiv'd a fresh Re-
 cruit of *Poitevin* Troops, march'd down as far as *Hereford*,
 with design to seize the Castles which the Earl of *Pem-*
broke had in that County. But he quickly fell off his
 Speed, by the Resistance he met with from the first
 Castle he besieged. As he was spending his Time in vain
 before the Castle, he bethought himself of a Device which
 succeeded. He made as if he was desirous to refer the
 Decision of his Quarrel with the Barons to the Parlia-
 ment, which was to meet in *October*. He even engag'd
 his Royal Word, that he wou'd consider of their Com-
 plaints; and as his past Conduct had render'd his Word
 doubtful, some of the Bishops were willing to be Sureties
 for his performing what he promised. Then he required
 that the Castle he was besieging shou'd be put into his
 Hands, promising to surrender it again to the Earl of
Pembroke, within fifteen Days. These Conditions being
 approv'd of, the Castle was deliver'd up to the King :
 But when the fifteen Days were expir'd, he laugh'd at
 the Earl's Easiness, and refus'd to stand to his Engage-
 ment. Such were the Lessons the Bishop of *Winchester*
 gave this Prince ; I mean, to reckon for nothing the
 Breach of his Faith, and to behave so as to oblige his
 Subjects to require Pledges for the Performance of his
 Promises.

1233.
 The King
 besieges one
 of his
 Castles in
 vain.
 He proposes
 an Accom-
 modation ;

and breaks
 it.

The Parliament being met on the 9th of *October*, as had
 been agreed upon, the King was earnestly intreated by all
 the Lords, to replace his Confidence in his own native
 Subjects. They remonstrated to him, that the Admi-
 nistration of the publick Affairs belong'd more naturally to
 the *Peers* of the Realm than to Foreigners ; and that he
 cou'd not prefer Strangers without doing Injustice to his
 Barons. Above all Things, they besought him not to
 introduce the pernicious Custom of treating as Rebels
 and Traytors, those that were not legally condemned.
 The Bishop of *Winchester*, who, on such Occasions, never
 fail'd to answer for his Master, replied in a manner,
 which plainly show'd what Maxims he instill'd into the
 Mind of the young King. He told them, that the

The Parli-
 ament
 make Re-
 monstran-
 ces to him.

The impru-
 dent An-
 swer of the
 Bishop of
 Winchest-
 Peers &c.

1253. *Peers of England* took very much upon them, to put themselves upon a Foot with the *Peers of France*, when there was a very wide Difference between the one and the other: And added, that it was a notorious Incroachment upon the Royal Prerogative, to pretend to deprive the King of the Right of making use of what Judges he pleas'd to punish such Persons as disobeyed his Orders.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate him.

Upon these Words, which contain'd Maxims so destructive of Liberty, the Bishops to a Man stood up and threatned the Prelate with *Excommunication*. But he despis'd their Menaces, affirming he was not subject to their Jurisdiction, as having been *consecrated* by the Pope. However, lest this Reason shou'd not be thought weighty enough, he appeal'd before-hand to *His Holiness*, against whatever the Bishops shou'd do. *Appeals* to the Court of *Rome* were so *Sacred* at that Time, that the Bishops not daring to *excommunicate* him by Name, were contented to dart their Thunders in general, against all those who alienated the King's Affections from his natural Subjects.

The Earl of Pembroke retakes his Castle.

In the mean time, the Earl of *Pembroke* finding that all his Instances for the Restitution of his Castle were to no Purpose, laid Siege to it, and became Master of it in a few Days. Upon News of this, the King fell into a great Fury against the Earl, and commanded the Bishops

The Bishops refuse to excommunicate him.

to pronounce him *Excommunicated*: But he had the Mortification to be denied. They told him, they did not see lawful Cause to excommunicate the Earl, who had done nothing but taken Possession of what was his own, and what the King had promised to restore.

The King marches against him,

Henry, not being able to prevail with the Bishops, resolv'd to take Arms again, in order to revenge the Affront he had just received. With this View he summon'd all the Lords to meet him at *Glocester* with their Troops, immediately after *All-Saints Day*. As soon as his Army was ready, he march'd into *Wales*; but he was hardly there, before he found himself in extreme want of Provisions and Forrage, the Earl of *Pembroke* having laid waste all the Places through which the Royal Army was

1233.

to pass. This Disappointment oblig'd him to alter his Course : He enter'd *Monmouthshire*, where he staid some Time to give Orders about the Subsistence of his Army. In the interim, the Earl of *Pembroke* understanding that the King and most of the general Officers were lodg'd in the Castle of *Grosmont*, whilst the Army was quarter'd without in Tents, attack'd the Camp by Night, and put the whole Army, who thought nothing of the Matter, to rout. This Accident so confounded the King, who had lost in the Action five or six hundred Horses*, and almost all his Baggage, that altho' his Army was Superior to the Earl's, he retir'd to *Glocester*. *Pembroke*, upon the King's Retreat, resolv'd to besiege the Castle of *Monmouth*, which was under the Command of *Baldwin de Guisnes*, a *Flemish* Officer of great Reputation. *Baldwin* not questioning but the Earl wou'd approach the Castle with a small Number of Soldiers to take a View of it, laid an Ambush for him, which having surrounded him on a sudden, took him Prisoner. This Accident wou'd doubtless have brought on the Ruin of the Earl and his whole Party, if, by good luck, whilst they were conducting him to the Castle, *Baldwin* had not been desperately wounded by an Arrow. His Wound having oblig'd his People to halt in order to assist him, the Earl's Army had not only time to rescue their General, but likewise to kill or take Prisoners all those that came out of the Town.

His Army surpris'd, and routed.

The Earl taken Prisoner, and rescued again.

Whilst these Things were transacting in *Wales*, *Hubert de Burg* was contriving Means to avoid a new Danger which hung over his Head. He had receiv'd Notice that the Bishop of *Winchester* had a Design to dispatch him out of the Way ; and to compass his Ends the more easily, had earnestly desir'd of the King the Custody of the Castle of the *Devises*. *Hubert's* Danger having put him upon endeavouring to avoid it, he was so

Hubert escapes, and flies to a Church.

* The Earl wou'd not suffer any of the King's Soldiers to be taken or hurt, by which Means only two, (and they by their own Fault) fell by the Sword. *M. Paris.*

1233.

*He is
dragg'd
thence ;**and sent
back again.**He is
rescued.**The Pope
annuls the
fourth E-
lection of
an Arch-
bishop.*

lucky as to gain some of his Guards, who gave him an Opportunity to escape, and take Refuge in a neighbouring Church. As soon as it was known that he had given them the slip, the Governor ordered him to be pursued by some of the Garrison, who having found him before the *Altar*, dragg'd him thence with great Violence, and brought him back to the Castle. If he had been taken any where but in a *Church*, few People wou'd have concerned themselves about it. But the Breach of the Privilege of *Sanctuary* appear'd to the *Clergy* of so dangerous a Consequence, that the Bishop of *Salisbury* made it his own Cause, because the Violation had been committed in a *Church* within his *Diocese*. He forthwith repaired to the *Devises*, and tried to perswade the Governor to send back the Prisoner to the Place from whence he had been taken. His Solicitations proving ineffectual, he excommunicated the whole Garrison, and immediately went and carried his Complaints to the King. He was back'd by the Bishop of *London*, and some other Prelates, who were so urgent with the King, that he order'd the Prisoner to be sent back to his *Sanctuary*. But this Favour was of little Benefit to *Hubert*, since at the same time the King commanded the *Sheriff* of the County to prevent any one from bringing him Victuals. However, on the Morrow he was rescued by a Troop of armed Men, who afforded him Means to make his Escape into *Wales*, where he went and join'd the Earl of *Pembroke*.

The Election of *Richard Blund* to the *See* of *Canterbury*, not meeting with Approbation at *Rome*, the Pope declar'd it void. But for fear the *Monks* shou'd mistake him once more, he gave them leave to chuse *Edmund* Canon of *Salisbury*. Thus by degrees the Popes became Masters of the Elections of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, by annulling them, till such time as one to their Mind shou'd be chosen.

Ever

Ever since the King's Retreat, the Earl of *Pembroke* continued his Progress, and daily gain'd some Advantage. In the Beginning of the Year 1234, he defeated a small Army commanded by *John de Monmouth*, who thought to have surpris'd him, but found himself circumvented. After this Victory, he ravaged the Lands of the King's Councillors, lying on the Borders of *Wales*, and burnt the Town of *Shrewsbury*, whilst the King, who was still at *Glocester*, durst not take the Field. He was so far from opposing the Earl's Progress, that he thought himself unsafe at *Glocester*, and for that Reason went and shut himself up in *Winchester*, leaving the Counties about the *Severn* to the Mercy of the Enemy. Several Bishops and others advis'd him to make Peace with the Earl. But this weak Prince, suffering himself to be entirely directed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, refus'd to hearken to any Accommodation, unless the Earl of *Pembroke* wou'd come and throw himself at his Feet, * and acknowledge himself a *Traitor*. It was difficult to bring the Earl to submit voluntarily to these hard Terms: And it was no less so, to compel him to it, since the King had not the least Hopes of obtaining any Aids from the Parliament, to continue a War so disagreeable to every Body. But the Bishop of *Winchester* had an After-game to play, which he did not think fit to acquaint the King with. As the Council consisted of None but his Creatures, it was no hard Matter for him to engage them to join in the Means he made use of to bring about his Designs. He caus'd to be directed to the King's Officers in *Ireland* an Order, sign'd by twelve privy Councillors, to plunder the Estates of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to take him Dead or Alive if he shou'd come into that Country *. To this Order was subjoin'd a Promise in the King's Name, of giving them the confiscated Lands the Earl held in *Ireland*, if they

1234.
Progress of
the Earl of
Pembroke

The Bishop
of Win-
chester's
Plot a-
gainst the
Earl of
Pembroke

V O L. III.

U u 2

wou'd

* With a Halter about his Neck. M. Paris. p. 332.

* This Order, which is in *Matthew Paris*, is directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Justiciary in *Ireland*, to *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy*, *Richard de Burgh*, and *Geoffrey March*, with others of the Earl's Liege-Men or Feudatories. p. 333.

1234.

wou'd faithfully execute what was enjoin'd them. The Governors of *Ireland*, allur'd by so fine a Bait, promis'd to use their utmost Endeavours, to content the King. But they wish'd to have beforehand a *Charter* in Form, that they might be secur'd of what had been promis'd them. The Bishop, having gone too far to draw back, caus'd a *Charter* to be drawn up, and found Means to get it sign'd by the King, among other *Papers* of little Moment. Which done, he had the *Seal* affix'd to it by the *Chancellor*, who, in all Appearance, was in the Plot *. As soon as the *Irish* Governors had receiv'd this *Charter*, they set about executing the Order. To that Purpose they levied an Army on some Pretence, and entering the Lands of the Earl of *Pembroke*, committed great Outrages, in order to draw him into *Ireland*. This Artifice had all the Success the Bishop of *Winchester* had promis'd himself. *Pembroke*, exasperated at the Injuries done him in *Ireland*, immediately repair'd thither with Design to take Vengeance of Those who attack'd him thus of their own Accord.

*The Earls
kill'd.*

But instead of being reveng'd, he was basely betray'd by Those who pretending to be his Friends, engag'd him in a Battle wherein he lost his Life, by a Stab in the Back with a Dagger.

*Disgrace
of the Bi-
shop of
Winchest-
er.*

Whilst the Bishop of *Winchester* was thus making Use of the King's Authority, without his Knowledge, to rid him of his Enemies, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury* was secretly labouring to undermine him. This Prelate, out of Zeal for the Good of the Publick, and for the King himself, never ceas'd representing to him, that it was his Interest to remove from his Person a *Minister* so odious to all his Subjects. He gave him to understand, that the Foreigners who alienated from him the Affections of his People, wou'd infallibly prove one day the Cause of his Ruin. His Instances were so urgent, that at length *Henry's* Eyes were open'd, and he seem'd dispos'd in good Earnest to reform his Conduct. The first Effect of his Change
was

* *M. Paris* says they stole the Seal from *Ralph* Bishop of *Chichester* the Chancellor.

was the Disgrace of the *Prime Minister*, who had express Orders to return to his Diocese. After which *Peter de Rivaulx* High Treasurer, *Segrave* Chief Justiciary, *Robert de Passelew*, and all the Rest of the Favourite Strangers, whom the Bishop of *Winchester* had promoted to the principal Posts in the State, were shamefully turn'd out. At the same Time, they were order'd to prepare to give an Account of their Management, and of all the Money that had pass'd thro' their Hands. The Affair of the Court being thus settled, the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishops of *Chester* and *Rocheſter*, into *Wales* to treat with *Lewellyn* about a Peace, which they concluded to the Advantage of the State.

1234.
The other
Foreigners
are dis-
carded.

Peace with
the Welch.

The King's happy Change restor'd Tranquillity to *England*, from whence it had been banish'd some Time. In all Likelihood the Kingdom wou'd have recover'd its former Splendor, if the Prince who was at the Helm had continued all along in the same Temper. In the mean Time, the *new Ministers* laid hold of this good Interval to make the King sensible of the Injury he had done himself in placing his Confidence in *Strangers*, who had no Affection for Himself or his Kingdom. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been inform'd of the Particulars of the Plot contriv'd against the Earl of *Pembroke*, show'd him a Copy of the *Order* and *Charter* which the Bishop of *Winchester* had sent into *Ireland*. *Henry*, amaz'd at so great a Presumption, protested that he had no Hand in the Matter. He even seem'd to grieve for the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to be extremely incens'd against his *Ministers* who had so notoriously abus'd his Confidence.

The King
inform'd of
the Bishop
of Win-
chester's
Treachery
to the late
Earl of
Pembroke

The Day appointed for the *old Ministers* to give in their Answers being come, the Parties accus'd, who doubtless were conscious they had nothing to say for themselves, chose to take *Sanctuary* in *Churches*, under Pretence: they had reason to be apprehensive of some Violence from their Enemies. The Aim of the *new Ministers* being to convince the King of the Unfaithfulness of the *Old* ones, they manag'd it so that the King remov'd the Pretence, they made use of not to appear, by granting them a *Safe-Conduct*.

The Old
Ministers
prosecuted.

They take
Sanctuary.

1234.
They have
a safe Con-
duct.

Conduct. *Peter de Rivaulx*, who appear'd first, talk'd in a manner so arrogant, and so little suitable to the Condition he was in, that the King not being able to bear his Insolence, order'd him to the *Tower*. He remain'd there but three Days, the Archbishop having obtain'd leave for him to be sent back to his *Sanctuary*. *Segrave* requir'd a longer Time to give in his Answer, which was granted him upon the Archbishop's Intercession. As for the Bishop of *Winchester* he continued in his *Cathedral*, not daring to trust to his *Safe-Conduct*, and it was not thought proper to force him thence.

The King
of France
invades
Bretaign.

Whilst they were taken up at Home with these Affairs, the Truce with *France* being expir'd, *Lewis* vigorously attack'd the Duke of *Bretaign*. According to the Rules of sound Politicks this Ally ought to have been powerfully assisted. But *Henry* was contented with sending sixty *Knights* and two Thousand *Foot*. Succours so disproportion'd to his Needs, not being sufficient to protect him, he saw himself under a Necessity of demanding a Truce for three Months. But he cou'd not obtain it, but on Condition that in Case the King of *England* came not in Person within that Term to his Relief, he shou'd submit to all that shou'd be requir'd of him. During this Interval, he us'd his utmost Endeavours to prevail with *Henry* to come into *Bretaign*; but not succeeding, he did full Homage to *Lewis* for his Territories, which made his Subjects give him the Nick-name of *Man-clerc*, that is, *Bad Scholar* *. Thus by his Negligence, *Henry* lost an Ally which might have been of great Service to him, in the War he had to wage against *France*.

Henry
neglects
to assist the
Duke.

1236.
The old
Ministers
make their
Peace.

In the Beginning of the next Year, *Segrave* and *Passlew*, the King's old Ministers, found Means to make their Peace by a Present of a thousand Marks each, for which they were discharg'd from further Prosecution.

Shortly

* 'Tis thus he is filed by the Historians of *Bretaign*: For tho' he had studied at the University of *Paris*, yet it seems he had made no Progress in the Study of *Politicks*.

Shortly after was solemniz'd the Marriage of *Isabella*, the King's Sister, with the Emperor *Frederick II.* Tho' it was not customary to grant the King a *Subsidy* for the Marriage of a younger Sister, the Parliament was so well satisfied with what he had lately done, that they granted him two Marks on every *Plough-Land*.

1236.
Henry's
Sister mar-
ried to the
Emperor.

The Bishop of *Winchester*, who, ever since his Disgrace had kept within his *Diocese*, departed from thence by the Pope's Order, who sent for him to be near his Person, on Pretence he stood in need of his Advice in a Quarrel between him and the Citizens of *Rome*. 'Twas not at all doubted but the Pope made use of this Expedient to free him from the King's Prosecutions; and in all appearance the Prelate paid dearly for this Favour. He had to do with a Pope who omitted no Opportunity to heap up Money. This is evident from a Procedure of his this same Year. The ten Year's Truce, which *Frederick* had made with the *Saracens*, being now almost expir'd, he caus'd a fresh *Crusado* to be publish'd, as if he had intended to make a vigorous Push to restore the Affairs of *Palestine*. Upon this News, the Zeal of the *Christians* being rous'd, vast Numbers took the *Cross*: But whilst they were getting ready to set out, another *Bull* appear'd, which dispens'd with their going for a certain Sum of Money.

The Bishop
of Win-
chester
sent for to
Rome.

A *Crusado*
publish'd.

England being then in profound Tranquillity, *Henry* took this Opportunity to espouse *Eleanor*, second Daughter to *Raymond*, Earl of *Provence*. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Rejoicings, which seem'd to presage to the King more Happiness than this Marriage was attended with. The Solemnity of the Wedding and Coronation * of the new Queen being over, the
King

The King
marries E-
leanor of
Provence.

* *Matthew Paris* has given us a very particular Description of the Coronation, and what each Person perform'd in their respective Functions, among which is this remarkable Passage, that the Earl of *Chester*, (as Lord High Constable) carried the Sword of *St. Edward*, called *Curteine*, before the King, in token That he is Earl of the Palace, and hath by Right a Power of Restraining the King if he shou'd act amiss. *M. Paris* under the Year 1235.

1236. King call'd a Parliament at *Merton*, where divers Statutes were enacted, which remain'd a long time in Force, but are now for the most part repeal'd *.

The French War ends without a Truce.

The War which the King of *France* had renewed, ended with his Expedition into *Bretaign*, without any Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns. *Henry*, who was not of a martial Temper, had done nothing towards continuing it, and the Queen-Regent of *France* was very glad not to draw the *English* into *France*, during the *Minority* of the King her Son.

State of the English Court.

But altho' *England* was not troubled with Wars abroad, the Kingdom was however disturbed at home by the Discontents among the *Nobility*, upon the Promotion of a new Favourite. This was *William* of *Provence*, Brother * to the Queen, who had been elected Bishop of *Valence*, but had not yet been confirm'd by the Pope. This Prelate, who was but lately arriv'd in *England*, had gain'd the King's Affection to such a degree, that nothing was done but by his Advice; and the Administration of all Publick Affairs was entirely left to him. So great Favour and Credit bred ill Blood in the *English* Barons, who saw themselves reduc'd to the same Condition from which they imagin'd they had freed themselves by the Expulsion of the *Poitevins*. At a Parliament which was assembled this Year in *April*, they complain'd of these Proceedings so boldly to the King, that he thought fit to retire to the *Tower*, whither he wou'd have had the Barons to follow him. But finding none of them came to him, he return'd of his own accord into the City, and endeavour'd to give them Satisfaction with regard to some of their *Grievances*, in order to induce them to pass over that which they look'd upon as the principal One. He remov'd several *Sheriffs* who had abus'd their Authority, and substituted others

The Parliament complains to the King, who gives them some Satisfaction.

* *M. Paris* says the same Day after the Coronation, the King went from *London* to *Merton*, a Monastery in *Surry*, where he met his Great Men, and enacted the *Provisions* of *Merton*, which are the most antient Body of Laws after *Magna Charta*, and divided into eleven *Articles* or *Chapters*.

* Uncle.

others in their Places. The Prince his Brother having complain'd of one *Richard Sward* for having shown him some Disrespect, obtain'd that *Sward* shou'd be banish'd the Realm for his Insolence. In fine, by some Alterations which the King made at Court, to gratify the Barons, he believ'd he had brought them to Temper. But having a Mind to take this Occasion to remove the Bishop of *Chichester* from the Chancellorship, in which Office he had behav'd unblameably, he had the Mortification to find that he refus'd to resign it. To justify his Refusal, he affirm'd, *That he had been entrusted with that Office by the Parliament, and therefore cou'd not quit it but by the same Authority.*

Tho' the Parliament had granted the King a considerable *Subsidy* for the Marriage of the Empress his Sister, it appear'd that the Money had not been put to that Use. For Ambassadors from *Frederick* came to Court to demand the Portion promis'd their Master. If Peoples Reflections on this Occasion were not to the King's Advantage, those which they had cause to make quickly after upon his Unsteadiness, were no less prejudicial to his Reputation. All on a sudden, when there seem'd to be least Reason to expect any such Thing, he recall'd to Court *Segrave* and *Rievaulx*, whom a little before he had prosecuted for their Misdemeanours. Not content with this, he plac'd in them again his whole Trust and Confidence; as if he had seen Reason to be well satisfied with their former Conduct. These pernicious *Ministers* were hardly restor'd to their Posts, but the ill Effects of their Counsels on the Mind of the King were visible to all. In a Parliament held that Year in *June*, at *Winchester*, *Henry*, by virtue of a *Bull* from *Rome*, wou'd have annull'd all the Grants he had made during his Nonage, because they wanted the Pope's Confirmation. This frivolous Pretence plainly show'd how industriously he labour'd to enslave himself more and more to the Court of *Rome*, instead of endeavouring to throw off its Yoke. A Procedure so directly contrary to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, cou'd not but be look'd upon with Indignation:

The Emperor demands the Empress's Portion.

The King recalls his old Ministers.

He wou'd annul all the Grants made in his Nonage.

1236.

Accordingly the Parliament refus'd to consent to the revoking of the *Grants*, chiefly on account of the *Bull*, which the King built his Design upon.

*He dreads
engaging
in a War.*

As *Henry's* Conduct drew upon him the Contempt of his Subjects, this Contempt prov'd very prejudicial to him with respect to foreign Princes. They look'd upon him as one not to be much dreaded, since he cou'd not be sure of the Assistance of his People in case of need. On the other Hand, the Knowledge he himself had how his Subjects stood affected towards him, put him upon taking all possible Precautions to avoid a War with his Neighbours. He chose rather to give way to them voluntarily, than involve himself in Troubles, out of which he plainly saw he cou'd not extricate himself with Honour. For this Reason he had deserted the Duke of *Bretaign*; and on the same account it was that he suffer'd himself to be bullied this very Year by the King of *Scotland*, who demanded the County of *Northumberland* with that Haughtiness as wou'd have met with a mortifying Repulse, if he had been to deal with any other Prince. But how unjust soever his Pretensions seem'd to be, *Henry* made no Scruple to purchase Peace with the yearly Pension of eighty Marks, which he settled on the King of *Scotland*. He took a Journey to *York* on purpose to negotiate this dishonourable Treaty, using for a Pretence his fear of the *Scots* entring into a League with the *Welsh*. He pretended likewise to be apprehensive that *Gilbert Marshal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who had succeeded his Brother *Richard*, and married the King of *Scotland's* Sister, wou'd take hold of this Opportunity to raise Commotions in the Kingdom.

*Makes a
dishonoura-
ble Peace
with the
King of
Scotland.*

1237.

*He calls a
Parlia-
ment, and
pretends to
condemn
his past
Conduct,
in order to
obtain a
Subsidy.*

In the mean Time, as the King daily perceiv'd that the Great Men were estrang'd from him; and that in the Temper they were in, it wou'd be very difficult to raise Money to fill his empty Coffers, he bethought himself of an Expedient which he believ'd cou'd not fail of Success. He call'd a Parliament, to which all the Lords of the Kingdom were summon'd, in order to debate about some weighty Affairs of State. As soon as they were met,

met, a certain Priest, fam'd for Eloquence, told the Lords, he was commanded to lay before them the Occasion of their being assembled. After a short Pause, he added, *That* the King having seriously reflected on the Abuses which had crept into the Government, was extremely concern'd at his having contributed towards them by his Carelessness and ill Conduct: *That* he acknowledg'd, with Grief, that he had made use of imprudent and selfish *Ministers*, who never having had in view the Good of the Kingdom, to which they were Strangers, had drawn him in by their pernicious Counsels, to do Things contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm: *That* to make amends, as far as was possible, for the Evils which his own Indiscretion, and the Unfaithfulness of his *Ministers* had occasion'd, he was determin'd to be guided no longer by the Advice of *Foreigners*, but to put the Administration of the Publick Affairs into the Hands of his native Subjects: *That* he was perswaded, they wou'd labour to the utmost of their Power to prevent the Oppression of the People, to cause Justice and the Laws to flourish, and to restore the Crown to its former Lustre. After having laid these Foundations, the Orator continued, *That* the King desir'd his Parliament to consider, that the Mismanagements of his Treasury, and the Debts he had contracted, were not the least of the Misdemeanours his *Ministry* might be charg'd with: *That* he hop'd they wou'd begin with applying a Remedy to this, upon his assuring them he wou'd consent to any Expedients they shou'd propose to redress the other Abuses: *That* therefore he requir'd of them an *Aid* proportion'd to his present Occasions; and that they might see he was in earnest, he consented beforehand, that they shou'd appoint Commissioners to take Care that the *Subsidy* they shou'd grant him, be dispos'd of for the necessary Uses of the Kingdom. If *Henry* had not been so well known, this Harangue might have had a sudden Effect on the Parliament. But as they were but too sensible to what a Height he cou'd carry his Dissimulation, all these submissive Expressions were not able to move them. They

*The Barons
Reply.*

replied,

1237.

replied, That they had often granted *Subsidies* to the King, without having ever received any reciprocal Mark of his Affection; that since his Accession to the Crown, his Dominions were considerably lessen'd, tho' he had frequently exacted from his Subjects very large Sums, which had been employ'd only in enriching *Forcigners*. To this vigorous Reply, the King made Answer, That his own and his Sister's Marriage had entirely exhausted his Treasure; but if they wou'd grant him a *Thirteenth* * Part of their *Moveables*, he promis'd them upon his Honour, he wou'd never injure or oppress any Baron of the Realm. The Lords were not prevail'd upon by this Promise, which seem'd to them of little Moment, since they cou'd not rely upon the King's Word. And therefore they reply'd, That they had already granted the King a *Subsidy* for the Marriage of the Empress, but that he had diverted it to other Uses; and that since he had married without asking their Advice, he might defray the Expences of his Wedding in the way he thought best. This Answer having convinc'd him that he stood in need of some stronger Engine to wrest from them the *Aid* he demanded, he attack'd them in a more sensible Part. He promised them to re-establish the *Charters* of the King his Father; and to satisfy them that he really intended to cause them to be observed, he order'd the Execration denounc'd formerly by Cardinal *Langton* against such as shou'd break them, to be publish'd in all the Churches. In fine, to gain them intirely, he added to his Council three Lords *' whom he knew to be very acceptable to the *Nobility*. So many Advances from the Sovereign, and especially the Re-establishment of the *Charters*, had at length the Effect he desired. The Parliament suffering themselves to be impos'd upon by these pretended Demonstrations of Sincerity, granted him the *Subsidy* requir'd. However

The King promises to cause the two Charters to be observ'd.

The Parliament grants a Subsidy upon certain Terms;

* A Thirtieth. *M. Paris.*

*' The Earl of *Warren*, *William Ferrars*, and *John Geoffrey*, who swore they wou'd never be corrupted by Gifts to deviate from Truth, but wou'd always give the King good and wholesome Advicc. *M. Paris.*

However they clogg'd it with two Conditions which were not very pleasing to him. *First*, that for the time to come he shou'd reject the Counsels of *Foreigners*, and adhere to the Advices of his Subjects. *Secondly*, that four *Knights* shou'd be chosen in ever *County* to collect and secure the Money in some Monastery, that it might be restored to every One again, in case the King shou'd not be as good as his Word. Notwithstanding this Precaution, the *Subsidy* was no sooner rais'd, but the King seiz'd it and squander'd it away in uselels Expences, even in Presents to his Favorite *Foreigners*, who continued in his *Council* as before. 1237. *which the King observes not.*

Henry's Conduct occasion'd such loud Murmurings, that Prince *Richard* his Brother thought himself oblig'd to represent to him in pretty sharp Terms, the Ruin he was infallibly exposing himself to. But his Remonstrances were to no Purpose, *Henry* having a greater Relish for the Counsels of the *Foreigners*, which were more agreeable to his Inclinations. Among those that had the greatest Ascendant over the King, History particularly mentions *Simon de Montfort*, Son to the famous Earl of *Montfort*, General of the *Crusado* against the *Albigenses*. This young Man, who for some Disgust had quitted the Court of *France* in order to make his Fortune in *England*, had conform'd himself so to the King's Humour, that few were in greater Favour. I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of him, in the Sequel of this Reign, under the Title of *Earl of Leicester*. *Richard his Brother expostulates with him.*
Simon de Montfort. begins to be in Favour.

Altho' *Henry* had scarce any Thoughts of extending his Dominion over the Neighbouring Countries, a lucky Juncture procur'd him, before the End of this Year, an Advantage which the most Illustrious of his Predecessors had in vain endeavour'd to obtain. *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, grown old and infirm, and finding himself persecuted by *Griffyn* his Son, cou'd think of no better Means to secure himself from his rebellious Practices, than by putting himself under the Protection of the King of *England*, to whom he did *Homage* for his Dominions. This Proceeding was so much the more extraordinary as he himself, *The Prince of Wales does Homage to Henry.*

1237.

himself, as well as his Ancestors, had all along exerted their utmost to prevent the acknowledging the Sovereignty of the *English*. If Force of Arms had at any time compell'd them to it, they had always been ready to disown their Submission, when ever a favorable Conjunction offer'd.

*Arrival
of a Le-
gate.*

Whilst the *English* were loudly complaining of their being expos'd to the Avarice of the King and his Foreign *Ministers*, a fresh Subject of Discontent unexpectedly happen'd by the Arrival of *Otho* the Pope's *Legate*, who was come to plunder them of what they had left. The *Clergy* dreading, not without Reason, these *Extraordinary* Legateships, the Sole Aim whereof was to pillage them. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* blamed the King very much for suffering the *Legate* to come into the Kingdom, without any apparent Necessity, and before he had given Notice of it to the *Clergy* and *Parliament*. But these Expostulations were all in vain. It wou'd not only have been very difficult to prevail with the King to send back the *Legate*; but it even appear'd that he himself had privately sent for him. His View was to screen himself, under his Protection, from the Designs of his Subjects against him. The Pope took care not to lose this Opportunity of sending a *Legate* into *England*, in hopes that by Means of the King's Authority, he might be able with Impunity to rifle the *Churches*. Thus the *English* saw themselves expos'd at the same time to the Avarice of the King and Pope, who were united together for their Destruction.

*Interview
of the
King's of
England.
and Scot-
land at
York.
The Le-
gate has a
Mind to go
into Scot-
land;*

It was not upon *England* alone that the *Legate* had an Eye; his Design was to drain *Scotland* also, which hitherto had been free from the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*. He believed he had met with a good Opportunity at an Interview which the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* had at *York*, on account of the *Scotch* King's Pretensions. As soon as the Conference, wherein the King of *Scotland* obtain'd an Augmentation of his Pension *, was over,

* He was to have 300*l.* a Year in Land, says M. *Paris*; but by the Record, (*Rot. Pat.* 21. H. 3. M. 8.) it appears to have been but 200*l.* per Annum, out of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*.

over, the *Legate*, who had found some Excuse to be present, let him know that he design'd to go into *Scotland*, to regulate the Affairs of the *Church*. *Alexander* made Answer, that he had never heard of any *Legate* sent into *Scotland*; that there was still less Occasion for one in his Reign; and that, in a word, he wou'd not allow such an Innovation as long as he sat on the Throne. And added, that if notwithstanding this Declaration, he shou'd persist in his Design, he gave him Warning beforehand, that he was not absolute Master of his own Subjects, and that perhaps it wou'd not be in his Power to protect him, if the People, fierce and ungovernable, shou'd fail in their Respect due to the *Legate* of the Pope. This last Particular was apparently the Reason of the *Legate's* altering his Mind, and of his staying with the King of *England*, whom he found much more obsequious.

1237.

but is oppos'd by the King.

John late Earl of *Chester* dying this Year without Issue, the King annex'd to the Crown that Earldom, which enjoy'd very great Privileges, and paid, in Money, to the Earl's Sisters what they were to receive from thence, or allow'd it out of other Lands.

The Earldom of Chester annex'd to the Crown.

About the same time, *Henry* receiv'd a Letter from the Emperor *Frederick* informing him of the Birth of a Son by *Isabella* his Wife, to whom he had given the Name of *Henry*. Adding, that he design'd the Kingdom of *Sicily* for the New-born Prince.

Birth of Henry Son to the Emperor.

Matthew Paris the *Historian* concludes the Occurrences of this Year, with a lively Description of the Court of *Rome*. What he says is the less to be question'd, as it comes from the Pen of a *Monk*, who liv'd and wrote at this very time. But however it is this which has gain'd him so many Enemies, and put them upon endeavouring to the utmost of their Power to render his Testimony of doubtful Authority.

Corruption of the Court of Rome.

Simon de Montfort, of whom I have already spoken, finding himself in great Favour at Court, ventur'd to cast his Eyes on the Countess Dowager of *Pembroke*, Sister to the King. But as he was justly apprehensive of Meeting with great Obstacles in his Design, he went a shorter way to

1238.

Simon de Montfort marries a Sister of the King's.

work,

1238.

His Marriage confirm'd by the Pope.

The Barons complain to the King.

They enter into a League with Richard, and demand redress of their Grievances.

work, by making sure beforehand of the Princess's Heart: In a Word, he manag'd his Matters so well, that the King found himself oblig'd to get them privately married in his own Chapel. Prince *Richard* was extremely incens'd at this Marriage. He complain'd of it bitterly to the King, and boldly remonstrated to him how much he was in the wrong to give his Sister to a younger Brother, whose Fortune was no way answerable to a Royal Family. The King excus'd himself in the best Manner he cou'd; from the Necessity there was of hastening the Marriage, adding, there was now no Remedy, since the Wedding was solemniz'd and the Princess with Child. However, *Montfort* perceiving that Prince *Richard* was highly exasperated against him, and fearing he wou'd endeavour to get his Marriage annull'd, took a Journey to *Rome*, where he found Means to have it confirm'd by the Pope. Which done, he return'd to the King, who gave him a very kind Reception.

This Marriage was not the only thing *Richard* thought he had reason to complain of. The great Credit of the *Foreigners*, who were always about the King's Person, created in him no less Uneasiness than in the rest of the Barons. They all unanimously complain'd, that the King had violated his Promises, and that all the Money which he had exacted from his People on divers Pretences, was employ'd only in enriching the Queen's Relations. As Prince *Richard* seem'd to have the Interest of the *Publick* much at Heart, they believ'd that, under such a Leader, it wou'd not be impossible to obtain of the King the Satisfaction they requir'd, especially with regard to the *Foreigners*. In this Belief they enter'd into a *Confederacy*; and having the Prince at their Head, sent the King word, that they desir'd him to call to mind what he had promis'd them. This *Confederacy*, the Consequences whereof *Henry* dreaded, caus'd him to put on a seeming Moderation, as he usually did, when he found himself hard press'd. Far from showing any Resentment, as they expected, he appointed a Day to give them a favorable Answer. But as they had been deceiv'd more than once, they were resolv'd not to be imposed upon by this outward Mildness. Per-
swaded

swaded as they were, that the King fought only to amuse them, they came to *London* on the Day appointed, attended with great Numbers of armed Men, resolutely bent upon any Attempt. *Henry* was not so imprudent as to stand out, at a time when he saw no *State* in a condition to support him. He assur'd them that he really intended to redress all *Grievances*, and to convince them of his Sincerity told them, he was willing to submit to the Arbitration of a certain Number of Lords, the one Half of whom he wou'd appoint. This Proposal being approv'd of, Commissioners were chosen on both Sides, who drew up certain Articles, to which the King was to conform himself for the future, in the Government of the Kingdom. These Regulations were sign'd by the King and the Barons, and confirm'd by the *Legate*, who in all publick Affairs always endeavour'd to interpose his Master's Authority.

1238.

The King is forc'd to comply.

Regulations for the Government of the State propos'd by the King.

This same *Legate* met not at *Oxford*, whither he was gone about some Affairs, with that Respect he was treated with at Court. Tho' the *University* in a Body had receiv'd him with the Deference due to his Character, the Insolence of some of his Domesticks was the Occasion that certain *Scholars* lost the Respect which they ow'd him. Some young *Students* offering to enter into his Lodgings, were repuls'd by the Porter in so rude a Manner as put them very much out of Humour. Whilst they were still in the House, some of them going into the Kitchen, found there a poor *Irish* Scholar begging for some Relief of the Cook, who instead of an Alms threw a Ladle-full of boiling Water in his Face. This barbarous Action provok'd a *Welsh* Student who was Witness to it, to such a degree, that having a Bow in his Hand, he shot the Cook dead on the Spot with an Arrow. The *Legate* hearing of the Tumult, retir'd in a Fright into the Tower of the Church, where he kept himself shut up till Night, dreading that the Insolence of the *Scholars* might reach his Person. As soon as he thought he might go off with Safety, he hasten'd to the King, and complain'd of this Outrage, laying it to the Charge of the whole *University*, which he had already put under an *Interdict*. The King appear'd extremely inrag'd

The Legate insulted at Oxford.

1238.

at the Insult done the *Legate*, and to give him Satisfaction, forthwith sent the Earl of *Warren* to *Oxford* with orders to seize the most Guilty. This Buſinels, which at first made a great Noise, was at length hush'd by the Mediation of the Bishops, who prevail'd with the *University* to make all the Submissions he requir'd *

Coldness
between
the King
and the
Pope.

Had this Accident happen'd a little later, *England* wou'd not have come off so cheap. Shortly after, *Henry* having sent the Emperor a Body of Troops, under the Command of *Henry de Turbeville*, the Pope, against whom they were employ'd, was so incens'd at it, that, for a good while, the *English Ecclesiasticks* were denied Admittance at the Court of *Rome*. This Quarrel made the Emperor hope, that he shou'd be able to gain the King his Brother-in-law to his Side. Accordingly, being desirous to improve this Conjunction, he dispatch'd Ambassadors to him, who did all that lay in their Power to perswade him to join with the Emperor against the Pope; but it was not possible for them to succeed. The King and the Pope stood too much in need of one another, to remain long at Variance. Tho' the Pope look'd upon himself as Sovereign Lord of *England*, yet he was not ignorant how averse the Barons were to his Pretensions, which the King's Authority was alone capable of keeping alive. Besides, it was only thro' the Countenance and Connivance of the King that he was enabled to rifle the *English Clergy* with Impunity. On the other Hand, *Henry* saw that none but the Pope cou'd support him against the Barons. Moreover in his Design of filling the principal Church-Preferments with his Creatures, he was very sensible he cou'd not do without the Pope's Authority. It is no wonder therefore that the King and the Pope held together, since it so greatly concern'd them to stand by one another.

The

* The *Legate* oblig'd all the *Scholars* to meet at *St. Paul's Church* (above a Mile from his Lodgings) and go on Foot to the Bishop of *Carlisle's* House, and there putting off their Caps, Gowns, and Shoes, to go to the *Legate's* House, and humbly crave Pardon and Absolution.

The Death of the Bishop of *Winchester*, which fell out during these Transactions, gave the King an Opportunity to make the first Advances towards an Accommodation with the Pope. *Henry*, ardently desiring to procure this rich Bishoprick for the Bishop of *Valence* his Brother-in-law, earnestly recommended him to the Monks the Electors. But notwithstanding his Sollicitations, they made choice of the Bishop of *Chichester* High Chancellor of *England*. Tho' the King found he was disappointed as to the Monks, yet he despair'd not to succeed by another way. He knew the Pope wanted nothing more than to see him make some Advances towards a Reconciliation. The Interest of the Court of *Rome* requir'd it, and seldom does that Court neglect what may turn to its Advantage. In this Belief, *Henry* sent Ambassadors thither, who, after making some Submissions in their Master's Name, got the Election of the Bishop of *Chichester* annull'd by the *Apostolical* Authority.

The Bishop of *Winchester*, whose Death I have just mentioned, was justly look'd upon as one of the chief Authors of the Troubles in this Reign. It was he that advis'd the King to annul the two *Charters* of the King his Father, and to send for *Foreigners* into the Kingdom, in order to commit to them the Administration of the Publick Affairs. These two Articles were a perpetual Occasion of Discontent among the *Nobles*, and at length were attended with very fatal Consequences. The Death of this pernicious Counsellor was preceeded by that of *Joanna*, Queen of *Scotland*, Sister to *Henry*.

The Manner in which the Kingdom was govern'd, was displeasing to all the World. So that it was not at all strange, there shou'd be some People, who, by ill Means endeavour'd to get rid of the King. This Year, a Villain pretending to be mad, found Means to get into his Chamber by Night, with design to kill him; but being disappointed by the King's passing that Night in the Queen's Apartment, he was taken and punish'd according to his Desert. Before he died, he declared that *William de Maris* was the Author of the Conspiracy, in

1238.
Death of
the Bishop
of Win-
chester.
Henry
tries to get
the Queen's
Brother, e-
lected, but
the Monks
chuse ano-
ther.

The Bishop
of Win-
chester
chief Cause
of the
Troubles in
this Reign.

Death of
the Queen
of Scot-
land.
Plot a-
gainst the
King.

1238. which several others were engag'd. However, either out of Carelessness, or for some other Reason, no Inquiry was made into the Matter.

1239.
*Instances
of the
King's In-
constancy.*

*Gilbert
Earl of
Pembroke
disgrac'd
without
Cause.*

I shall begin the Relation of the Occurrences of the Year 1239, with observing some Effects of the capricious and changeable Temper of *Henry*. The Knowledge of the Character and Genius of this Prince is absolutely necessary, for the better understanding the Springs and Causes of what pass'd in this Reign. As he neither lov'd nor hated, but as it pleas'd those who had got the Ascendent over him, it is no wonder that he frequently alter'd his Inclinations and Maxims. He sometimes loaded with Favours and Caresses, Persons who in a few Days after found themselves in Disgrace; and very often he restor'd to his Service such as he had shamefully dismiss'd. I have already taken Notice, that after having persecuted the Earl of *Pembroke*, he had restor'd to *Gilbert* his Brother the Office of *Grand Marshal* *. *Gilbert*, who imagin'd he was in the King's good Graces, was very much surpriz'd, when one Day as he came to wait upon him, he was, contrary to Custom, denied Entrance. He complain'd of it to the King himself, by one of his Friends, who besought him to let him know the Reason why such an Affront was offer'd to a Lord of so great Distinction. *Henry* replied, It was because *Richard*, Brother to the Earl, had been a Traitor, and had continued in his Treason till the time of his Death; and therefore he repented of having invested him with the Office of *Marschal*, the which however he cou'd deprive him of whenever he pleas'd. This Answer oblig'd the Earl to withdraw from Court, and retire into the *North of England* to secure himself from the Plots of his Enemies, who had stirr'd up the King against him.

Another

* *Gilbert* was restor'd to his Brother's Office and Inheritance by the Intercession of the Archbishop, as appears by the King's Letter to *Lewellyn* still extant. But I don't remember *Rapin* any where mentions it.

Another Instance of this Prince's Fickleness is this. So far was he from having resented the Affront *Simon de Montfort* had done the Royal Family, that he had continued him in Favour as before, and at last made him Earl of *Leicester*. And yet, a few Days after, having given him this fresh Mark of his Esteem, he publicly charg'd him with debauching his Sister, and bribing the Pope to confirm his Marriage. This Accusation cou'd never be more out of Season, since the Time to inquire into this Matter was elapsed; and besides, he had caus'd the Wedding to be celebrated in his Presence, and in his own Chapel. The Earl, dreading the Effects of his Resentment, departed that very Day with his Lady for *France*, where he remain'd till the King's Displeasure was over.

1239.
The King
wou'd pro-
secute Si-
mon de
Montfort
for his
Marriage.

He re-ires
into
France.

I shall bring but one Instance more of the variableness of this Monarch, of which one sees Proofs enough in almost all the Actions of his Life. He was not afraid, the Year before, to break with the Pope, by sending Succours to the Emperor. And yet, a few Months after, *Frederick* having been solemnly excommunicated, Henry order'd the Bull of Excommunication to be published in all the Churches in his Kingdom. This Proceeding was look'd upon as the more strange, because as Brother-in-law to the Emperor, he might have excus'd himself with a good Grace from doing it, or at least been so backward in the Matter, as to make it appear that he did it against the Grain.

Henry
publishes
the Bull of
Excommu-
nication a-
gainst the
Emperor.

This same Year the Queen was deliver'd of a Prince, who was called *Edward*, and having in process of Time succeeded his Father, prov'd one of the most illustrious Monarchs that ever sway'd the *English* Sceptre.

Birth of
Prince Ed-
ward.

The Exactions which *Otho* the Legate continued daily to impose on the Churches, had at length compell'd the Bishops to carry their Complaints to the Pope, who had twice by his Letters called him home; but the King had still oppos'd it. At length the Prelates, tired with the perpetual Demands of the Cardinal, who daily invented some new Pretence to pillage the Clergy, resolv'd to meet and

The Le-
gate's Ex-
actions.

1239.
He de-
mands a
Subsidy of
the Bishops,
who deny
him.

The Legate
makes a
fresh At-
tempt upon
Scotland.

Is denied
Entrance
by the
King.

Finds
Means to
go there.

and consult how to put a stop to these Oppressions. They had scarce begun to treat of their Affairs, when the *Legate* came into the *Assembly*, and demanded a *Subsidy* for the pressing Occasions of the *Holy See*. This fresh Demand having put them beyond all Patience, they roundly told him, that they were determined to endure his Oppressions no longer; and to prevent any further Sollicitations, they broke up immediately. A Denial so peremptory, which shou'd have made him sensible how much the *Clergy* were disheartned, had no other Effect but to cause him to turn to the *Religious Houses*, who were fain to furnish what the Bishops had refused.

This *Legate*, like all the rest that had been in *England* before him, was insatiable. After he had with Impunity extorted large Sums from *England*, he had a Mind to do the same in *Scotland*, tho' he had already been refus'd Entrance there: But he was not a Man to be discourag'd at one Denial. With this Design he set out, attended by some *English* Barons, without ever troubling himself about getting the King of *Scotland's* Consent before-hand. Upon his Arrival on the Borders, he was met by the King, not to do him Honour, but to hinder his going any further. This Opposition, which however he had Reason to expect, offended him to such a Degree, that in his Passion he threatned *Alexander*, who answer'd him in a louder Tone, and let him see that he did not value his Threats. They wou'd have came to a downright Quarrel, if the *English* Lords had not interposed to make up the Difference. They prevail'd at length with the King of *Scotland*, tho' not without great Difficulty, to give the *Legate* leave for this once to enter into his Kingdom. But *Alexander* wou'd not agree to it, but on Condition that the *Legate* shou'd acknowledge under his Hand and Seal, that it was out of pure Condescension for his Person, and that this shou'd not be drawn into a *Precedent*. All Obstacles being remov'd, the *Legate* came to *Edinburgh*, where he exacted some Money from the *Scotch Clergy*, which was the sole End of his Journey.

If the *Clergy* of *England* had to deal with a greedy *Cardinal*, the rest of the King's Subjects were in no better Case. *Henry*, who cou'd not without great Difficulty, obtain *Subsidies* of the Parliament, let no Opportunity slip of extorting Money from private Persons, by all sorts of Means. *Hubert de Burg*, whom he had left unmolested for some Years, was now prosecuted afresh, for the same Crimes he had been charg'd with before, and which were thought to be entirely forgotten. This Cause was solemnly tried before an Assembly of the Barons, where 'tis said, he vindicated his Innocence by incontestable Proofs. However, as he had Reason to dread a Sentence which the King himself was solliciting against him, he thought 'twould be his wisest way to compound Matters with him, and not stay for the Decision of the Judges. Accordingly he resign'd into the Hands of the King four of his best Estates *, for which *Henry* dropp'd the Prosecution.

1239.
Henry
prosecutes
afresh the
Earl of
Kent;

who com-
pounds the
Matter
with the
King.

I find my self indispensably oblig'd frequently to return to the same Subject, I mean the Exactions of the King and Court of *Rome*, because they are the most considerable Occurrences of this Reign; at least to the Time we are now speaking of. But altho' these Things seem of little Importance, they serve however to discover the State of the Kingdom at that Time, which was incessantly pillag'd, one while by the King, and another while by the Pope. These Extortions were carried to that Height, that one can't help being surpriz'd that the *English* shou'd bear them with such Patience, under a King so weak as *Henry*, and destitute of all Assistance, except from the Court of *Rome*. But this Assistance was that which to them seem'd most formidable, the Calamities of the late Reign making them dread the involving the Kingdom in the like Confusion. One wou'd think however, that the Bishops shou'd have resolv'd to take some Measures to screen themselves from these Oppressions, in a Synod they

1240.
Great Ex-
actions of
the King
and Pope.

* Four of his strongest Castles, viz. *Blanch-Castle*, *Grosmond* in *Wales*, *Screnesfrish* and *Hatfield*. M. Paris.

1240.
Com-
plaints of
the Bishops
against the
King.

they held at *London* for that Purpose. They loudly complain'd that the King kept for his own use all the vacant Benefices; and that he obstructed all Elections, till such were chosen as he had a Mind shou'd be so. They even proceeded to *excommunicate* the Authors of these pernicious Counsels. But *Henry* never minded their Complaints as long as he was sure of the Pope's Protection; for whom he show'd so great Regard and Deference as cannot be conceiv'd. When the Emperor sent Ambassadors to complain of his having caus'd the Sentence of *Excommunication* to be publish'd against him, he most shamefully answer'd, That being *Vassal* to the Pope, he cou'd not dispense with obeying him. In the mean time the *Legate* continued his Exactions. After he had drain'd the *Churches* and *Monasteries* of immense Sums, under colour of *Procurations*, and a thousand other Pretences, he discover'd, by a new sort of Oppression, how little Measures the Court of *Rome* then kept with the *English*. He order'd it to be publish'd throughout the Kingdom, that he had Power not only to absolve from their Vow all that had taken the *Cross*, but likewise to oblige them to compound for their Absolution by Money, under Pain of *Excommunication*.

The excessive Demands of the Pope from the Clergy.

But this was a Trifle in comparison of what the *Legate* demanded shortly after of the *Clergy*. On Pretence of securing the Peace of the *Church*, against the pretended Assaults of the Emperor, the Pope required of all the *English Ecclesiasticks* the *Fifth* Part of their *Goods*; and the King, instead of opposing, promoted this Exaction to the utmost of his Power. The Bishops at first somewhat exerted themselves, and refus'd not only to comply with the *Legate's* Demands, but even to contribute any Thing at all towards the pretended Wants of the *Holy See*. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was willing to live in Quiet, and afraid of the imperious Temper of the Pope, having consented to give in lieu of the *Fifth* of his *Goods*, a fifth Part of his *Rents*; the rest followed his Example. However, the *Legate* refus'd a good while to accept of an Offer so much below his Demands, as if the
Matter

Matter had been to give the *Clergy* his Master's own *Goods*. This was the last Money the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave the Pope. This Prelate, who led a truly *Christian* Life, perceiving it was impossible to redress the *Grievances* which were daily introduc'd, as well into the *Church* as *State*, retir'd into *France*, to the *Monastery* of *Pontigniac*, where he died this same Year. He was canoniz'd by the *Council* of *Lyons*, some Years after his Death.

1240.

The Archbishop retires into France, where he dies.

Upon the Archbishop's Retreat, the Court of *Rome* no longer kept any Measures with the *Clergy* of *England*. Hardly was this Imposition levied, when one *Peter Ross* (a), the Pope's *Nuntio* arriv'd with Orders to all the Bishops and *Patrons* of *Living*s, to prefer to the vacant *Benefices*, three hundred *Italians*, whose Names the Pope had sent; with an express Prohibition to confer any *Benefice*, till the *Foreigners* were all provided for. But this was not the sole End of his coming. His main Business was to squeeze Money from the *Monasteries*, under Pretence that the Pope stood in need of an extraordinary Supply to defend the *Church* against her Persecutors. Hitherto the Pope had acted with Authority: But on this Occasion he judg'd it more proper to make use of *Cunning*. To bring about his Designs, the *Nuntio* went to all the *Religious Houses*, and tried, by Promises and Threats, to engage each Abbot in particular to assist the Pope in his pressing Necessities. He gave them to understand that such an Abbot had promis'd such a Sum, and therefore it wou'd be a Shame, and perhaps of ill Consequence, not to follow so good an Example. After he had got some to give it under their Hands, that they wou'd furnish so much, he made use of their *Notes* to induce the Rest to the same Compliance, enjoyning *Secrecy* to them all, on Pain of *Excommunication*. But the Abbots of *St. Edmundbury* and *Battle* thought these Proceedings so strange and arbitrary, that they complain'd of them to the King even before the *Legate's* Face. Hence

The Pope nominates 300 Italians to the vacant Benefices.

He sends a Nuntio, who tries to extort Money from the Abbies.

The King backs the Nuntio.

* *Petrus Rubens.*

1240. ry, far from giving Ear to their just Complaints, receiv'd them with Frowns, and even offer'd the *Legate* one of his Castles to imprison them. This Stratagem being blown up, the *Nuntio* durst not pursue what he had begun. But the *Legate* conven'd the *Clergy* once more, in order to obtain a fresh *Subsidy*, ever on Pretence of the War with the Emperor. To this new Demand, the *Clergy* made Answer, that since the Emperor was not *excommunicated* by the *Church*, but by the Pope alone, they wou'd not concern themselves in the Quarrel: That besides, they were too *Poor* to answer all the Pope's Exactions, and that, supposing they were able to do it, they wou'd no longer endure that the *Church of England* shou'd be *Tributary* to *Rome* in the manner she had been for some Time. During the long stay the *Legate* had made in *England*, he had remark'd enough of the Temper of the *English*, to know that his best way was not to exasperate them too much, in the Disposition they were in with regard to the Pope. However, not to omit any thing that might contribute to the accomplishing his Master's Orders, he bethought himself of another Expedient. This was to divide the *Clergy*, in which the King serv'd him effectually, by promising some Pensions and Preferments, and frightening others by Threats. This way succeeded so well, that at length each complied to do in particular, what in a Body they had refus'd, the most unwilling being forced to follow the Majority.

The Legate demands a fresh Subsidy, which the Clergy deny.

He finds means to divide them.

The King sends Justices into the Counties to extort Money.

Whilst the *Clergy* were thus expos'd to the Avarice of the Court of *Rome*, the King sent *Justices-Itinerant*, thro' all the *Counties*, under Pretence of redressing *Grievances*, and easing the People. But it was soon perceived, that this was only a Means contriv'd to oppress several private Persons, by Fines and Confiscations, which brought in very considerable Sums to his Treasury. This Oppression caus'd loud Murmurs amongst the *English*, who found themselves expos'd at the same Time to the Tyranny of the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* Powers.

The King's natural Fickleness not letting him love or hate the same Persons any long Time, he recall'd, this Year, the Earl of *Leicester*, who set out quickly after for the *Holy Land*, where he made no long Stay. *Gilbert* Earl of *Pembroke* was likewise receiv'd into Favour, thro' the powerful Intercession of Prince *Richard*. This Prince, having the Year before taken upon him the *Cross*, departed for *Jerusalem*, in Company with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and several other Noblemen.

1240.
The King
recalls the
Earls of
Leicester
and Pem-
broke.

Towards the latter End of this Year, the Earl of *Flan- ders* came to *London*, and did the King *Homage*, for a Pension of five hundred Marks, which was paid him yearly. There are some who question whether it was customary in those Days to grant Pensions in *Fee*, on condition of some *military Service*, and of *Homage*. But this evidently appears, from several Agreements made between the Kings of *England* and divers Foreign Princes, the Tenour of which is to be seen in the *Collection of Publick Acts* (a) *.

The Earl
of Flan-
ders does
Homage to
the King
for his Pen-
sion.

In the Beginning of the Year 1241, *England* at length was rid of *Orho* the *Legate*, who was recall'd by an express Order. Hitherto he had found Means to have his *Commission* continued through the King's Intercession. But now he did not think fit to get him to speak in his Behalf. He knew the Pope was seiz'd by a Distemper of which, in all appearance, he wou'd never recover: And therefore he was desirous of not being in *England*, when the News of his Death shou'd come. He had too much reason to fear, that during the Vacancy of the *Holy See*, the Money might be stopp'd which he had scrap'd together. 'Tis affirm'd, that he carried off more than he left to the *Churches* and *Monasteries*. *Gregory IX.* died quick-

1241.
The Legate
is recall'd.

(a) See *Act, Pub. T. I.* p. 1, 4, 22, 27, 168, &c. * The first Volume begins with an Agreement, dated 17. 1101. between *Henry I.* and *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, whereby the King binds himself to pay the Earl 400 Marks *per. Ann.* in *Fee*, on Condition of his sending the King 500 Horse, when he shou'd want them. *Rymer* observes, that this *Act* is a more antient Proof than any the *French* can produce, that the Earls of *Flan- ders* were Vassals to their Kings.

1241. ly after, as the *Legate* had foreseen, and the Emperor gave the King advice of it immediately, that he might seize the Money which had been levied on the Kingdom, for the deceased Pope : But the *Legate* was gone off with it. He was however so unfortunate in his Return to *Italy*, as to fall into the Hands of the Emperor's People, who stripp'd him of all his Riches. This was the Fruits of the numberless Oppressions and Extortions the Cardinal had committed in *England*. Thus, the Money exacted on pretence of employing it against the Emperor, turn'd to the Emperor's own Benefit.

He is rifled
by the Em-
peror's Peo-
ple.

Schism af-
ter the
Death of
Gregory.
The Nun-
tio's conti-
nue their
Exactions.

Simoniacal
Proposal of
Pope Gre-
gory.

The Death of *Gregory IX.* caus'd a *Schism* which last-
ed 'till the next Year. During this Time, *Rossi* and *Pupine*,
whom the *Legate* had left behind in *England*, in Quality
of *Nuntio's*, continued their Extortions without any
Sense of Shame or Justice. *Pupine* being gone to *Ireland*,
with the King's Permission, exacted from the *Clergy* there
fifteen hundred Marks, a very large Sum at that Time
for a Country where Money was extremely scarce. So
that the Death of *Gregory IX.* brought but little Relief
to the *English*, tho' they imagin'd they had reason to re-
joice at it as a great Deliverance, since none of the Popes
his Predecessors had carried their Exactions to that Heighth
as he had done. The following Instance is a clear Evi-
dence of what he was capable of doing. Some Time be-
fore his Death he had caus'd to be propos'd to the Abbot
of *Peterborough*, that if he wou'd give him, under a bor-
row'd Name, one of the Monastery's *Living's* of two
hundred Pounds * a Year, he wou'd rent it out to him
again at an hundred, and by that Means they shou'd
share the *Benefice* between them. But the Abbot was too
honest a Man to agree to such a Bargain. He even ac-
quainted the King with the Matter; who being made
sensible of the ill Consequences of it, hinder'd, by his
Authority, the Abbot from being constrain'd to comply.
Had the Pope succeeded in his Project, all the *Benefices*
in *England* would soon have been in the Hands of the
Pope,

Pope, Bishops, and Abbots. At least, 'tis to be presum'd that *Gregory* wou'd not have been satisfied with that, but design'd it only as an Essay towards rendring his Project more general.

1241.

The *Clergy* were not the only Sufferers in *England*. The Rest of the People were no less expos'd to the King's Oppressions than the *Clergy* were to the Pope's. The *Jews* in particular were every now and then roughly handled; for out of their Pockets it was that the King usually rais'd the Money to defray his extraordinary Expences. *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, Uncle to the Queen, being come this Year into *England*, the King receiv'd him with such Magnificence, that not knowing how to provide Money for this Charge otherwise, he forc'd the *Jews* to present him with twenty thousand Marks, on Pain of being expell'd the Kingdom.

The King extorts Money from the Jews.

Arrival of the Earl of Savoy.

The King was so desirous of enriching the Queen's Relations, that he was never weary of shewing them Marks of his Affection. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* dying the last Year, as was observed, *Henry* us'd so many Instances, and other less lawful Means, that he got *Boniface* the Queen's Brother to be elected to the *Archiepiscopal See*. Thus was seen at the Head of the *Church of England*, a young Man and a Foreigner, ignorant of the Laws, Customs and Language of the Kingdom, and consequently incapable of discharging the Functions of that Dignity as he ought.

Henry gets the Queen's Brother chosen Archbishop.

Gilbert, Earl of *Pembroke*, dying this Year *, *Walter* his Brother demanded of the King to be invested in the Office of *Grand Marshal*, which was Hereditary in their Family. *Henry* at first in a great Passion denied him, alleging that his two Brothers had been Traytors and Rebels, and that he himself had been present at a Tournament, contrary to his Commands. However this Lord, having found

Death of the Earl of Pembroke who is succeeded by his Brother.

* He was kill'd by the Unruliness of his Horse, whose Reins breaking at a Tournament at *Hertsford* he was flung down, and his Foot being hung in the Stirrup, caus'd him to be almost kick'd to Death. *M. Paris. Anno 1241.*

1241.

found means to make the Queen his Friend, obtain'd at length what he demanded.

*The Affairs
of Wales.*

Brady's
App. N.
167.

The Affairs of the *Welsh* employ'd the King a good Part of this Year. *Llewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, having departed this Life in a very advanc'd Age, had left Issue two Sons, *David*, and *Griffin*, who were to share his Inheritance: But *David* had seiz'd the Whole, and moreover detain'd his Brother in Prison. Altho', ever since the Homage which *Llewellyn* had voluntary submitted to, *Henry* might justly look upon *Wales* as a *Fief* of the Crown, he wou'd not perhaps have concern'd himself in this Matter, had not the Wife of *Griffin* induc'd him to it. This Princess having applied herself to him for Protection, promis'd him, in her Husband's Name, a Present of six hundred Marks, and an annual Tribute of three Hundred, if he wou'd free the Prince out of Prison and put him in Possession of his Right. *Henry* having accepted of this Offer, sent to *David* to release the Prisoner, and satisfy him as to his Claims, threatening him in Case of Refusal, with a fierce War, till he should obey. *David* finding he was not in a Condition to resist at a Time when many of his Subjects were in their Hearts for the Prince his Brother, took a Course which to him seem'd more sure than That of Arms. He out-bid his Sister-in-law, and made more advantageous Proposals, which were accepted. As *Henry* had only a View to his own Interest in granting his Protection to *Griffin*, he espous'd without a Moment's Consideration the contrary Side as soon as he saw he shou'd be a Gainer by it. Accordingly from *Griffin's* Protector, he turn'd his Enemy; and for fear that Prince shou'd escape out of Prison, he took upon him to see him safely confin'd in the *Tower of London*. Thus it was that this Prince made no Conscience of selling by Turns his Protection to the two opposite Parties, without troubling himself on which Side Justice lay, or having any Regard to prior Engagements.

*Death of
the Em-
press, and
Eleanor
of Bre-
tain.*

The same Year the Empress *Isabella*, Sister to the King, died in Childbed. Her Death was quickly follow'd by That of *Eleanor of Bretain*, who had been Prisoner
forty

forty Years in *Bristol* Castle. This Princess, tho' reduc'd to so wretched a Condition, cou'd never be brought during her long Imprisonment to recede in the least from her Right, in Order to obtain some Favour which she cou'd not expect upon any other Terms.

Shortly after, *Henry* was engag'd in a very troublesome Business, in which he came off but very badly as usual, and which entirely made him lose the little Esteem his Subjects had still left for him. Before Prince *Richard* set out for the *Holy Land*, he had invested him with the Earldom of *Poictou*, tho' *France* was in Possession of good Part of it, ever since the Conquests of *Philip Augustus*. This Province being thus parted between the two Crowns, *Lewis* thought likewise that he had a Right to invest with it Earl *Alphonso* his Brother. The which prov'd the Occasion of a War between the two Monarchs.

Occasion
of a fresh
War be-
tween
England
and
France.

Henry being extremely provok'd at this Proceeding of *Lewis* in investing the Prince his Brother with *Poictou*, resolv'd to be reveng'd, with so much the more Eagerness, as the Queen his Mother was concern'd in the Case. This Princess, who, since the Death of King *John*, had espous'd the Earl of *March* her first Lover, had kept up all that Haughtiness which she had assum'd whilst she wore the Crown of *England*. As the Territories of the Earl her Spouse were in that Part of *Poictou* which was possess'd by *France*, he had all along done Homage to *Lewis*. But when *Alphonso* was become Earl of *Poictou*, she cou'd not bear to see her Husband kneel to a Brother of the King of *France*. This Piece of Pride was without Question ill-grounded, since there was a vast Difference between the Sovereign and his Vassal. However she sollicit'd her Husband so earnestly, that at length she prevail'd with him to refuse to do Homage to Prince *Alphonso*, tho' he had before positively promised to do it. This Refusal was accompanied with some offensive Words, which put the King of *France* in a Passion, and made him resolve to chastise the Earl's Insolence. In the mean time the Earl, willing to stand by what he had done,

1242.
The Earl of
March en-
gages Hen-
ry to carry
the War in-
to Poictou.

1242.

The Parli-
ament re-
fuses to
grant an
Aid.

done, implor'd the Protection of the King of *England*. He gave him to understand, that it wou'd be a very easy Matter to drive the *French* out of all *Poitou*; and that in Case he wou'd defray the Expence of the War, that Province wou'd furnish him with Troops sufficient for a great Army. *Henry*, prevail'd upon by these Hopes, summon'd a Parliament, of whom he demanded an Aid in Proportion to the design'd Expedition. But his Subjects were so tir'd with granting a Prince Money, who made so ill Use of it, that he cou'd obtain nothing. On the contrary, he was sharply upbraided for squandering away his settled Revenues, and the Sums he daily exacted from his Subjects, by unlawful Means. He was told likewise that the Truce made with *France* not being yet expir'd, the Parliament was unwilling to incur the Guilt of the Breach of his Oath. In fine, Complaints were made of his not having perform'd his Promise with regard to the two *Charters* which he had so often sworn to cause to be observ'd.

Henry
raises Mo-
ney by o-
ther
Means.

These Reproaches were so much the more grievous, as the King had nothing to reply to them. However he persisted in his Design, and not having been able to prevail with the Parliament to grant him an Aid, he squeez'd what he cou'd from private Persons, by way of Gift or Loan, or other Means, in which he spent the whole Winter. After this he summon'd all Those who ow'd *Military Service* to the Crown, to meet him at *Portsmouth* on a Day appointed. But instead of leading Troops thither, he order'd them to bring Each a certain Sum of Money, depending upon the Earl of *March's* Word, who had put him in hopes that he shou'd have Soldiers enough in *Poi-*

He sets out,
having
made the
Archbishop
of York
Regent.

ton. As soon as the Season was fair, he went and embark'd at *Portsmouth*, attended by the Queen his Mother, and Prince *Richard* his Brother newly arrived from the *Holy Land*. Upon his Departure he committed the Regency of the Kingdom to the Archbishop of *York*. He landed in *Saintoigne*, where some *Poitevin* Noblemen came and join'd him. The Earl of *Marche* met him also, but so thinly attended, that it was very visible he was in no Condition to make good what he had promised. When

The Poic-
tevin join
him, not
as the Earl

the

the Business was to raise an Army in those Parts, the Officers and Soldiers list'd so slowly under the *English* Banners, that it was easy to foresee from that Moment, the Enterprize wou'd not have a happy Issue. In the mean Time the King of *France*, who was advancing with a numerous Army, went and laid Siege to *Fontenay*, one of the strongest Places in *Poitou*. It was during this Siege that *Henry* sent Ambassadors to him to demand all that *Philip Augustus* had taken from the *English*, and that *Lewis VIII* had promis'd to restore; and in Case of a Refusal, to declare War against him. *Lewis*, who was *sainted* after his Death, being of a tender Conscience, cou'd hardly get over his Scruples on Account of the Oath the King his Father had taken to restore these Provinces. In this Temper, he gave the *English* Ambassadors an honourable Reception, and answer'd them with a great deal of Moderation, that he much wondred, the King their Master thought of breaking a Truce which he had confirmed by a solemn Oath. Adding, that to let him see that it was his sincere Desire to keep up a good Understanding between them, he offer'd to renew the Truce for three Years longer. In fine, he consented to deliver up Part of *Poitou* and *Normandy*, provided he wou'd withdraw his Protection from his rebellious *Vassals*, who, for no manner of Reason, refus'd to pay him the Obedience due to him. These Proposals were as advantageous as *Henry* cou'd have wish'd them. He might likewise, by accepting them, have procur'd for the Earl of *March* an honourable Accommodation, which *Lewis* in the Disposition he was in, wou'd not doubtless have refus'd. But suffering himself to be carried away by the violent Counsels of the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *March*, he openly reject'd these Offers. Some days after, he rashly sent two *Knights Hospitallers* to defie *Lewis*, tho' he was but ill able to support his Haughtiness. Notwithstanding this Bravado, *Lewis*, who had much ado to get over his Scruples, fought to make up Matters. But at length Means were found to remove his Uneasiness of Mind, by representing to him that the Oath, the King his Father had taken, was no farther binding than as the

1242.

had promis'd.

Lewis besieges Fontenay.

Henry declares War.

Lewis makes advantageous Offers which are rejected.

Henry defies Lewis.

1242.

Lewis
takes Fon-
tenay.

He gains a
Pass over
the Cha-
rente.

King of *England* shou'd perform on his Part what he had promis'd: That the said King had oblig'd himself by Oath not to exact any Ransom from the Prisoners, nor to treat ill such of the *English* as had adher'd to *France*; that he had violated both these Articles, and that this Breach of the Treaty of *London* had rendred void the Engagements of the other Party. In all Appearance *Lewis*, as great a Saint as he was, sought not so much to ease his Conscience entirely, as to satisfy it for the present by some Pretence, since he was prevail'd upon by such poor Reasons. Be this as it will, he continued the Siege which he had begun, and took the City by Storm. A natural Son of the Earl of *March* being made Prisoner with four hundred Knights, some advis'd that Prince to put them all to death: But he replied, that the Son could not help obeying his Father, and the rest their Sovereign; and therefore it was not reasonable that the Innocent shou'd be punished for the Guilty. This first Success was followed by several others, which gain'd *Lewis* the Possession of divers Places in that Part of *Poitou* belonging to the *English*, without *Henry's* being able to stop his Progress, so ill had he taken his Measures. As *Henry* endeavour'd only to avoid fighting, he went and encamp'd near *Tailleburg*, on the Banks of the *Charente*, with the River between him and the Enemy. As soon as *Lewis* had Notice of it, he came and posted himself on the other Side upon the same River, and by Means of his Engines and Cross-bow Men, compell'd the *English* to remove two thousand Paces further off. Their Retreat gave him an Opportunity of easily becoming Master of *Tailleburg*-Bridge, which was the only way he had to come at the *English*. In the mean time, as the Day was too far spent to pass over his whole Army, he was satisfied with guarding the Bridge, resolving to attack the Enemy at Break of Day. *Henry*, who was not strong enough to stand a Battle, took the Advantage of the Darknes of the Night to retire, whilst Prince *Richard* his Brother endeavour'd to amuse the *French* by Proposals of a Truce, which he cou'd not however obtain, but for the Rest of that

that Night. As soon as it was expir'd, *Lewis* pursued the *English*, and overtaking their Rear, made them suffer some Loss. This at least is the Idea the *English* Historians give of this Action, which the *French* make much more considerable: But on such Occasions, it is very difficult to discover the Truth exactly, because one meets with very few impartial Historians. However it is very likely that the Matter was quite otherwise than the *English* represent it, since the *French* give a particular Account of this Battle, wherein they say both the Kings were present, that *Lewis* was in great Danger, and that four thousand *English* were taken Prisoners. Besides, it is certain that the King of *England* fled as far as *Xaintes*, whither *Lewis* followed him, and that the Earl of *March* having made a Sally was the Occasion of the two Kings coming to a second Battle, which was no less fatal to the *English* than the former. After this, *Henry* perceiving he was like to be block'd up in *Xaintes*, fled to *Blaye*, where not thinking himself safe, he went and shut himself up in *Bordeaux*.

1242.

The King of *France*'s extraordinary Success in this War, terrified the Earl of *March*. He found that, the King of *England* not being able to protect him as it plainly appear'd, his holding out any longer wou'd but render his Condition the worse. Accordingly resolving, though a little too late, to provide for his safety, he sent his eldest Son to the King of *France*, to try to obtain some tolerable Terms. The favourable Reception *Lewis* gave the young Lord, induced the Father to go to his Camp, with his Wife and Children, and throw himself entirely upon his Mercy, *Lewis*, who was of an extreme generous Temper, very readily pardon'd him, though he had sufficient Evidence that the Countess-Queen had suborn'd People to poison him. He was content with having three of their Castles deliver'd up as a Security for their Fidelity. In all Appearance, he wou'd have carried his Conquests farther over the King of *England*, who was not in a Condition to stand before him, if the Plague which was got into the Army, and a Distemper which he himself was seiz'd with, had not prevented him from carrying his

The Earl of March makes his Peace with Lewis.
Wil. de Nangis.

1242.
A Truce
for five
Years,

Arms as far as *Bordeaux*. These Reasons, and perhaps some Remains of his old Scruples, caus'd him to consent to a Truce for five Years, after having sufficiently chastis'd his Enemy by the entire Conquest of *Poitou*.

1243.
Henry
passes the
Winter at
Bordeaux, and
sends for
Money
from Eng-
land.

Tho' *Henry* had nothing more to do in *France*, he had a Mind to pass the Winter at *Bordeaux*, where he made an End of his Treasures by squandering his Money away in Feastings and Diversions as if he had come off victorious in the late Campaign. In the mean while his Troops were in want of all Things, the *Gascoigns* not being in the Humour to maintain an *English* Army in Time of Peace and without any Necessity. So that the King found himself oblig'd to send for Cloaths and Provisions for the Soldiers to the Archbishop of *York*, whom he had left *Regent* in *England*. At the same Time, he order'd him to confiscate the Estates of some *English* Barons, who had withdrawn themselves without Leave. The First of these Orders was executed. But the *Regent* prudently declin'd meddling with the Last, for fear of raising Disturbances in the Kingdom during the King's Absence. The Provisions and Cloaths were hardly receiv'd before the King sent fresh Orders to the *Regent* to demand of the *Cistercians* one Year's Profit of their Wool. But the Abbots excus'd themselves in such a manner as plainly made appear that they wou'd not be compell'd to it without downright Force, which the Archbishop, did not care to use. In fine the Archbishop press'd to send Money continually to *Bordeaux*, obtain'd of the Parliament a *Subsidy* of twenty Shillings upon every *Knight's Fee*, which wou'd have been sufficient to extricate the King out of the Streights he was in, had it been well managed.

The Parli-
ament
grants him
an Aid.

Loans for
the King,
which
cause great
Murmur-
ings.

In the mean Time, *Henry* continued at *Bordeaux* with his Army, without having any other Business to do but to consume in idle Expences the Money which was sent him from *England*. When his Coffers were empty, he demanded fresh Supplies of the *Regent*, who was hard put to it to answer all his Demands. The only means left, was to borrow Money in the King's Name of such private Persons as were reputed rich. This unusual Proceeding caus'd

caus'd great Murmurings among the People, as it has all along done, every Time the Kings have made use of it to supply their Occasions. The *Regent* however was willing to expose himself to those Complaints, believing it wou'd be a Means to get the King from *Bordeaux*. But at the same Time, he sent him word, that there was no Possibility of raising any more Money, and that it was Time to think of returning home. This Declaration put the King in good Earnest upon preparing for his Departure. As soon as he was resolv'd, he sent Orders to all the Barons then in *England* to be ready at *Portsmouth* to receive him at his Landing. They obey'd; but he made them wait so long, that they were extremely disgusted, by Reason of the Expence they were at during their Stay.

Before he left *Bordeaux*, *Henry* ratified the five Years Truce he had concluded with *France*; that dishonourable Truce, whereby, besides the Places which *Lewis* had conquer'd, *Henry* bound himself to pay him yearly five thousand Pound *Sterling*. This was the Issue of his ill-concerted, and still worse managed Expedition *. However, notwithstanding the Reason he had to be ashamed of the Success of this Enterprize, he wou'd be receiv'd at *London* with extraordinary Pomp, as if it had been possible to deceive the People by these outward Appearances, and make them believe that the King was return'd victorious. All the Money which had been sent him being expended, he was no sooner at *London*, but he pick'd a Quarrel with the *Jews*, who to appease him, were constrain'd to give him a very considerable Sum. An Historian relates, that one *Aaron* a *Jew* of *York* assur'd him, that the King had extorted from him alone, four thousand Marks of Gold, and

Henry ratifies the Truce, and returns to England.

Extorts Money from the Jews. M. Paris.

* Whilst the King was engaged in this War, the Queen his Wife lay-in at *Bordeaux* of a Daughter call'd *Beatrix*. The chief Noblemen that attended the King in this Expedition were *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, *John de Burg*, with divers others, who signaliz'd themselves in the Battle above-mention'd. Most of them left the King at *Bordeaux*; for which he order'd their Estates to be confiscated as above,

1243.

and forty thousand of Silver. But it is to be presum'd that this was done at several Times.

*Marriage
of Prince
Richard.*

Henry was not long in *England*, before he found Means to expend what he had exacted from the *Jews*. The Arrival of the Countess of *Provence* his Mother-in-law, who was come to celebrate the Nuptials of her Daughter *Cincia* with Prince *Richard*, furnish'd him with an Opportunity to consume a greater Sum than he was Master of. The Charge he was at on the Score of this Marriage may be estimated by the Wedding-Dinner only, which consisted, as 'tis said, of thirty thousand Dishes.

Innocent
IV. Pope.

The *Holy See*, which had bern vacant eighteen Months, was fill'd this Year by Cardinal *Senebaldo* of *Genoa*, who took the Name of *Innocent IV*. The new Pope was no sooner consecrated, but he confirm'd the *Excommunication* denounced against the Emperor.

1244.
*The Parli-
ament de-
nies the
King an
Aid.*

Since *Henry* had taken into his own Hands the Administration of the Government, there had not a Year pass'd without his demanding Money of the Parliament. At first he generally met with a Denial: but at length the Parliament was prevail'd upon by the King's Assurances that he wou'd cause the *Charters* of the King his Father to be punctually observ'd. He had a mind this Year to play over the same Game: but he found the *Nobility* and *Clergy* so strictly united, that he lost all Hopes of succeeding. He even perceiv'd it was dangerous to suffer them to be assembled too long, knowing they were concerting Measures to deprive him of the Administration of Affairs, which they design'd to commit to four of their Body who were to transact every Thing in his Name. A Project of this Nature cou'd not but alarm him; and therefore having promis'd in general, to reform what was amiss, and tried in vain to set them at Odds, he prorogu'd the Parliament *.

*The Par-
liament's
Design a-
gainst the
King.*

*The Par-
liament is
prorogu'd.*

In

* *Matthew Paris* says, this *Great Council* or Parliament had contriv'd a new Method of Government, and intended that four of the most potent and discreet Men of the Kingdom shou'd be chosen by *Common Consent*, who were to transact all Affairs relating to the King

In the mean while, the *Clergy* had to withstand a violent Assault from the new Pope, who had sent into *England* one *Martin* as his *Nuntio*, to exact Money from the *Ecclesiasticks*, with Power to punish such as he found refractory to his Commands. The *Nuntio* executed his Orders so vigorously, that for the least Trifle he suspended Priests, Abbots, and Bishops themselves ; by which means he became extremely odious both to the *Clergy* and *Laity*. But the Matter was much worse, when he produc'd the Pope's Letter to demand of the *Clergy* an extraordinary *Subsidy* to discharge the Debts which *Gregory IX* had contracted in his Wars with the Emperor. He alledg'd, that these Wars were undertaken in Defence of the *Catholic Faith*, and of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, and therefore all *Ecclesiasticks*, particularly the *English*, were bound to contribute towards the Expence. Before the *Clergy* had taken any Resolution in this Matter, the King conven'd the Parliament, and renew'd his Demands of an *Aid*. But as he was very sensible he shou'd obtain nothing unless he satisfied the Barons with regard to their *Grievances*, he promis'd them with an Oath to see the two *Charters* punctually observ'd. He even consented that the Bishops shou'd *excommunicate* him, in Case he violated his Oath. Upon these Assurances, the Parliament granted him twenty Shillings from every *Knights Fee*. But as no pressing Necessity cou'd be alledg'd for granting him this extraordinary *Subsidy*, it was said that the Money shou'd be expended in the Marriage of his eldest Daughter, though all knew it was design'd for other Uses.

1244.
The Pope
vexes the
Clergy.

The Pope's
Demand
of them.

The King
obtains a
Subsidy by
promising
to keep the
Charters.

When

King and Kingdom, and to do Justice to all without Respect of Persons. They were to follow the King, and two of them at least were to be always present with him, that they might hear and relieve the Complaints of Persons oppress'd. The King's Treasury was to be manag'd by them, and all *Aids* were to be expended as they thought most for the Benefit of the Nation. In a word, they were to be the *Conservators* of the *Publick Liberties*, and as chosen by *common Consent*, they were not to be remov'd but by the same Authority ; when one died, another was to be chosen by the three Survivors. And without the Consent of these Four the *Great Council* was not to meet. *M. Paris. Anno. 1244.*

1244.
The Nun-
tio solli-
cites the
Clergy in
vain.

Affairs of
the Welsh.

When the *Nuntio* saw that the Parliament had complied with the King's Demand, he press'd the Bishops and Abbots to have the same Regard for their *Spiritual*, as the Parliament had for their *Temporal* Father. But they minded not this frivolous Reason, and alledg'd much stronger ones to justify their Refusal. The Steadiness of the Prelates oblig'd the *Nuntio* at length to desist. But he still continued, by Virtue of the Power he had receiv'd from the Pope, to fill the *Benefices* as they became void, which he dispos'd of in a scandalous Manner *.

Whilst these Things were transacting, an Accident fell out which broke the strict Union which till then had been preserv'd between the King and the Prince of *Wales* ever since the Agreement they had made together. *Griffin*, who was confin'd in the *Tower of London*, endeavouring to make his Escape out of the Prison-window, fell into the Ditch and broke his Neck. Whilst he was alive, *David* his Brother never dar'd to do any Thing that might displease the King, for fear he shou'd espouse his Interests. But as soon as *Griffin* was dead, he made an Irruption into the Borders of *England*, under Pretence to be reveng'd for certain Breaches of the late Treaty. The People bordering upon *Wales*, finding the King took no care to repel this Insult, arm'd themselves in Defence of their Country. But as they were too weak, and ill-conducted, they were always worsted.

The King
of Scotland
refuses to
do Homage
to Henry,
who pre-
pares for
War.

At the same Time, *Alexander II.* King of *Scotland*, who had lately married a *French Lady* **, sent *Henry* Word, that his Intent was to do him Homage no longer for the Lands he held of the Crown of *England*. How little Inclination soever *Henry* had for War, he cou'd not help on this occasion, exerting himself, so greatly were the *English* incens'd at this Bravado. He summon'd therefore all the *Vassals* of the Crown to meet him at *Newcastle*.

* Amongst the Rest he gave one of the richest Prebendaries of *Salisbury* to a little Boy who was the Pope's Nephew, against the Will of the Bishop and the whole Chapter.

** Daughter to *Engelramde Cussey* a Potent Nobleman of *France*, and mortal Enemy to *Henry*.

Newcastle, which Place he appointed for the Rendezvous of the Army design'd against *Scotland*. When *Alexander* had resolv'd to refuse the King the Homage due to him, he did not expect it wou'd have drawn a War upon him. Perswaded as he was of the Weakness and Irresolution of the Prince he had to deal with, he was in hopes that the Difference wou'd be decided as usual by a Negotiation which might turn to his Advantage. But when he saw the *English* Army ready to enter his Territories, he abated of his Haughtiness, and sent Ambassadors to *Newcastle* to sue for Peace. *Henry* receiv'd the Proposal with Joy. Notwithstanding the Resolution which he seem'd to have taken to push the War with Vigour, he readily consented to a Treaty which afforded him an Excuse to lay down his Arms. *Alexander* submitted to the same Homage that he himself and his Ancestors had paid, and a good Understanding between the two Kings was perfectly restor'd. Before they parted, a Marriage was agreed upon between *Alexander's* eldest Son of the same Name with himself, and *Margaret*, *Henry's* eldest Daughter.

*Alexander
sues for
Peace.*

The Army which had been rais'd for the War with *Scotland*, not having had Occasion to act, the King was advis'd to make Use of it to reduce the Prince of *Wales* to Obedience. But instead of taking the Advantage of so favourable a Juncture, he dismiss'd the Troops, out of his Impatience to go and call a Parliament in order to demand an Aid of Money, which after all he cou'd not obtain. The Prince of *Wales* so little question'd *Henry's* making use of the Means he had in his Power to chastise him, that to free himself from the Danger which he imagin'd hang over his Head, he had applied to the Pope, and given him to understand that he had been compell'd to declare himself *Vassal* to the King of *England*, and to pay him Tribute: For which reason, he had besought the Pope to annul the Treaty, offering to become *Vassal* to the *Holy See*, and to pay him the same yearly Tribute of five thousand Marks * which he paid the King of *England*. In-

*The Prince
of Wales
offers to be-
come Vassal
to the Pope.*

1244.

nocent IV. being no less greedy of Money than his Predecessors, this Proposal was not disagreeable to him. However, to make appear that he took not upon him to decide the Matter without a Hearing of the Cause, and upon the bare Suggestion of a Petition, he empower'd two *Welsh* Abbots to take Informations concerning the pretended Constraint alledg'd by their Prince. At the same Time he commission'd them to make void the Treaty, and to absolve the Prince of *Wales* from his Oath, in Case it appear'd that any Compulsion had been us'd. It was easy to foresee what Sentence the Judges wou'd pass. The two Abbots, proud of the Power they were intrusted with, had the Insolence to summon the King of *England* to appear before them, just as if he had been some private Person subject to their Jurisdiction. This Proceeding enrag'd to the last Degree the King and his Council as well as the whole Nation. Then they were sorry the Army was disbanded: but as that cou'd not be help'd, it was resolv'd that another shou'd instantly be rais'd in order to go and chastise the Prince of *Wales* as soon as the Season wou'd permit; for it was then in the midst of Winter. At the same Time, the great Men conferr'd together how to find Means to stop the Proceedings of the Court of *Rome*.

*The War
with
Wales re-
solv'd up-
on.*

*Lewis ex-
pels the
English
settled in
his Domi-
nions.*

Whilst these Affairs were transacting, the Court receiv'd Intelligence, that the King of *France* had sent off all the *English* which were in his Dominions. Tho' the Truce was far from being yet expir'd, *Lewis* had thought fit to take this Step, in order to prevent the Subjects of the King of *England*, which were in *France*, from having too great an Insight into the Affairs of the Kingdom. To that End, he had order'd all Those who had Estates in *France* to come to him, and having declar'd to them, that he thought it not possible to serve faithfully two Masters at once, he had given them their Choice to prefer which they pleas'd. They who declar'd for *England* were order'd to depart out of *France* within such a Time, with Assurance that their Lands shou'd be always reserv'd

reserv'd for them. *Henry* did not act with the same Justice. As soon as he was inform'd of *Lewis's* Proceedings, he seiz'd all the Lands which the *French* held in *England*, without any regard to the Remonstrances made him by the King of *France*.^a However, *Lewis* did not think fit to break the Truce for the sake of some private Persons *.

1244.
Henry confiscates the Lands of the French.

Shortly after, the Emperor *Frederick* sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, complaining of the Aids of Money he had so often given the Pope. He order'd him to be told, that for the future, he wou'd treat all the *English*, which shou'd fall into his Hands as Enemies, since he cou'd not but look upon them as such. His Complaints had no other Effect, but to afford the *Clergy* a Handle to oppose the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, whose continual Pretence was the War against the Emperor.

The Emperor complains of the Aids sent the Pope.

In the Beginning of the Year 1245, the Queen was brought to Bed of another Son who was christened *Edmund*. I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of this Prince before the End of this Reign.

1245.
Birth of Prince Edmund.

The War with the *Welsh*, which had been put off till Spring, was accordingly begun at that Time. But the *English* proceeded with so little Vigour, that, far from attacking their Enemies, they were hard put to it to defend themselves.

The War with the Welsh.

This was not so much owing to their Weakness, as to their being taken up with other Matters which to them seem'd of greater Moment than the War with *Wales*. They had at length resolv'd to free themselves from the Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. *Martin* the Nuncio us'd his Authority in such an indiscreet Manner, that it was not possible to bear it any longer. The Barons, who beheld with Regret all the Money of the Kingdom remitted to *Rome*, and who were very sensible that the *Clergy* ever gave way, when the Question was to oppose the Pope,

Vigorous Resolutions of the Barons against the Pope.

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were

* *M. Paris* seems to say, that the *French* King gave the *English* in his Dominions the Liberty of relinquishing either their Estates in *France*, or Those in *England*. And that they were forc'd to do one or t'other. Whereas *Henry* left the *French* in his Kingdom, no choice, but seiz'd their Lands to his own use. *M. Paris. An. 1244.*

1245.

*A Courier
from the
Pope
stopp'd.*

were at last determin'd to exert their utmost to prevent these frequent Exactions. After having often conferr'd together about the Matter, they resolv'd to act by their own Authority. Accordingly, without waiting any longer for the King's Protection, who appear'd very backward to second them, they issued out Orders to the *Wardens* of the Ports to stop all those that should bring any *Bulls* or *Mandates* from the Court of *Rome*. Pursuant to these Orders, which were every where obey'd, without regarding whether they were approv'd by the King, a Messenger from *Rome* was seiz'd with several *Bulls* about him, empowering the *Nuntio* to exact Money from the *Clergy* on divers Pretences. The *Nuntio* complain'd to the King, who commanded every Thing to be restor'd which had been taken from him. But the Barons presented to the King strong Remonstrances upon this Occasion, and set before his Eyes the great Prejudice he did his Subjects by countenancing thus the Rapines of the Court of *Rome*. For his Conviction, they laid before him the true Value of the Income which the *Italian Ecclesiasticks* enjoy'd in *England*, the which amounted yearly to above sixty thousand Marks, a Sum exceeding, at that Time, the whole Revenue of the Crown. *Henry*, who had never examin'd these Matters so particularly, cou'd not help showing his Surprise. But as he durst not venture of himself to redress this Grievance, for fear of being expos'd to the Pope's Resentment, he was content with giving the Barons leave to write to the *General Council* which was then assembled at *Lyons*, to set before them the intolerable Oppressions which *England* suffer'd from the Court of *Rome*. Accordingly the Barons wrote a Letter to the *Council* in the Name of the whole Kingdom, and sent it by Ambassadors on Purpose, wherein were inserted all the *Grievances* the *English* complain'd of*. But as they were sensible that on such Occasions the Court of *Rome*

never

*The Barons
send a Letter to the
General
Council.*

* This bold and elegant Epistle was sent by Earl Roger Bigod, John Fitz-Geoffrey, William de Cantilupe, Philip Basset, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas and Mr. William Poweric their Secretary. See *M. Paris* under the Year, 1245.

never fail'd to make use of Delays and Shifts, they resolv'd among themselves to take a more speedy and effectual Course. To that Purpose, they agreed to meet under Pretence of a Tournament, that they might concert necessary Measures for the executing their Design. The King dreading the Consequences of their assembling, forbade them to be present at this Tournament; But they did not think proper to obey. They met therefore at the Place appointed, and after some Conferences, they dispatch'd to the *Nuntio* a Knight *, who commanded him in their Name, forthwith to depart the Kingdom. The Knight discharged his Commission somewhat roughly; and upon the *Nuntio's* demanding who had given him this Authority? he made answer, The whole Nation, and that in Case he staid three days in *England*, he shou'd infallibly be cut in Pieces. *Martin* fail'd not to carry his Complaints to the King. But *Henry* letting him know that he was not able to protect him, he demanded a *Pass-port*, and went off immediately, to the great Satisfaction of all People. The Pope, who had never met with such a Check in *England*, was so intrag'd at it, that he was heard to say: *I see plainly I must make Peace with the Emperor, that I may humble these petty Princes: For the great Dragon being once appeas'd, I shall with the more ease be able to crush the smaller Serpents.*

In the mean while, the *English* Ambassadors being arriv'd at *Lyons*, presented their Letter to the Council, in which the Pope presided in Person. The Letter having been publicly read, *Innocent* was so surpriz'd at it, that he said not a Word in his own Vindication. After the Ambassadors had waited some Time to see if he had any Thing to alledge against the Contents of the Letter, one of them assum'd the Discourse, and gave a particular Narrative of the *Grievances* of their Nation. He dwelt chiefly on two Articles, the First whereof related to the Tribute of the thousand Marks, which King *John* had oblig'd himself to pay every Year to the *Holy See*. He

They lay open the Grievances of the Nation, particularly the Tribute.

maintain'd

1245.

and the
Clause
Non-ob-
stante.

maintain'd that King *John* had not the Power to render his Kingdom *Tributary*, and that his Engagement, having never been confirm'd by the Barons, was to be deem'd Null and Void. The other Article was concerning the Clause *Non-obstante*, which the Pope had for some Time inserted in all his *Bulls*, a Clause which was entirely destructive of the Rights of Bishops, Abbots, Monasteries and Patrons of Benefices. For instance, when the Pope had a Mind to dispose of a *Living*, he inserted this Clause in his *Bull*, *Non obstante* (i. e.) *notwithstanding the Right of Patronage or other Privilege to the contrary* *. This was in Effect to reduce to nothing all the Rights and Liberties of the Church of England. To these two Grievances the Ambassador added many more concerning the perpetual Extortions of the Nuntio's and Legates, and in general all the Oppressions to which the English Nation had for a good while been liable.

They pro-
test against
the Tri-
bute, and
retire.

The Pope
pretends to
give the
English
Satisfaction.

In vain did the Ambassadors expect an Answer from the Council. The Pope continually hinder'd the Affair from being brought upon the Board. At length, perceiving that he sought only to amuse them by these Delays, they presented to the Council a Protestation against Payment of the Tribute granted by King *John*, and withdrew. During their Stay at *Lyons*, the Pope never made the least Step towards satisfying them. But as soon as they were gone, he endeavour'd to cast a Mist before the Eyes of the Council, by making them believe, he had a Design to redress the Grievances which had been complain'd of. To that End, two Bulls were drawn up, one whereof gave the English Patrons leave to present whom they pleas'd to the Livings which were in their Gift. By the other, it was granted that when a Benefic'd Italian died or resign'd his Preferment, the English shou'd not be oblig'd to nominate another Italian in his Room. He made a great Flourish on these two Bulls, as if he had granted some very signal Favours to England. But he had

* This Clause, though copied from the Court of Rome, in a few Years crept into the King's Charters, as will be seen hereafter.

had staid till the Ambassadors were departed, for fear they shou'd make appear how little Proportion this slight Satisfaction bore to the Oppressions they had endur'd. As to the Tribute, against which they had protested, *Innocent* had not the least thought of giving the *English* Nation any Satisfaction on that Point. On the contrary, as soon as the *Council* broke up, the Pope wrote to the *English* Prelates thundring Letters expressly injoining them to confirm and set their Hands to the *Charter* whereby King *John* had made himself *Vassal* and *Tributary* to the *Holy See*. Tho' the Bishops had very strong Reasons to excuse themselves from taking such a step, they durst not however disobey, for fear of being expos'd to the *Excommunication* they were threatned with. The King seem'd at first displeas'd at the Pope's haughty Proceedings, and made as if he wou'd oppose them. But he soon return'd to his wonted Complaisance for whatever issued from the Court of *Rome*.

*He forces
the Bi-
shops to
sign the
Charter of
Tribute.*

The War with *Wales* was the reason this Matter lay dormant for some time. The King, who had a long while suffer'd the *Welsh* to infest his Borders with Impunity, put himself at length at the Head of his Army, threatening utterly to destroy their Country. But this sudden Blaze was quickly extinguish'd. He was no sooner enter'd *Wales*, but, not finding the Enemy, who were retir'd to their Mountains, he grew weary of the War, and after he had built the Castle [of *Ganoc*] on an advantageous Situation, he return'd to *London*.

*War with
the Welsh.*

Walter Earl of *Pembroke* dying this Year without Male-Issue, *Anselm* his Brother then *Dean* of *Salisbury*, was his Heir, and succeeded him in his Office of *Marshal* of *England*. But he kept it not long, Death having depriv'd him of it, a few Months after. Thus fail'd the Noble Family of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Striguil*, whereof the five last Earls, who were Brothers, had been invested with the Dignity of *Earl-Marshal* which was Hereditary in their Family*.

*Extinction
of the Fa-
mily of the
Earls-
Marshall.*

David

* The vast Estate in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales* belonging to this Family, fell among five Sisters, who were married to divers great

1246.
Death of
David
Prince of
Wales.

Fresh Ex-
action of
the Court
of Rome.

David Prince of *Wales* died in the Beginning of the Year 1246. As he had left no Children, the Lords of that Country chose for his Successor *Lewellyn* his Nephew, Son of the unfortunate *Griffin* who was kill'd in endeavouring to make his Escape out of the *Tower of London*.

The Quarrel which *England* had with the Court of *Rome* was somewhat suppress'd, when the Pope set it on foot again, by an Imposition upon the *Ecclesiasticks*, greater and more insupportable than all the former ones. The *Clergy* were to such a degree under the Pope's Correction, that they durst not take the least step towards freeing themselves from his Yoke. But it was not so with the *Lay-Barons* who began to consult together and take Measures how to oppose these Oppressions. In a Parliament assembled during *Lent*, it was resolv'd that the Nation's *Grievances* shou'd be committed to writing, and that Satisfaction shou'd be demanded of the Pope in a Letter * sign'd by the King, Bishops, and Temporal Lords. The principal *Grievances* were these:

Grievan-
ces of the
Nation.

I. That the Pope, not content with the annual Payment of *Peter-Pence*, exacted from the *Clergy* great Contributions, without the King's Consent, against the Customs, Liberties, and Rights of the *Church* and Realm of *England*.

II. That the *Patrons* of Churches had not the Liberty to present fit Persons to the vacant *Living*s, the Pope conferring them generally on *Italians* who understood not the *English* Language, and who carried out of the Kingdom the Money which accru'd from the Income of their *Benefices*.

III. That the Pope oppress'd the *Churches* by exacting *Pensions* from them.

IV. That

great Noblemen of *England*. The Family fail'd in the Third Generation from *Richard Strongbow* the first Earl of *Strigul*.

* *Matthew Paris* says the King wrote by Himself, the Bishops by themselves, and so likewise the *Abbots*, and Barons by themselves, of all which Letters there are Copies Extant in *M. Paris*, under the Year 1246.

IV. That when an *Italian Ecclesiastick* died, his *Benefice* was immediately bestow'd on one of the same Nation, as if the *Italians* had a Right to possess such a Number of *Benefices* in the Kingdom. That whereas the *Italians* were invested without Trouble or Charge, the *English* were forced to go and prosecute their Right at *Rome*, contrary to the *Indulgences* granted to *England* by former Popes.

V. That in Churches fill'd by the *Italians* there were neither Alms, nor Hospitality; Neither was there any Preaching, and the Care of Souls was entirely neglected.

VI. That the Clause *Non-obstante*, which was generally inserted in all *Bulls*, absolutely destroy'd all Laws, Customs, Statutes, and Privileges of the Church and Kingdom.

These Articles make appear that the *Bulls* granted by *Innocent* at the *Council* of *Lyons*, had not been executed, since they were still forced to complain of the same *Grievances*, which by them seem'd to be redress'd.

The Letter from the King and Barons had a contrary Effect to what was expected. The Pope, accusing the *Clergy* of having extorted it by their Importunities, took Occasion from thence to load them with new Taxes, such as had never been heard of before. He not only compell'd the Bishops to Sign the Emperor's *Excommunication* *, but moreover commanded each of them to find him a certain Number of Men well hors'd and arm'd, to serve against that Prince, pretending that all *Churches* were equally concern'd in that War. After this, to let the *English* see how little he valued their Murmurs, instead of reforming old *Grievances* he introduced a *New* one, by claiming the *Administration* of the Goods of *Ecclesiasticks* dying *Intestate*. At first the King was bent to oppose the Execution of all these Articles; but Fear of an *Interdict* and *Excommunication*, which he was threatned with, oblig'd him, as usual, to submit to the Pope's Pleasure. This Compliance made the Pope so imperious, that

The Pope continues his Oppressions.

He claims the Goods of Intestate Clergymen.

He lays a heavy Tax on the Clergy.

* In the *Council* of *Lyons* the Emperor *Frederick* was again *Excommunicated* and *Deposed*, which *Deposition* the Pope made the *English* Bishops Sign. *M. Paris. ibid.*

1246.

which the
King effec-
tually op-
poses.

Attempt
of the
Bishop of
Lincoln.

adding a fresh Oppression to all the former ones, he impos'd a Tax on such *Clergy-men* as resided on their *Living*s, of one *Third*, and on such as resided not, of one Half of their *Moveables*. This being the Case, it is no Wonder, if the Popes were so unwilling to make Peace with the Emperor, since the War furnish'd them with a Handle to levy such frequent Taxes upon the *Clergy*. The Bishop of *London* was commission'd to execute this new Order, with Power to *excommunicate* and *suspend* those that refus'd to obey. But whilst this Prelate and some others were met upon this Occasion, the King sent them word not to consent to this Imposition, which serv'd them for a Pretence to break up their Meeting. If *Henry* had withstood with the same Vigour all the other Attempts of the Court of *Rome*, he wou'd have had the same Success, since the Pope thought not fit to push this Matter any further, when he found they were resolv'd to oppose him *.

The Absolute Power which the Pope claim'd over *Christians*, was attended with fatal Effects among some *English* Bishops, who were of Opinion that the *Church's* Authority was without Bounds. In this Belief, they aim'd at extending it over *Civil* Affairs, on Pretence there was hardly any Case but what *Religion* might be concern'd in. The Bishop of *Lincoln*, prepossess'd with this Notion, took upon him this Year to make strict Inquiry concerning the *Life* and *Manners* of every particular Person in his *Diocese*. It may be he did this with a good Intent; but the Danger was that this Incroachment wou'd be imitated by others, and at length turn to downright Tyranny. Accordingly it was deem'd a manifest Usurpation to which the King put a stop by his own Authority *'.

Isabella,

* So likewise in the Case of *Administ'ring* to the *Clergy* that died *Intestate*, upon the King's *Prohibition* and the Mediation of the *Cardinals*, the Pope revok'd the Order. *M. Paris.*

*' He sent a *Writ* to the *Sheriff* to hinder any Person from making Inquiry, unless in *Matrimonial* and *Testamentary* Causes. Which *Tyrrel* observes is an Evidence of the Antiquity of the King's Prerogative to grant *Prohibition*, to stop the Proceedings of Bishops in Matters which belong'd not to them. Vol. II. p. 241.

Isabella, Countess of *March* and Queen-Dowager of *England*, Mother to the King, died this Year, after having liv'd in no great Reputation, if we may believe certain Historians.

1246.
*Death of
the King's
Mother.*

The Year 1247, like the foregoing one, was spent almost wholly in Contests between the *Pope* and the *Clergy*; the first increasing his Oppressions, in proportion as the others strove in vain to guard against them. In the Beginning of this Year, the Bishops and Abbots were forced to make a Present of a thousand Marks to a new *Legate* whom the *Pope* sent into *England*, upon no other Account but to exact Money from the *Clergy*. At the same time and for the same Reason, there was a *Nuntio* in *Ireland*, who got a Present of five hundred Marks. As the King was ever ready to countenance the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, the *Pope* was willing in his Turn, to show him some Mark of his Gratitude. With this View, he sent him a *Bull*, whereby he ordain'd, that for the future, no *Italian*, not even the Nephew of a Cardinal or of the *Pope* himself shou'd be admitted to any *Benefice* in *England* without the King's Consent: Ample Recompense, for the vast Sums, the *Pope* squeez'd every Year out of the Kingdom! A Privilege, besides, which signified Nothing, seeing the *Pope* was very sure of obtaining the King's Consent, whenever he shou'd be pleas'd to stoop so low as to ask it.

1247.
*The Pope's
Exactions.*

*Insignifi-
cant Pri-
vilege
granted
the King.*

To complete the Misfortunes of the *English*, the King's three Brothers by the Mother's Side, namely, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar*, Sons of the Earl of *March*, came into *England*. The Earl their Father sent them to the King, to get rid of the Charge of keeping them, and in hopes he wou'd provide for them. So that, upon their Arrival at *London*, they were destitute of all things, and had Nothing to subsist upon but the Favours of the King their Brother. *Henry* was forced therefore not only to maintain them, but likewise to satisfy their Avarice and Ambition, with *Presents*, *Places*, and *Benefices*, to the Detriment of the *English*.

*The King's
3 half
Brothers
arrive in
England.*

1247.
Earl of
Holland
elected King
of the Ro-
mans.

This same Year *William* Earl of *Holland*, a young Prince of twenty Years of Age, was elected *King of the Romans*, by the Intrigues of the Pope, who had depos'd *Frederick* in the Council of *Lyons*. But the Pope did not find it so easy to put him in Possession of the Empire, as he had done to procure him the *Votes* of Part of the *Electors*.

1248.
Henry re-
ceives a
mortifying
Answer
from the
Parlia-
ment.

What fair Promises soever the King had made the Parliament, upon their granting him the last *Subsidy*, he had however done Nothing towards the Performance of his Word. Accordingly, when he wou'd have demanded a fresh Supply of the Parliament assembled in the Beginning of the Year 1248, he met with a very mortifying Answer. He was ask'd, how he cou'd without blushing renew his Demands after having so often broke his Word. He was upbraided for his immoderate Kindness, and excessive Liberalities to Foreigners; for his Contempt of his Native Subjects, his Negligence in encouraging Trade and protecting Merchants, of whom he even exacted Impositions which were not due. Very lively Complaints were made of his keeping in his own Hands, the vacant *Benefices*, and of his conferring the Prime Offices of the State, such as those of *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, *Justiciary*, on Persons not qualified for them, and without ever vouchsafing to consult his Parliament. *Henry*, perceiving by the Boldness of these Reproaches, that it wou'd be a very hard Matter to bring the Barons to any Temper, prorogu'd the Parliament, in order to gain time to consider what was to be done.

He is en-
tirely
guided by
Foreigners.

During the Prorogation, the pernicious Advice of his *Ministers* set him more and more against his Subjects, and induced him to be entirely govern'd by *Foreigners*. Of this there quickly appeared a clear Evidence by the extraordinary Courage they inspir'd him with, of which he was not naturally capable. When the Parliament met again, he upbraided the Barons, for endeavouring to impose upon him Laws, to which they themselves wou'd think it hard to be liable: That every one of them was Master in his own Family; that he made use of what

He speaks
roughly
to the Ba-
rons.

Coun-

Counsellors he pleas'd; that he put in and turn'd out his Domesticks without Controul; but that he alone was treated like a Slave by his own Subjects *. In fine, He declar'd to them, that, far from changing his *Ministry* at their Pleasure, he meant to be Master in his own Kingdom, and that it was their Duty to obey. As for the other *Grievances*, which were complain'd of, he was contented, with returning general Answers to them, without specifying any thing. After which, he told them that he expected from them a speedy Aid of Money to enable him to recover the *French* Provinces. This unseasonable Resolution serv'd only to exasperate the Barons the more. 1248.

They boldly replied, That since he design'd not to reform what was amiss, they were not so mad as to continue to impoverish themselves for the sake of Foreigners, under Pretence of an *imaginary* War. This Answer leaving the King no Hopes, he chose to dissolve the Parliament, for fear they shou'd proceed to more vigorous Resolutions. In the mean time, as his Treasury was quite exhausted, he was reduc'd to a Necessity of selling his *Plate* and *Jewels*, which were quickly bought up by the Citizens of *London*. He was extremely incens'd to see that the Burghers so readily found Money to purchase his Jewels, and yet continually pleaded Poverty, when the Question was to grant him an *Aid*. This Consideration put him so out of Humour, that he establish'd a new Fair at *Westminster*, during which all Trading was prohibited in *London* *. So far was he from hearkening to the Complaints made him by the Merchants on this Occasion, that he gave them fresh Marks of his Displeasure by going and keeping his *Christmas* in the City, and compelling them to present him

Their Answer.

The Parliament dissolv'd. The King sells his Jewels.

A Fair at Westminster to vex the Londoners.

of whom he extorts Presents.

* This Reasoning is very fallacious, though it has all along been used by those, who don't consider that a Person's Mismanagement of his own private Affairs affected none but himself; whereas the Male-Administration of a *Publick Minister* is detrimental to the whole Kingdom, and consequently it highly concerns a Nation that the Great Offices of the State be fill'd with *good* and *able* Men.

* It was to last Fifteen Days; and all *Fairs* that us'd to be kept at that time were prohibited all over *England*, *M. Paris*.

1248. with very large New-Years Gifts. Shortly after, he demanded also a Supply of Money, and in Spite of their Endeavours to the contrary, they were constrain'd to give him two thousand Pound *Sterling*.

1249.
He makes
use in vain
of other
Means to
raise Mo-
ney.

But so trifling a Sum wou'd not satisfy the King's Wants, therefore he bethought himself to borrow Money of his *Great Men*, Bishops, Abbots, Merchants, and the richer sort of Citizens in the Kingdom. But as he found he was unable to force People to do as he desired, he applied to them, in so submissive and abject a Manner, that one wou'd have thought he had been begging an Alms. Notwithstanding his Cringings, he cou'd get from the most Part nothing but Excuses and Denials on the Score of their Poverty, though he pretended to be under an indispensable Necessity of waging War with *France*. But he cou'd not possibly have us'd a worse Pretence. Every one knew that the Pope had strictly forbidden him to disturb the Territories of the *French* King, during his Absence, he being gone this very Year to *the Holy Land*. The true Reason which oblig'd him thus to try to get Money from all Hands, was, his being over Head and Ears in Debt, without having wherewithal to pay. Besides his Brothers, to whom he had not the Power to deny any thing, never minded his Wants, but continually put him to Streights by their unreasonable Demands. His Fondness for them was such, that he omitted no Opportunity of heaping Favours on them, though he cou'd not but know that every time he did so, he gave fresh Subject of Disgust to the *English* Barons.

He tries in
vain to
make his
Brother
Bishop of
Durham.

Quickly after the Bishoprick of *Durham* becoming void, *Henry* earnestly recommended *Albelmar* the youngest of his Brothers, though he was far from being of a sufficient Age and Capacity to govern so large a *Diocese*. Accordingly that Objection was made to him by the Monks of *Durham*. They moreover represented to him, that he had often promis'd to leave to the *Churches* the Freedom of Elections, and therefore humbly intreated him to let them enjoy the Fruits of his Promises. *Henry*, offended at these Remonstrances, return'd in Answer, that

since

since they thought his Brother too young, he wou'd keep the Bishoprick in his own Hands till he should be of a fit Age for it. 1249.

Alexander II. King of Scotland died this Year, leaving *Alexander III.* his Son of eight Years of Age, to succeed him.

About this time, the King having been inform'd that certain *Gascon* Lords were revolted, sent into *Guienne* *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, who reduced the Rebels to Obedience, and gain'd a great Reputation. *Earl of Leicester sent into Guienne.*

In the Beginning of the next Year, Prince *Richard*, Brother to the King, set out with a magnificent Retinue in order to go and have an Interview with the Pope who was still at *Lyons*. This Journey and the Extraordinary Honours paid him by the Pope, afforded Matter for divers Speculations which exercis'd the Wits of the *Politicians*. But the real Motive of it was not known till some Years after. *1250. Prince Richard confers with the Pope at Lyons.*

How pressing soever the King's Necessities were, he took the *Cross* from the Hands of the *Legate*, and vow'd to go and war against the *Saracens* of *Palestin*. His Example was followed by above five hundred Knights, and an incredible Number of Esquires and People of an inferior Condition. After all the Denials *Henry* had met with from the Parliament, he must needs foresee how difficult it wou'd be for him to obtain an Aid suitable to an Undertaking of this Nature. And therefore his Design was not to go the Voyage, but to try to get out of the Parliament a large *Subsidy* upon this Occasion, in a Belief they durst not deny him. At least, he was perswaded that the Methods he shou'd take to exact Money from his Subjects, wou'd be authoris'd by so plausible a Reason. Besides he was very sensible that with Part of the Money he shou'd scrape together, he cou'd easily procure a Dispensation of his Vow. His Conduct afterwards confirms this Conjecture. *Henry takes the Cross.*

Be this as it will, those that had undertaken the *Crusade* with the King, made themselves ready with all Expedition; and perceiving he had made no Preparations, they offer'd *The Pope forbids the Crosses to set out before the King.*

1250.

offer'd to set out without him. Their Haste was very displeasing to him, as it too plainly discover'd his Backwardness in a Cause, wherein all the World strove to shew Marks of their Zeal. To remedy this Inconvenience, he desir'd the Pope to hinder his Subjects from going, before he shou'd be ready to put himself at their Head. This Favour was granted him without any Difficulty, and the Interests of the King of *France*, who might have taken the Advantage of this Reinforcement, were sacrificed on this Occasion to the Pope's Desire of contenting the King of *England*. *Innocent* forbid the *English*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, to set out before the King; and by that Means, all the Charges they had been at for their Voyage became of no Effect. If this Prohibition caus'd great Murmuring in *England*, it was not look'd upon with a more favourable Eye in *France*. Every one said there openly, that it was a plain Case, the Pope did not much trouble himself whether *Lewis* succeeded in his Expedition, since he depriv'd him of the Assistance of the *English Croises*.

Inquisitions touching the Forests.

In the mean Time, *Henry* not daring to demand Money of the Parliament, put in Practice all other Methods to raise some elsewhere. One of his most effectual Ways was to commission a Judge entirely devoted to him, to go and make Inquisition in all the *Counties*, concerning Trespases committed in the Royal Forests. This Commission was in itself very odious, since it included all the Cases excepted in King *John's Charter*. But the Manner in which the Inquisitor executed it render'd it still more intolerable: for he punish'd the least Fault by excessive *Fines*, or Confiscation of Estate. By these violent Proceedings he got together prodigious Sums, which serv'd to fill the King's Coffers; but at the same Time they drew on the King the Hatred and Curses of the People *.

Amidst

* This Inquisitor's Name was *Geoffrey de Langly*; he made nothing of ruining divers of the best Quality (especially in the *North*) for killing but a Deer, or a Hare, though it were in the very Highway, and clapp'd up several Gentlemen in Prison for but muttering against his unjust Proceedings. *M. Paris.*

Amidst all these Doings, *Henry* was not unmindful of his Relations. The Bishoprick of *Winchester*, the richest in the Kingdom, being vacant, the King strenuously recommended *Athelmar* his Brother, whom the *Chapter* of *Durham* had refus'd to elect the last Year. He was not satisfied with sending *recommendatory* Letters, but wou'd go in Person to *Winchester*, to back his Interests by his Presence. On the Day of Election, he came into the *Chapter-House*, and made a short *Sermon* upon this Text, *Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other*, which he applied as well as he cou'd to the Business in Hand. Although he met at first with great Opposition, by Reason of the Age and Insufficiency of the Person recommended, yet by his Promises and Threats he obtain'd at length what he desir'd. The Pope fail'd not to confirm the Election to do the King a Pleasure, intending to ask him another Favour in his Turn.

1250.
Henry
causes
his Half-
Brother to
be elected
Bishop of
Winchest-
er.

The sad News had already reach'd *Europe* of the King of *France's* Misfortune of falling into the Hands of the *Saracens*, who detain'd him in Prison. All *France* openly charg'd the Pope with having been the Cause of their Monarch's Disgrace, by absolving for Money those that had taken *the Cross*, from performing their Vow. Amidst these Murmurings, *Innocent* pass'd his Time very uneasy at *Lyons*, dreading some Attempt upon his Person. Even *Charles* and *Alphonso*, Brothers to *St. Lewis*, were gone thither on Purpose to upbraid him in an outrageous Manner, and proceeded so far as to threaten him. To free himself from this troublesome State, and to be out of the hearing of the Complaints which perpetually sounded in his Ears, he desir'd Leave of the King of *England* to go and reside at *Bordeaux*. *Henry* was willing enough to gratify him: but was prevented from doing it by the Remonstrances of the *Clergy* and *Barons*. They were apprehensive that the Pope wou'd take it in his Head to pass over from *Bordeaux* into *England*, where his Company was not at all desir'd. So that the King delay'd sending an Answer, which the Pope interpreted as a civil Denial, as indeed it was in reality.

The King of
France ta-
ken Prison-
er by the
Saracens
which the
Pope is
blam'd for.

He asks
Henry to
reside at
Bour-
deaux.

The King
returns no
Answer.

1251.
The Affairs of Sicily.

As I am very quickly to enter upon an Affair which kept *Henry* wholly employ'd during several Years, I think my self oblig'd to make a Digression in order to clear up the Rise and Progress of it. I mean the *Donation* which the Pope made of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, to Prince *Edmund*, Son of our *Henry*. But in order to give an Idea of this Matter which may serve for the better Understanding what shall be related hereafter, it will be necessary not only to see what was doing in *Italy* at the Time of this *Donation*, but also to take the Thing from its first Rise. This Digression will not seem impertinent, when it shall be seen in the Sequel, that this unhappy Affair was a fertile Source of the Oppressions which the *English* endur'd as well from their King as the *Roman* Pontiffs. Besides, it serves to discover three Things equally remarkable in the History of this Reign. *First*, The Character of *Henry*, and his Indiscretion in embarking in the most difficult Undertakings without foreseeing the Obstacles in his Way. *Secondly*, The Authority which the Popes assum'd in *England*, and the manifest Abuse they made of it. *Lastly*. We shall see that this same Affair was the chief Occasion of the Troubles towards the End of this Reign. Though the Events which I am going to relate, made formerly a great Noise in the World, and are very well worth Notice, yet as they belong not properly to the History of *England*, I shall abridge them as much as possible, that nothing may be said but what is absolutely necessary for the Sequel of his Reign.

Every one, that is acquainted with any Thing at all of the History of *Europe*, knows that towards the Close of the *Eleventh Century*, some *Norman* Nobles, Sons of *Trancred de Hauteville*, conquer'd the Island of *Sicily* from the *Saracens*, and *Apulia*, *Calabria* and several other *Southern* Provinces of *Italy*, from the Emperors of *Constantinople*. These first Conquerors, out of a Religious Principle, or from some other Motive, did Homage to the Pope for their Conquests, and made themselves *Vassals* and *Fendataries* to the *Church of Rome*, though *She* had given them nothing, neither had *She* so much as contributed

tributed towards their Undertakings. Whatever their *Policy* might be in thus submitting themselves voluntarily to *the Holy See*, it is Matter of Fact beyond all Dispute. The Conquests of the *Normans* were at first divided into several Parts, whereof *Sicily beyond the Fare*, or *the Island of Sicily* made a Kingdom of it self. The Rest was canton'd out into Dukedoms or Principalities, under the Name of *Sicily on this Side the Fare*, of which *Calabria* and *Apulia* were the Chief. This is what was afterwards stil'd *the Kingdom of Naples*. All these several Parts, I mean the two *Sicilies*, were at length reduced into one Kingdom, under *Roger I.* the youngest of the Sons of *Tancred*, who assum'd the Title of *King of Sicily*. He had for his Successor *William I.* his Son, surnam'd *the Bad*, to whom succeeded *William II.* his Son, who was call'd *the Good*, to distinguish him from his Father. *William the Good* dying without Issue, the *Sicilians* thought fit to place on the Throne *Tancred*, base Son of *Roger I.* who added to the Title of his Predecessors, *that of King of Naples or Sicily on this Side the Fare*. It is necessary to observe that by *Sicily* is meant sometimes the *Island of Sicily* alone, sometimes both the *Sicilies* together as making but one Kingdom.

Clement III., who sat in the *Papal Chair* in the Time of *Tancred*, look'd upon the Proceedings of the *Sicilians* as an Incroachment upon his Rights. He pretended that by the Death of *William the Good* without Heirs, the two *Sicilies* were devolv'd to *the Holy See*, and that it belong'd to him, as Sovereign Lord, to dispose of them as he pleas'd. In the mean time, as *Spiritual Weapons* were incapable of dethroning a Prince in Possession, *Clement* sent into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, an Army which at first made some Progress. But Death which seiz'd him presently after, prevented him from pushing his Enterprise any further. *Celestine III.*, his Successor, resolv'd to prosecute what his Predecessor had begun. But perceiving he shou'd not be able to compass his Ends with his own Forces alone, he deem'd it necessary to engage in his Quarrel some Prince who shou'd be capable of maintain-

ing it. With this View, he invested the Emperor *Henry VI* with the two *Sicilies*, on Condition of *Homage*, to which the first *Norman* Kings had oblig'd themselves, to the *Roman Church*. However it was to he fear'd, that so arbitrary an Act, especially in Favour of a Foreigner, wou'd exasperate the *Sicilians*, and make them adhere the more firmly to *Tancred*. To prevent this Inconvenience, and to give at the same time some Colour of Justice to what he had done, he caus'd *Constantia*, Daughter of *Roger I.* to be taken out of the Monastery of *St. Saviour's of Palermo*, of which she was Abbess (a). This Princess, who was then fifty Years of Age, being brought to *Rome*, the Pope absolv'd her from all her Vows, and gave her in Marriage to *Henry*, that he might add by that Means a more plausible Right to the *Grant* he had made that Monarch. Besides, by the Help of this Marriage, he was in hopes he shou'd sow among the *Sicilians* the Seeds of Dissension, from whence He himself and the Emperor might reap some Advantage. *Henry*, back'd by this additional Right, immediately headed his Army and march'd into *Apulia*, where however he made no Progress, by Reason of the Pestilence which rag'd among his Troops, and of some other Affairs which constrain'd him to return to *Germany*. So that *Tancred* kept the Crown of *Sicily* till his Death which happen'd in 1145. *William III* his Son succeeded him.

Henry had no sooner Intelligence of *Tancred's* Death, but he march'd back into *Italy*, and besieg'd the City of *Naples*, which bravely defended it self. The Resistance of the *Neopolitans* having made the Emperor despair of succeeding in his Undertaking by Force, he resolv'd to make use of *Cunning*. To that End, he propos'd to the King of *Sicily* to decide their Quarrel by way of Treaty. The Apprehension *William* was in of losing all his Dominions made him readily consent to yield up Part, in order to

(a) *Mexeray* says that *Constantia* was never a Nun: but *Gio. Summonte* Historian of *Naples*, assures us she was Abbess of *St. Saviour's*. *Fazellus*, Historian of *Sicily*, says that Pope *Celestine* absolv'd her from her Vows, and that this appears even from the Decrees of that Pope now in the Archives at *Rome*.

to purchase Peace of a Competitor who was much more powerful than himself. By the Treaty it was agreed that the Emperor shou'd have for his Share the Island of *Sicily*, and that *William* shou'd keep *Sicily on this Side the Fare*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. Pursuant to this Agreement, *Henry* came to *Palermo* where the Crown was set on his Head. But whilst *William* was making ready to retire to the Kingdom, which he was to have by the Treaty, *Henry* seiz'd his Person, and order'd him to be conducted to *Germany*, where this unfortunate Prince was depriv'd of his Sight and castrated. *Henry* being thus rid of his Rival, took Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in Spite of the Endeavours of certain Lords of *Norman* Race to the contrary.

The Emperor's Affairs being in this prosperous Situation, he sent for the Empre's his Wife, who was big with Child though fifty two Years old. Her Time of Delivery being come whilst she was on the Road, she staid at *Gessi* a little Town on the Frontiers of *Ancona*, where she order'd all the Women of the Town, that had the Curiosity, to be Eye-Witnesses of her being brought to Bed. To that Purpose, she caus'd a *Pavilion* to be erected in the Middle of the Market-Place, wherein she was deliver'd of a Prince who was called *Frederick*. From that Time, *Henry* kept Possession of the two *Sicilies* till his Death which happen'd not before the Year 1199.

This Monarch left his Son *Frederick* aged eleven Years, under the Guardianship of *Constantia* his Mother, who immediately caus'd him to be acknowledg'd King of the two *Sicilies* and to be crown'd two Years after at *Palermo*. After which, he was invested by the Hands of *Innocent* III, who was then Pope. *Constantia* his Mother dying three Years after, left the Guardianship of her Son to *Innocent* who govern'd the two *Sicilies* by a Cardinal during *Frederick's* Minority. This young Prince being arriv'd at fourteen Years of Age, married *Constantia* Daughter of *Alphonso* IV. King of *Castile*, and two Years after he was elected Emperor, by the opposite Party to *Otto* of *Saxony* whom the Pope had *excommunicated*.

nicated. He cou'd not. however prevail with *Innocent* to set the *Imperial* Crown on his Head, the Pope dreading it might be of dangerous Consequence to *the Holy See*, to raise to the Empire a Prince of the House of *Suabia*, which had been the Cause of so much Trouble to some of his Predecessors. It was not till the Year 1220, and after the Death of *Otho*, that *Frederick* was crown'd by the Hands of *Honorius* III. *Constantia* his Wife died two Years after, leaving him a Son called *Henry*, who in 1223 was elected King of the *Romans*. Afterwards he married *Yolande* Daughter of *John de Brienne* Titular King of *Jerusalem*, who dying in 1228, left him a Son nam'd *Conrade*. At length, in 1235, *Frederick* took for his third Wife *Isabella* of *England*, who died in 1241, after having brought him two Princes, *Jordan* and *Henry*, the first of which died a Child.

Having given an Account of the Emperor's several Marriages, the Knowledge of which is absolutely necessary, it is time to speak of his Contests with the Popes. Ever since *Richard* King of *England* had quitted *Palestine*, the Affairs of the *Christians* in those Parts were in a very ill Situation. The *Saracens* having taken Advantage of the Backwardness of the *Europeans*, with regard to *Crusades*, had made great Progress, whilst the *Christians* had no Thoughts of undertaking any fresh Expeditions against them. *Honorius* III, who sat in the *Papal Chair* in the Beginning of the Reign of *Frederick* II, desiring to retrieve the Losses which the *Christians* had suffer'd in *the Holy Land*, publish'd in the Year 1224, a *Crusade*, in which infinite Numbers of People of all Conditions engag'd themselves. An Historian assures us that above threescore thousand *English* took the *Cross* for this Expedition, of which *Frederick* was to be Head, both as Emperor, and as Son-in-law to *John de Brienne* Titular King of *Jerusalem*.

Whilst all *Europe* was preparing for this Undertaking, some Disputes unexpectedly happening between the Emperor and certain Cities of *Italy*, retarded that Prince's Preparations, he being willing to see an End of these Contests
before

before his Departure. *Gregory IX*, Successor to *Honorius*, finding that *Frederick* proceeded but slowly, in Comparison of the other *Croises*, wrote him a Letter exhorting him to persevere in his *pious* Resolution. He represented to him that the Success of the *Crusado* depended on him, since the Conduct of it was committed to him. In the mean time, the *Croises* of the several States of *Europe* repair'd in Shoals to the *Holy Land*, expecting to be quickly follow'd by their General. But *Frederick* chose rather to employ his Forces against the revolted Cities of *Italy*, than in warring with the *Saracens*. Nevertheless, as he was earnestly press'd by the Pope, he pretended to get ready, and even went and embark'd at *Brindes*. But after he had been three Days at Sea, he sail'd back to land again, on Pretence of a sudden Illness, which he feign'd to be seiz'd with, as most Historians affirm. News of this having reach'd *Palestine*, above forty Thousand of the *Croises* which were gone before, return'd in the same Ships, which had carried them thither. The Pope at his Wit's End to see so fair an Opportunity lost, by the Emperor's Fault, as he pretended, publickly *excommunicated* him, and sent the *Bull* of *Excommunication* to all the Princes of *Christendom*, to have it publish'd in their Dominions. But after all, every one does not agree that Zeal for Religion was the sole Motive which induced the Pope to deal thus rigorously with *Frederick*. Some affirm that it was only a Pretence to break the Emperor's Measures in *Italy*, in Favour of the revolted Cities, whom the Court of *Rome* countenanc'd underhand. Be this as it will, it gave Birth to a Quarrel which occasion'd innumerable Calamities to *Europe*, and particularly to *Italy*. *Frederick*, incens'd at the Pope's Proceedings, took care to justify his Conduct to all the Potentates of *Europe*, by Letters wherein the Pope was severely handled. But he was not satisfied with so slight a Revenge. By Means of a powerful Party he had at *Rome*, he expell'd *Gregory* thence, and forced him to take Refuge at *Peronse*. However, to let the World see that his Illness had been the sole Cause of his Delay, and that consequently the *Excommunication*

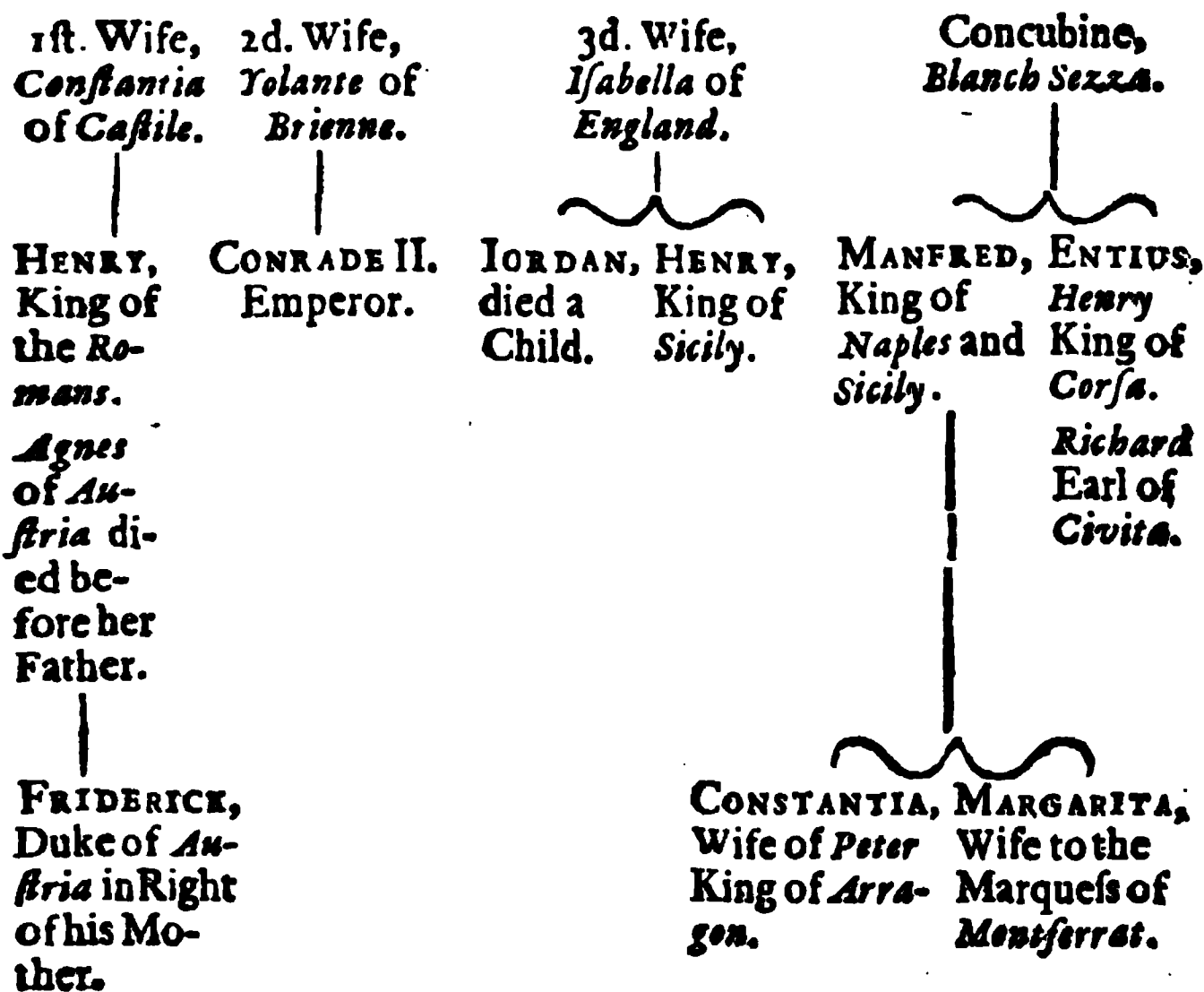
tion denounc'd against him was unjust and rash, he set out the next Year for *Palestin*. The Progress of his Arms in that Country was so Great and Rapid, that in a little Time he compell'd the *Sultan of Egypt* to yield him up *Jerusalem*. He wou'd have push'd his Conquests further, if the *Knights Hospitallers*, who were gain'd by the Pope, had not laid Obstacles in his Way by their Plots which they were daily 'contriving against him. On the other Side, *Gregory*, offended at the Emperor's making so light of his *Censures* as to dare to undertake this Expedition before he was reconcil'd to the *Church*, and before he had made, as he charg'd him, Preparations suitable to so great an Undertaking, renew'd his *Excommunication*, for two Faults directly contrary to one another. *First*, for having too long deferr'd his Going. *Secondly*, for going too soon. But the Pope not content with attacking him with *Spiritual Weapons*, employ'd likewise *Temporal Arms*. He put *John de Brienne*, Father-in-law to *Frederick*, at the Head of an Army, and sent him into the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Title of *Vicar of the Holy See*, in order to wrest from his Son-in-law that Part of his Dominions.

The Quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope growing still wider, all the Cities of *Italy* sided with the one or t'other. Then were formed the two *Factions* of the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, which harra's'd that Country for so long a Time, the former for the Pope, the latter for the Emperor. It will be needless to relate here the bloody Wars that ensu'd. Wars, which frequently gave Room to think, that Zeal for Religion was not the principal Motive which sway'd the *Roman Pontiffs*. It is sufficient to say in two Words, that *Gregory's* Successors pursu'd with Ardor his Project of wresting not only the *Sicilies*, but all *Italy*, and the Empire it self out of the Hands of *Frederick*. In fine, *Innocent IV.* having publicly depos'd him in the Council of *Lyons*, caus'd *William* Earl of *Holland* to be elected Emperor in his Place. But maugre this pretended *Deposition*, *Frederick* kept himself on the
Throne

Throne till his Death which fell out about the End of the Year 1250.

To give a distinct Notion of the Affairs of *Sicily* wherein *England* will speedily have a Hand, it may not be amiss to add here Part of the *Genealogy* of the Family of *Frederick II.* extracted from the History of *Naples*, by *Gio. Summonte*.

FRIDERICK II. Emperor.



The same day *Frederick* died, he made a Will, wherein he left *Frederick* his Grandson *Austria*, of which the young Prince was already in Possession in Right of his Mother. To *Conrade* his second Son he gave the Kingdom of *Naples* or *Sicily* on this Side the *Fare*, on Condition that if *Conrade* died without Issue, *Henry* his Brother, Son of *Isabella* of *England*, shou'd succeed him, and that in Case he died also without Heirs, *Manfred* his Bastard Son shou'd inherit. His Will was that this same *Henry* Son of his third Wife shou'd be King

of the Island of *Sicily*, and gave to *Manfred* his natural Son the Principality of *Tarentum*, with the *Regency* of the two Kingdoms, namely of the First, in the Absence of *Conrade*, and of the Second during the Minority of *Henry*.

As soon as *Frederick* was in his Grave, *Manfred* wou'd have taken Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Name of *Conrade*. But the Pope's Party were so powerful, now that they had Nothing to fear from the Emperor, that the principal Cities, as *Naples* and *Capua*, shut their Gates against him. This Resistance put him under the Necessity of calling into *Italy* *Conrade* his Brother, who since *Frederick's* Death, had assum'd the Title of Emperor, tho' *William* Earl of *Holland* was acknowledg'd as such by the Pope and his Party. Upon the Arrival of this Prince, things had another Face, and he made the *Neopolitans* repent of espousing the Pope's Quarrel. In the mean time, *Innocent* us'd all possible Means to put a stop to his Progress. He thundred out his *Censures* against *Conrade*, as he had done against *Frederick* his Father, and by aiding the *Guelfs* his Partisans, he kept up the War in *Italy*, till a more favourable Juncture shou'd offer. Here I shall end this long Digression, which, as I hope, will not be deem'd needless, when we come to see, how far *England* was concern'd in this Quarrel. But to return to our History.

1251.
First Instance of
the Clause
Non-ob-
stante in
the King's
Orders.

The Year 1251 was usher'd in with the first Instance of the Clause *Non-obstante* in the Orders of the King, in imitation of the Pope, who made use of it long since in his *Bulls*. The Bishop of *Carlisle* having a *Law-Suit* with a certain Baron of his *Diocese*, and being oblig'd to go to *France*, obtain'd an Order from the King that the *Suit* shou'd be stopt till his Return. But during his Absence, his Adversary found Means to obtain a Second Order with this Clause, *Non-obstante*, or *Notwithstanding the former Order, the Baron's Cause shou'd not be delay'd* *.

Besides

* After this those *Writs* or Orders with that detestable Addition of *Non-obstante* became very frequent, which being observ'd by
Rogers

Besides the Principles of *Arbitrary Power* which *Hubert le Burgh* and the Bishop of *Winchester* had infus'd into *Henry* in his Youth, and by which he usually squar'd his Conduct, he had moreover another Reason, which inclin'd him to have but little Regard for his Subjects. This was the Consideration of the Advantages which the Earl of *Leicester* had gain'd over the Rebels of *Guienne*. Ever since that Earl had been Governour of that Province, he had serv'd his Master so faithfully that, in all appearance, he wou'd have nothing to fear, for a good while, from the Inconstancy of the *Gascoons*. As a small Matter was sufficient to sink *Henry's* Courage, so on the contrary his Heart was elevated upon the least Trifle. The chastizing of the *Gascoons*, making him imagine that their Example wou'd be a Curb to the *English*, he fancied that for the time to come he need not keep any Measures with them. Accordingly, without ever minding the continual Murmurings of the Barons, on account of the Preference he gave the *Foreigners*, he affected to receive, with excessive Honours, *Guy de Lusignan* his half-Brother, whom the Earl of *Leicester* brought back with him, when he came to acquaint him with what he had done in *Guienne*. He made him such considerable Presents, that they wou'd have appear'd extravagant, though he had abounded in Riches. These things caused the Barons to redouble their Complaints. They cou'd not bear that the King shou'd shew such Marks of Affection to *Foreigners*, whilst he affected to slight his own Native Subjects.

1251.

Henry slights the English.

Return of Guy de Lusignan the King's half-Brother, whom he loads with Presents.

Henry's Wants, and the little Hopes he had of having them supplied by the Parliament, quite drove out of his Head the thoughts of his Expedition to the *Holy Land*. But on a sudden a Letter from the Pope put him in Mind that it was high time to perform his Vow. He was then

Interview of the King of England and Scotland.

Roger de Thurkeby one of the King's Justices, he said with a deep sigh, *Alas! what Times are we fallen into! Behold, the Civil Court is corrupted in imitation of the Ecclesiastical, and the River is poison'd from that Fountain. This is the Original and Rise of Non-obedience in the King's Writs and Charters.* *Tyrrel* observes that this is omitted by *Dr. Brady*.

1251.
Alexander
marries
the Prin-
cess Mar-
garet.

Henry
presses him
to do Ho-
mage for
all Scot-
land.
which he
refuses.

at *York*, celebrating the Nuptials of the Princess *Margaret* his Daughter with the young King of *Scotland*. The solemnizing the Wedding was not the sole Motive which had brought him to *York*. As the Prince his Son-in-law was very young, he was in hopes he shou'd be able to persuade him to do him *Homage* for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was very urgent with him to do it ; but the young Prince excus'd himself in a handsome Manner. He represented to him that he was come to *York* in order to be married, and not to debate an Affair of that Nature, liable to a great many Difficulties, and in which he cou'd determine nothing, without consulting the *States* of his Kingdom. In the mean time, he did the customary *Homage* for the Lands which he held of the Crown of *England*. Whether *Henry* thought his Pretensions were not well-grounded, or whether he was unwilling to disturb the Mirth of the Nuptial Feast, by insisting on his Demand, the Affair stopp'd there. We shall see in the next Reign, that these same Pretensions were made the Foundation of a Bloody War between *England* and *Scotland*.

1252.
The King
extorts
Money
from the
Jews.

This Interview being over to the Satisfaction of the two Kings, *Henry* seem'd willing to prepare in good earnest for his Expedition to the *Holy Land*. As Money was the main thing wanting, he made this Voyage a Handle to extort vast Sums from the *Jews*, which done, his *Christian* Subjects far'd but little better. But what he cou'd scrape together by these Means was not sufficient to enable him to make an Expedition to the *East* in a manner becoming a Successor of *Richard* whose Memory was still fresh among the *Saracens*.

The Gas-
coons
complain
of the Earl
of Lei-
cester;
who vindi-
cates him-
self.

Whilst the King was taken up in Preparations for his pretended Voyage, there came to him *Deputies* from the *Gascoons*, complaining of having been unjustly oppress'd by the Earl of *Leicester*. The Earl hearing this, went to the King to justify himself, and denied All that was laid to his Charge. Adding. he cou'd not but wonder, that the King shou'd give Ear to the frivolous Complaints of the rebellious *Gascoons*, against one that had serv'd him so faithfully, and had spent all his Estate in a Post wherein
others

others were wont to enrich themselves. *Henry* replied, that he gave no Credit to these Accusations ; on the contrary, to make his Innocence the more conspicuous he was resolv'd to send Commissioners into *Guienne*, to take Informations concerning the Behaviour of the *Gascoons*. In the mean time, to convince him that their Accusations had made no ill Impressions on his Mind, he furnish'd him with some Money, and order'd him to be in a readiness to return to *Guienne*.

1252.
But the
King sends
Commissioners into
Guienne.

Before the Earl was prepared to set out, the *Gascoons* having been inform'd of the King's Design to send him again into their Country, deputed the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, to renew their Complaints. Whilst the Archbishop was at *London*, the Commissioners, which had been dispatch'd to *Guienne*, return'd. They reported, that indeed the Earl of *Leicester* had treated a little severely some Lords of that Country ; but in so doing he had only us'd them according to their Deserts. Though *Leicester* was fully clear'd by this Report, yet the King was made believe by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, that if the Earl return'd to *Guienne*, nay if he was not punish'd, that Province wou'd be lost to the Crown of *England* past all Redemption. This Notion was so deeply imprinted in the King's Mind, that to secure the Allegiance of the *Gascoons* he resolv'd to sacrifice their Governor to their Resentment. With this View, he order'd, that their Accusation shou'd be brought before the *Peers*, not questioning but he shou'd have Interest enough to get him condemn'd. In the mean time, *Leicester*, though surpriz'd at the King's sudden Change, was not idle. He found Means to gain to his side Prince *Richard*, the Earl of *Glocester*, and several other Lords of great Credit, who promis'd to stand by him. Upon this Assurance, he appear'd in Court and spoke in his Defence with such strength of Reason and Evidence, that the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* was hard put to it to maintain his Accusation. Besides, whenever he offer'd to speak, in order to make good what he had advanced, he saw the principal Lords always ready to set off to the best advantage the Reasons of their Friend. The King, perceiving

The Arch-
bishop of
Bordeaux renews
the Charge
against
Leicester.

The King
resolves to
sacrifice
him.

Has him
tried by
the Peers.

1252.

*The King
calls him
Traytor.*

*He gives
the King
the Lie.*

*The King
durst not
apprehend
him, and
is reconcil-
ed to him.*

*The Earls
sent to
Guicane.*

ceiving the Affair was like to end very differently from what he expected, cou'd not help showing his Uneasiness, and even dropping some Expressions very injurious to the Party accus'd. As the Earl of *Leicester*, not content with justifying his Actions, boasted moreover of his *Services*, and boldly call'd upon the King to be as good as his Word, in giving him the Rewards he had often promis'd him, *Henry* sharply replied to him, *That he did not think himself oblig'd to keep his Word with a Traytor*. This Answer had such an Effect on the Earl, who was in a Passion before, that not considering he was speaking to his Sovereign, he told him, *He lied: and were he not a King he wou'd make him eat his Words*. Then, after some insolent Expressions, he added, *That it was hard to believe such a Prince was a Christian, or had ever been at Confession*. Yes, answer'd the King, *I am a Christian, and have often been at Confession*. What signifies Confession, replied the Earl, *without Repentance?* I never repented any thing so much, said the King, *as the having been so liberal of my Favours to one that has so little Gratitude, and so much Brutishness*. After this, he wou'd have apprehended him; but finding the Earl's Friends were ready to oppose it, he was seiz'd with Fear, and durst not execute his Design. He even suffer'd them to speak in the Earl's Behalf, and without being reveng'd for the Affront he had receiv'd, he was contented with a slight Satisfaction, and was in outward appearance, reconciled to him. However, the Earl's Insolence made so deep an Impression upon his Mind, that he cou'd never look upon him without Horror, which is the less to be wonder'd at, because this doubtless was the first time that a Subject had taken the Liberty to give his Sovereign the Lie to his Face. For which reason one shou'd hardly believe it to be Fact, did not all the Historians unanimously attest it.

How great soever might be the Hatred which the King had conceiv'd against the Earl of *Leicester*, he sent him however Governour again to *Guienne* *. This he did not so

* *Matthew Paris* says the King told him upon going off, *That*

so much with design to do him a Favour, as to remove him at a Distance from *England*, where his Credit was too great. Besides, he was apprehensive that the Earl wou'd obstruct a Design he had form'd of conferring *Guienne* on Prince *Edward* his eldest Son, the which he did immediately after his Departure. The *Gascoons* were overjoy'd at this Change. As they had no longer the same Reason to stand in fear of *Leicester* who wou'd quickly be recall'd, they laid so many Snares for him, that he had like to have fallen into some of them. For his Part, he made them often feel the Effects of his Resentment before he left the Province.

1252.
Prince Edward invested with Guienne.

The Uneasiness which the Affair of the Earl of *Leicester* had just given the King, was not the only thing that disturb'd him. He was still more sensibly touch'd with a Denial which he had met with from the *Clergy* on the score of a *Subsidy*. As he was convinced that a bare Demand wou'd be to no Purpose, he had taken care to have it back'd by an express Order from the Court of *Rome*. *Innocent* alledging for a Pretence, that the King cou'd not possibly do without an extraordinary Aid towards his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, had commanded all *Ecclesiasticks* to pay him the *Tenths* of their Revenues for three Years. The *Clergy* having been assembled upon this Occasion, three or four Bishops * gain'd by the King, and particularly the Bishop of *Winchester* his half-Brother, gave their Vote for him. But the Bishop of *Lincoln* strenuously opposed it, and got the Majority to agree to petition the King and intreat him, for his Soul's Health, to desist from his Demand. The *Petition* of the Bishops serv'd only to exasperate the King. He sent them word that they shou'd take care what they did, since they not only oppos'd their

Henry demands a Subsidy of the Clergy.

They petition him.

The King threatens them.

Temporal

if he was such a Lover of War he might There find Employment enough, and also a Reward answerable to his Merits, as his Father had done before him. To which the Earl boldly replied, That he wou'd go over and never return, till he had entirely subdued the Enemies, and reduced the Rebellious Subjects of an Ungrateful Prince.

M. Paris, Ann. 1252.

* London, Chichester, and Worcester.

1252. *Temporal Sovereign*, but likewise their *Spiritual*, the *Universal Church*, and *Jesus Christ* himself. But without being concern'd at these Menaces, the *Clergy* return'd him a very offensive Answer, by which it seem'd they desir'd no longer to keep any Measures with him. They upbraided him, in very hard Terms, for his Extortions, Tyranny, Breach of Promises and Oaths. Which done, they broke up, without staying for a Reply, on Pretence that both the Archbishops being absent they cou'd do nothing without their *Primates* *. *Henry* perceiving he cou'd get nothing from this Assembly, tried to gain the principal Members by Caresses. With this View, he sent for the Bishop of *Ely* and causing him to be brought into his Closet, receiv'd him in a very obliging Manner, in order to extort some Promise from him. But this Prelate, who had but little of the Courtier in him, far from having any Complaisance for the King, express'd himself in a very rough Manner : He told him roundly, 'twas a Folly to ingage himself in an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, and that he ought to take warning by the unfortunate Example of the King of *France*, who lay languishing in the Hands of the *Infidels*. *Henry* finding that, contrary to his Expectation, the Bishop assum'd the Air of an Adviser, had not patience to hear him any longer, and commanded him to be gone out of his Presence *'.

Their Reply.

The King tries to gain them in private, but in vain.

Mutual Animosity between the King and his Subjects.

As the firm Persistence of the *English* in refusing Money, provok'd the King and made him place still greater Confidence in the *Poitevins*, so on the other hand, the continual Favours he heap'd on the *Foreigners* quite alienated the Barons from him. It was therefore impossible but these mutual Discontents shou'd be attended with very fatal Effects, as it actually happen'd in the Sequel. It

* The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was beyond Sea, and the Archbishop of *York* was absent for a Reason then unknown. *Matthew Paris* has given the Bishop's Representation of the Grievances committed by the King, at length, which the Curious Reader may see under the Year 1252.

*' The King ordered his Officers to turn him out of Doors for an ill-bred-Fellow as he was. *M. Paris*.

It is even a Wonder that the Rupture between the King and the Barons was so long in breaking out. Animosity on both sides was come to that Height, that as he had no Regard left for his Subjects, they on their Side, hardly kept any Measures in their Complaints against his Maledministration. The *Londoners* were of all the Kingdom the most incens'd, by reason of the frequent Exactions they had been liable to. But they had quickly a fresh Subject of Complaint on account of a Tax of twenty Marks of Gold * which the King impos'd on the City. This Imposition was inconsiderable, and regarded the City of *London* only. However, the whole Kingdom murmur'd at it, as proceeding from *Arbitrary* Power, of which they dreaded the Consequences. But for all this, a few days after, the King, without giving himself any Trouble about the *Londoners*, commanded them to shut up their Shops, during the Fair at *Westminster* which lasted fifteen Days. This Innovation, which was look'd upon as a manifest Breach of the Privileges of the City, caus'd loud Murmurs among the Citizens, and a Resentment, the Effects whereof became visible upon the first Opportunity.

1252. ;

*The King
oppresses
the Londoners.*

Never did Prince time all his Undertakings so ill, as *Henry*. Whereas every one endeavours to make use of Junctures which seem favorable, *Henry* had a very particular Talent at forming his Projects at the most improper Seasons. He was not ignorant that the Nobles were dissatisfied, and that there was a sort of Confederacy among them to protect the Earl of *Leicester*. He had just given a fresh Subject of Disgust to the *Clergy*, by procuring a *Bull* to absolve him from his Oath, and had entirely alienated the Hearts of the *Londoners* by the Violation of their Privileges. At this Juncture however it was that he took in hand once more to have the Earl of *Leicester* tried by the *Peers*, whom he had conven'd upon that Account. Accordingly this Affair ended greatly to his Dissatisfaction. Far from condemning the Earl, the Barons said openly,

*He attacks
Leicester
again but
in vain.*

* Equal to 200 Marks of Silver, a pretty large Sum in those days.

1252.

that the King had done him very great Injustice, in giving *Guienne* to Prince *Edward*, before the Term of his Government was expir'd, and without making him any Amends. This Declaration which, in all likelihood, wou'd soon be follow'd by some Resolve offensive to the King, made him dissolve an Assembly which seem'd so little inclinable to favour his Design.

1253.

He is in-
sincerely go-
-rned by
Foreigners.

Thus this weak Prince, by an unsteady and fickle Conduct, increas'd the Hatred of his Barons, which he ought to have dreaded of all Things, had he been wise enough to take warning by the unhappy Example of the King his Father. Continually beset with a Company of indiscreet and greedy *Foreigners*, who minded only their own Interests, he saw Nothing but as represented by his *Ministers*, who made him believe, that as long as he was supported by the Court of *Rome*, he need not fear the vain Efforts of his Subjects. This Notion induced him perpetually to countenance the Extortions of the Pope, and the Avariciousness of his Relations and *Ministers*, to whom he was always making Presents with incredible Profuseness. It was thus he spent the clear Revenues of the Crown. By this Management, so little consistent with his own Interest, he kept himself always poor, whilst his Relations, his Counsellors, and the Pope's Creatures were enriching themselves at the Expence of his Subjects. The Bishop of *Lincoln* willing to open his Eyes, caused an exact account be taken this Year of the annual Income which *Foreigners* enjoy'd in *England*. It was found to amount to above Seventy thousand Marks, when the Revenue of the Crown at the same time scarce exceeded a Third Part of that Sum. To this we may add another Particular to shew the Easiness of this Prince and Greediness of his *Ministers*. *Mansel*, one of his Favorites, a *Clergy-man*, enjoy'd no less than Seven hundred *Ecclesiastical* Preferments at once, which brought him in Yearly four thousand Marks.

The Re-
venue of
Foreigners
exceeds
that of
the Crown.

Affairs of
Sicily.

Whilst these Matters pass'd in *England*, the Emperor *Gonrade* and Pope *Innocent* IV continued their Wars in *Sicily*. But the last had much the worst on't, his *Spiritual Arms* being of little Force against a Prince that de-
spis'd

spit'd them. As the Pope found he was too weak to compass his Ends, he imagin'd that by offering the Crown of *Sicily* to a Prince who had Money by him, he should easily bring him to furnish all Things necessary for the Work in hand. Of all the Princes in *Europe* on whom he cast his Eyes, he saw none better qualified to embark in this Undertaking than *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, Brother to the King of *England*. Besides that this Prince was Master of a large Estate which he knew how to manage better than the King his Brother, it was very likely he wou'd be dazzled with the Lustre of a Crown; That of *England* seeming to be at too great a Distance from him, because the King had two Sons. Having taken this Resolution, *Innocent* dispatch'd one *Albert* as his *Nuntio*, to make him an Offer of the Crown of *Sicily*, on Condition he wou'd wrest it out of the Hands of the Sons of *Frederick*. *Richard* rejected not the Proposal: but insisted on certain previous Articles, which the Pope did not relish. I. That the Conquest of *Sicily* should be carried on at the joint Charges of him and the Pope: II. That *Innocent* shou'd deliver him up certain Places in the Kingdom of *Naples* as well for his Security, as to serve for Magazines. III. That he shou'd give him Hostages for the Performance of his Word. These Terms squar'd not at all with the Pope's Designs. He was in Hopes *Richard* deeming the bare Grant of *Sicily* as a singular Favour wou'd ingage to furnish what Money was necessary for the Conquest of it, and wou'd rely on the Word of One that had made him so noble a Present. But when he saw that the Prince was not in a Humour to be his Bubble, and that he appear'd to understand his own Interest too well, he dropp'd the Project and recall'd his *Nuntio*. This Negotiation not having had the Effect he expected, he found himself oblig'd to continue the War at his own Expence; till he shou'd be able to ingage in the Undertaking some Prince of greater Easiness and less Foresight.

1253¹

Act. Pub.
l. 476.

Innocent
offers Sicily
to Prince
Richard.
M. Paris:

Richard's
Terms not
relish'd by
the Pope.

Negotiati-
on is broke
up.

1253.
Secret
Practices
of the Gas-
coons.

The King of
Castile
pretends to
Guienne.

Henry is
forced to
go thither.

He de-
mands an
Aid to go
to the Ho-
ly-Land.

Henry thought he had taken away all Occasion of Re-
volt from the *Gascoons* by removing the Earl of *Leicester*
from the Government of *Guienne*. But it was not long
before he perceiv'd that the Vigilance of the Earl, which
they look'd upon as an insuperable Obstacle to their pernicious
Designs, was the real Motive of their Complaints. *Leicester*
had no sooner resign'd his *Patent* but a Plot was discover'd in
Guienne to deliver that Province to the King of *Castile*.
Though that Prince had never before made known that he
pretended to *Guienne*, as soon as he saw his Party grown
strong by the going off of the Earl of *Leicester*, he began
openly to declare his Mind. He affirm'd he had *Charters*
in Form sign'd by *Henry II. Richard* and *John*, who had
made him a Grant of that Dukedom. It is true indeed, these
Charters were never produced. But he had manag'd so as
to perswade some discontented Lords that he had them in
his Hands. Upon this Foundation, he had form'd in *Guienne*
a powerful Party, of which *Gaston de Moncade* Viscount of
Bearn was Head. It is very likely that *Henry's* Want of
Courage had inspir'd the King of *Castile* with the Thoughts
of becoming Master of *Guienne* upon this frivolous Title.
At least, he believ'd he had reason to hope, that, either by
Arms, or by way of Treaty, he shou'd be able to procure
some Part of that Province. Be this as it will, his Claim,
though apparently very weak, rais'd however in *Guienne*
Commotions, which made *Henry* often repent of having
removed the Earl of *Leicester*. The Male-content, aided
by the King of *Castile*, push'd Matters so far, that *Henry*
was fain to go thither in Person in order to save the Country
from being lost. But to that End Money must be had, and
it wou'd have been in vain to alledge the War in *Guienne*,
to procure any from Subjects, too much dissatisfied with
all his former warlike Expeditions to be prevail'd upon by
that Consideration. It seem'd therefore more expedient to
keep to his old Pretence, namely, his Voyage to the Holy
Land, because Religion was concern'd in it. As soon as the
Parliament, which had been call'd upon that Account, was
met, the King demanded a large

Subsidy

Subsidy which might enable him to accomplish his Vow. 1253.
He represented, that having been hitherto unavoidably prevented from undertaking the Voyage, the *Christians* of *Palestine* must needs have been great Sufferers by these Delays.

Although the Barons were fully convinced that the King had no Design to go to *the Holy Land*, they were afraid however of giving him some Advantage over them, in Case they refus'd the *Aid* which was demanded on so plausible a Pretence. They resolv'd then to grant a *Subsidy*, but by tacking to it at the same time Conditions, from whence they hop'd to reap some Benefit, whether the King should go on with his Expedition, or whether, as they suspected, he should employ the Money otherwise. This Resolution being taken, they sent *Deputies* to him with their Answer, the Substance of which was, That in Case he would leave to the *Churches* the Freedom of Elections, and cause in good earnest the *Charters* of the King his Father to be observ'd, they wou'd exert their utmost to content him. *Henry*, who expected this Message, was prepared with an Answer. He told the *Deputies*, he cou'd not deny but on certain Occasions he had carried the *Prerogative Royal* a little too far : but that he was firmly resolv'd never to be guilty of the like Fault again. He added, they might be assur'd that the *Charters* of King *John* shou'd be punctually kept. Then, addressing himself to such of the *Deputies* as were of the *Clergy*, he bid them consider that among the Prelates which then govern'd the *Church of England*, there were but few that had not been promoted to the *Dignities* they enjoy'd, by the Means of that *Prerogative Royal* they complain'd of. He ask'd then whether they themselves, at the time of their being elected, wou'd have wish'd that there had been that Freedom in Elections which they now demanded with so much Earnestness. He continued to say, that since they desir'd him to correct what was done amiss in the Government, they themselves ought to set him a good Example : That they had nothing to do but to resign their *Bishopricks* and *Abbies* acquir'd by unjust Ways, and he gave them

The Aid is granted on Condition the Charters are kept.

The King's Reply to the Deputies of the Parliament.

1153. them his Word their Places shou'd be supplied by none but Persons of known Worth and Probity. The Prelates being confounded at this Home-Discourse, had nothing to reply, but *that the Business at present was not to undo what was past, but to prevent the like Evils for the Future.* As the King's sole Aim was to get Money of the Parliament, he did not push Matters any farther. Content with having mortified the *Clergy*, he said to the *Deputies*, that he was ready to join with the Parliament in all necessary Measures for reforming *Grievances*. Upon these Assurances the *Clergy* granted him the *Tenths* of their Revenue for three Years, and the Barons, three Marks of every *Knight's Fee* held *immediately* of the Crown.

Excom-
municati-
on solemn-
ly de-
nounc'd a-
gainst the
Violators
of the
Charters.

The Ingagement the King had enter'd into on Account of the *Charters*, was too exprefs for him to recede from it. Accordingly, without being sollicitated to it, he conven'd, in the great Hall of the Palace of *Westminster*, an Assembly, at which were present all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, each with a lighted Taper in his Hand. The King wou'd not hold one, because, as he said, he wou'd lay his Hand upon his Heart, during the whole Ceremony, the better to show that he sincerely gave his Consent to what was going to be pronounced. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* standing up, before all the People, denounced a terrible Curse against all Those that for the Time to come, shou'd oppose directly or indirectly the Observance of the two *Charters*; then against Those that shou'd violate, diminish or alter, in any Manner whatsoever, the *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the Kingdom. The *Anathema* being denounced, the two *Charters* were read aloud, and confirm'd by the King, who kept his Hand all the while upon his Breast *. This done, every one of the Barons, threw down his Taper upon the Ground, and wish'd that Those who violated the *Charters* might thus smoke in Hell.

Who

* And said after all was perform'd, *So may GOD help me as I inviolably observe all these Things.* M. Paris seems to say only the Bishops had Tapers in their Hands, for he makes the King say he wou'd not hold one *because he was no Priest.*

Who wou'd not have thought but that the King's Assent to a *Curse* denounced with such Solemnity, was an undoubted Proof of his Intent *religiously* to keep his Promise? Perhaps it was his real Design when he laid his Hand upon his Heart. However the Parliament was no sooner dissolv'd but he fell to contriving all possible Means to break through it. Besides that he was naturally of a fickle Temper, and not over-conscientious, 'tis said, that he was perswaded to This, by some of his Favourites, who told him that he wou'd be but the Shadow of a King, as long as these *Charters* were in Force. But as they perceived that his Oath laid a Restraint upon him, they advis'd him to apply to the Pope, intimating that for two or three hundred Marks he might with ease get it annul'd. This weak Prince, who generally follow'd the most pernicious Counsels, made no Scruple to close with This. It was agreeable to his Inclinations, and that was sufficient to recommend it above all Considerations of *Honour* and *Conscience*, and to hinder him from reflecting on the Calamities which from thence might befall him. But, if it be strange, that this Prince shou'd so little regard his *Word* and his *Oath*, there is no less Reason to stand amazed to see such *Principles* authoris'd by the *common* Practice of him who stiles himself *the Vicar of Jesus Christ*.

In the mean time, Henry laid out, in his Preparations for the War in *Guienne*, the *Subsidy* granted by the Parliament for the Expedition to *the Holy Land*. When All was ready, he came to *Portsmouth*, where his Troops had been order'd to meet him. Then having left the *Regency* to the Queen and Prince *Richard*, he set sail, attended by a great Number of Lords, who being his *Military-Tenants* had not been able to get themselves excus'd from this *Service*. Upon his Arrival at *Bordeaux*, he headed his Army in order to go and besiege *Reole-Castle* then in the Hands of the Rebels. As they had depended upon the King's usual Indolence, they had neglected to fortify the Places which they had seiz'd. By which Means he easily became Master, not only of This, but of all the other Castles which were in their Power. The King of *Castile*

1253.
Henry
contrives
to break
thro' his
Engage-
ment.

He sets out
for Gui-
enne.

not

1254.

*Demands
Eleanor of
Castile in
Marriage
for Prince
Edward.*

*The Match
is conclu-
ded.
* Sister.*

*Arrival of
Leicester
with Offers
of Service.
The Gas-
coons sub-
mit.*

*Henry
tries in
vain to
get Money
from the
Parlia-
ment on
pretence of
the War
in Gui-
enne.*

not having all this while, made any Step towards relieving his Party, *Henry* imagin'd that he waited for his Departure in order to raise fresh Commotions in the Province, and was afraid, that wou'd be always the Case. This Belief made him very uneasy, because, to prevent his Enemy's Designs, he found he shou'd be oblig'd to keep a standing Army in *Guienne* without having wherewithal to maintain them. To extricate himself out of this Difficulty, he dispatch'd an Ambassador to *Spain*, with Orders to propose a Marriage between *Edward* his eldest Son, and *Eleanor* Daughter * of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*. *Alphonso* found there was no Likelihood of his becoming Master of *Guienne*, since the Arrival of the *English* Succours. Besides, he consider'd the Marriage propos'd was very advantagious for the Princess his Daughter. Accordingly, without much Sollicitation, he agreed to it, and upon that Score, resign'd to Prince *Edward* all his Pretensions to *Guienne* *. This Affair was transacted with great Secrecy, *Henry* having a Design to get a fresh *Subsidy* from the Parliament under Colour of the War. Whilst this was doing, the Earl of *Leicester*, who had retir'd into *France* **, finding *Henry* engaged in a War with the *Gascoons*, levied some Troops at his own Charge, and came and made an Offer of his Service. The Arrival of the Earl, and the Report of a private Treaty in hand, between *Alphonso* and the King, struck Terrour into the Rebels, and caus'd them to return to their Allegiance.

In the mean time, *Henry* pretending to be apprehensive of being attack'd by the *Castilians*, had sent Orders to the Queen to summon a Parliament and demand an *Aid*. But this Attempt did not answer his Expectation. The Parliament, having had some Intimation of the Treaty, which was negotiating in *Spain*, replied, that All the Barons would

*: The Bishop of *Bath* and *John Mansel*, his special Chaplains were the Agents in this Affair, and brought back a *Charter* seal'd with a Golden Seal. The which is now to be seen in the King's *Archives*, in the old *Chapter-House* at *Westminster*.

** Where it is said he generously refus'd the Offer of being *High-Steward* of *France*. M. Paris.

would be in a Readiness to serve the King with their Lives and Fortunes, on the first News of his being invaded by the *Castilians*. This was not what the King wanted. However, as he thought they had no manner of Knowledge of the Treaty of *Burgos*, he wrote to the Queen and Prince *Richard* that he was in great Perplexity, having receiv'd certain Advice of the King of *Castile's* preparing to invade *Guienne* with a numerous Army of *Moors*. For which reason, he commanded them to press the Parliament to grant an *Aid* answerable to his Necessities. But in the Interim the News of the Treaty made with *Alphonso* having been confirm'd by the Earl of *Leicester*, who was return'd into *England*, the Queen durst not press the Parliament upon so frivolous a Pretence. *Henry*, not having been able to carry his Point, was forced to send Orders to the Prince his Brother to extort Money from the *Jews* at any rate. *Richard* discharg'd his Commission with such Rigour, that by his Oppressions he reduced the miserable Wretches to desire Leave to depart the Kingdom. But even that being refus'd them, they saw themselves constrain'd to pay the King a greater Sum than ever they had paid before.

1254.

He extorts Money from the Jews.

As soon as the Queen had Notice that her Son's Marriage was concluded, she hastened with all Speed to *Bordeaux* with *Edward* and *Edmund* her Sons, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Immediately after her Arrival, Prince *Edward* was sent, in great State to *Burgos*, where he married the Infanta *Eleonora*, and in a few Days set out again with his Bride for *Bordeaux*, where the King and Queen waited for them. During their Stay in that City, the King confirm'd by a new *Patent*, the Grant of *Guienne* to the Prince his Son, to which was added *Ireland*, and the Sovereignty of *Wales* *. *Henry* having nothing more to do in

Marriage of Prince Edward.

* And likewise the City and Towns of *Bristol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*. M. Paris. Before the King's Return, upon stating his Accounts, it appear'd that the Expences of his Expeditions amounted to 20,700*l.* besides *Lands*, *Wardships*, &c. given to Foreigners, and 30,002 Marks spent upon his *Poitevin*-Brothers. Being

1254. in *Gascony*, prepar'd for his Departure. But in order to avoid the Fatigue of a Sea-Voyage, he ask'd of the King of *France*, who had been happily freed out of the hands of the *Infidels* by a great Ransom *, leave to pass through his Dominions, in order to go and embark at *Bulloign*. *Lewis* not only very courteously granted his Request, but went and receiv'd him at *Chartres* *', from whence he conducted him to *Paris*, where he entertain'd him eight Days.

*He exacts
Money
from Lon-
don.*

Henry made his Entry into *London* with extraordinary Pomp, and receiv'd from the City a Present of a hundred Pounds *Sterling*, which the *Londoners* had been wont to give on the like Occasions. But as he did not seem satisfied, they gave him moreover, a Piece of Plate of exquisite Workmanship, with which he was content. This did not hinder him however from laying hold, a few Days after, of an Opportunity which offer'd, to get from the City a more considerable Sum. A certain Priest accus'd of Murder, having made his Escape out of *Newgate*, where the Bishop had confin'd him, the City was sentenc'd to pay the King three hundred *' Marks as a Punishment for its Neglect. This Sentence was deem'd the more unjust, as it had been prov'd by good Evidence, that the Bishop's Officers themselves had favour'd his Escape.

*Affairs of
Sicily.*

I left the Emperor *Conrade* and Pope *Innocent* very hotly engag'd in War. The Pope at length departed from *Lyons* in order for *Genoa*, from whence he design'd to go and relieve the City of *Naples* which *Conrade* held closely besieg'd. But this Resolution being taken too late, the Emperor

*Conrade
takes
Naples.*

told, says *Matthew Paris*, of this great Expence by one about him, he reply'd, *Oh, for the Head of God, say no more of it, lest the very Relation make Men stand amaz'd.*

* Four hundred thousand *Livres*.

*' *Henry* was attended by a thousand brave Horse with Noble Riders, and there were with him his own Queen and his Sister the Countess of *Cornwal*, who were met by the Queen of *France* and her Sister the Countess of *Anjou*. Thither came also the old Countess of *Provence*, Mother to all these Ladies. *M. Paris*,

*' Three Thousand.

Emperor had time to make himself Master of the Capital, and afterwards of all the rest of the Kingdom. This fortunate Success inspir'd him with the Thoughts of getting likewise the Island of *Sicily*; and if certain Historians may be credited, he compass'd his Design by a notorious Piece of Treachery. 'Tis said that having allur'd to *Mel-* 1254. Murders his Brother Henry.
pbi young *Henry* his Brother, to whom *Frederick* II had bequeath'd *Sicily*, he caus'd him to be assassinated. This Prince, says an Historian of *Naples*, of all *Frederick's* Sons, was the worthiest and most hopeful.

Before the Death of the young Prince, the Pope who saw his Affairs in great Confusion by reason of the Progress of *Conrade's* Arms, had dispatch'd to *England*, *Albert* mention'd above, to make an Offer to the King of the Crown of the two *Sicilies*. But *Henry* had rejected his Offer on the score of his Nephew whom he was unwilling to depose. *Innocent* not having been able to succeed in his Project, took Occasion from the Death of the King of *Sicily*, to renew *Conrade's* Excommunication, whom he charg'd with the Murder of his Brother. Henry refuses the Offer of the two Sicilies. Conrade accus'd of his Brother's Death.
 But the Emperor publicly denied it, whether he was innocent, or whether he thought it wou'd be a hard matter to convict him of it. He even writ to the King of *England* to notify to him the Death of the young Prince, and to express his extreme Grief on that Occasion. This is not a proper Place to examine whether his Sorrow was sincere. It is sufficient to observe, that in case he were guilty of the Murder, he did not enjoy long the Fruits of his Treachery. He died five Months after, poison'd, as was given out, by a Physician brib'd by *Manfred* his bastard Brother. He is poison'd by Manfred. Far from suspecting the Hand which gave him his Death, he left the Guardianship of *Conradin* his Son, to the same *Manfred*.

The Death of *Conrade* which happen'd in 1253, entirely chang'd the Face of Affairs in the two *Sicilies*. *Manfred*, under Colour of acting for his Pupil, who was in *Germany*, form'd the Project of becoming Master of the two Kingdoms. But he found so many Difficulties in his Way, that he was fain to conceal it till a fitter Innocent IV. becomes Master of the Kingdom of Naples.

1254. Opportunity. In the mean time *Innocent*, who kept his Court then at *Perouse*, having put himself at the Head of an Army, march'd into the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the People declar'd in his Favour. *Manfred* himself, finding there was no opposing the Torrent, went to him at *Naples*. As soon as he came there, he acted with such deep Dissimulation, that the Pope, seeing him really in his Interests, admitted him to all his Councils, and confirm'd to him the Grant of the Principality of *Tarentum*, which the Emperor his Father had left him in his Will. *Manfred*, finding himself thus in the Pope's good Graces, began to contrive how to make it subservient to his Designs. With this View, he advis'd him to disperse his Troops over all the Kingdom, and back'd his Advice with two Reasons, by which *Innocent* suffer'd himself to be ensnar'd. The first was, that there was a Necessity to ease the Citizens of *Naples*, least being too much burthen'd, they shou'd think of revolting. His other Reason was grounded upon its being no less important to keep in Awe the *Germans* which *Conrade* had left behind in the Country under the Command of two *Bavarian* Princes. This Stratagem having succeeded according to his Wish, he turn'd to the two *German* Princes, who, in all likelihood, were not more difficult to be impos'd upon than the Pope. By Means of some secret Emissaries, he let them know that he had very much at heart the Interest of *Conradin*, and that it was only out of Policy that he had feign'd to be a Friend to the Pope. Then, he magnified to them the Forces the Pope had in the Kingdom, and advis'd them to go to *Germany* for Recruits. What induced the more these two Princes to follow his Advice, was the Assurance he gave them, that in their Absence he wou'd take care of their Troops. He gave them to understand, that he wou'd take upon him to engage the Pope to furnish them with Necessaries, by putting him in hopes, that he shou'd be able to send them back to *Germany*, and that in the mean time he wou'd spin out the Negotiation till they shou'd return. By this double-dealing, *Manfred* weaken'd the Pope's Forces, by

*He is out-
witted by
Manfred.*

causing

causing him to disperse them, and got rid of the troublesome Company of the two *German* Princes, reserving to himself their Troops, to be made use of upon Occasion.

1254.

The Army, *Innocent* had brought into the Kingdom of *Naples*, cou'd not be maintain'd without a very great Expence, which the Pope cou'd not bear for any time. His Apprehensions that his Troops wou'd quickly disband themselves, if he did not find Money to pay them, set him upon making a fresh Attempt upon the King of *England*, which succeeded better than the former. Under Pretence of informing *Henry* of the Circumstances of the Death of the King of *Sicily* his Nephew, he sent a *Nuntio*, who had Orders to offer him in his Name the Crown of the two *Sicilies* for Prince *Edmund* his second Son. He caus'd it to be represented to him, that there was no longer Room for any Scruples since the Death of the young King his Nephew: That besides he ought to deem the Offer which he made him, a very particular Mark of his Esteem and Affection, which there was not a Prince in *Europe* but what wou'd think a great Honour. In fine, that a Crown was a Present which requir'd no long Time to consider whether it was worth Acceptance. These tempting Offers had the desir'd Effect. *Henry*, without consulting the Prince his Brother or the Parliament from whom he was to expect the *Aids* necessary for this Undertaking, accepted this imaginary Present, with all Thankfulness. From thenceforward, he caus'd Prince *Edmund* to assume the Title of King of *Sicily*. From the Time that this ill-advis'd Prince had inconsiderately embark'd himself in this Affair, he had never either the Power or Prudence to get clear of the Snares which the Pope laid for him on that Pretence. The Pope sent him word, that by the help of an inconsiderable Sum of Money, he wou'd have the Satisfaction to see in a little time, his second Son on the Throne, and that a Crown like that of *Sicily*, was well worth taking some Pains to obtain. Pleas'd with these flattering Hopes, *Henry* made no Scruple to send to the Pope all the ready Money he had by him, All that the

Innocent
offers *Sicily*
for
Prince *Ed-*
mund.
A&P. Pub.
I. p. 513.

Henry ac-
cepts the
Offer.

Prince

1254.

Prince his Brother wou'd lend him, and all that he cou'd extort from the *Jews* or his other Subjects by Means of *Judges* sent into every *County*, whom he once more made use of. But this not being enough to satisfy the Pope, he was carried to that Degree of Indiscretion, as to oblige himself, under Pain of being *excommunicated* and *depriv'd* of the Royal Dignity, to pay all such Sums as the Pope shou'd borrow towards carrying on their Enterprize. *Innocent*, impower'd in this unlimited Manner, spar'd not his Friend's Pocket. By *Loans* real or pretended, he engag'd him so deeply, that his ordinary Revenue cou'd not possibly answer the Expence. This put him frequently under a Necessity of making such Demands of the Parliament as render'd him more and more odious to his Subjects. But he was so fond of this Affair, that he regarded not the Complaints and Murmurings of the People, provided he thought he cou'd get the Money necessary for the compassing his Ends.

*The Pope
uses several Means
to get the
King Money.*

Act. Pub.
T. I. 511.

ibid.

Innocent was very sensible that it was not in the King's Power to perform his Engagements. But he hop'd, that by exerting to the utmost his *Apostolical* Authority, he shou'd be able to furnish him with Means sufficient to squeeze Money out of his Subjects. The first of these Means was a *Bull* directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Chester*, empowering them to borrow Money of Persons of all Conditions, in the Name of *the Church of Rome*, with Orders to pay what Sums shou'd be thus rais'd into the King's Hands. It is easy to see the Reason why the Pope made use of the Name of *the Church of Rome*, because he knew very well that not a Soul wou'd lend the King Money. And because the *Church* had it in her Power to compel People, *Ecclesiasticks* at least, to lend their Money, which the King cou'd not do.

The Voyage to *the Holy Land* furnish'd the Pope with a Handle to grant the King two *Tenths* from the *Clergy*. But at the same time he order'd the Money to be deposited in a safe Place, from whence it cou'd not be taken but by his Orders. He pretended that it was to prevent the
King

King from putting it to any other use than the Expedition to *Palestin*. But in reality these Sums were design'd for the intended Conquest of *Sicily*. By a third *Bull*, he granted the King a Twentieth Part of the Church's Revenue in *Scotland*, provided the Money might be rais'd without giving Offence. In the mean time, as he had oblig'd himself to contribute towards the Charges of this projected Conquest, he promis'd to pay to Prince *Edmund*, a hundred thousand *Livres*, Half whereof shou'd be paid down upon his Arrival at *Lyons*. A mighty Contribution towards an Enterprize of this Nature! However the *Obligation* was clogg'd with this *Clause*, unless the Pope shou'd have Occasion for the Money himself for the Defence of *the Holy See*.

1254.

ibid.

ibid.

What Methods soever the Pope took to procure the King Money, he was afraid that all wou'd not do, or that the King wou'd idly squander away the Treasure he shou'd get together. For this Reason it was that he admonish'd him by a Letter to retrench all superfluous Expences, not excepting those which were design'd for *Pious Uses*, because the Conquest of *Sicily* was above all Works of *Charity*. Though *Edmund* as yet enjoy'd only an empty Title, the King his Father, blinded by the Hopes inspir'd into him by the Pope, consider'd this young Prince, as the Real Monarch of the two *Sicilies*. In this Belief, he wou'd have him give, by an authentick *Patent*, to *Thomas* Earlof *Savoy* Uncle to the Queen, the Principality of *Capona*, which, like the rest of the Kingdom, was still in Dispute between the Pope and *Conradin*. But notwithstanding the Pope thought fit to divest himself of this Kingdom in Favour of *Edmund*, he wou'd not however suffer him to dispose of any thing belonging to it, without his Leave. One sees, in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, several Grants made by the Pope, in this same Kingdom, to the *Marquis* of *Homburch* his General, and to some others.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

Whilst the Pope continued his Negotiations in *England* with all possible Secrecy, for fear of alarming the *Sicilians*, *Manfred* the Bastard was taking at *Naples* Measures to procure

Manfred aims at being King of Sicily.

1254.
Gio. Sum.

He quits
the Pope's
Court for
murder.
He is cited,
but appears
not.

He beats
the Pope.

Innocent
dies, suc-
ceeded by
Alexander
IV.

procure the Crown of the *Sicilies*. He tamper'd with the *German* Troops which the Emperor *Conrade* had led thither, and made sure of the Assistance of the *Saracens* who were very numerous in the two Kingdoms. As soon as Matters were in the Posture he wish'd them, he waited for an Opportunity to declare himself openly; and it was not long before he had one. A Quarrel, which he had at the Court of *Rome*, wherein he kill'd a Man who had affronted him, having oblig'd him to abscond, he was summon'd to appear and take his Tryal. Upon his Refusal, *Innocent* order'd his Troops to march towards the little City of *Nocera*, inhabited by *Saracens*, whither the Murderer was fled. This was enough for *Manfred* to draw his Friends together, who were all in a Readiness. With the Succours which flock'd to him from several Parts, he went out to meet the Troops which were marching against him, and having attack'd them at an Advantage, between *Troya* and *Foggia*, he kill'd Part of them, and put the rest to Flight. *Innocent* was not a little surpriz'd at the Defeat of his Army, and to find upon his Hands a fresh Enemy on whom he depended to clear the Kingdom of the *Germans*. This Incident having convinced him that *Manfred* had only amus'd him, he perceiv'd, that since the *German* had sided with the *Bastard*, it wou'd be a hard Matter to keep his Footing in the Kingdom with only his own Forces. In this Belief, he repeated his Instances to the King of *England*, for Troops and Money, with an *English* General, threatening him in case of Refusal, to give the Crown of *Sicily* to some other Prince. But as these Succours were at a great Distance, the Vexation he was under to see his Affairs in so ill a Situation, threw him into a Fit of Sickness which laid him in his Grave. Although most Historians make it more than a Year between the Death of *Innocent* IV. and the Election of *Alexander* IV. his Successor, the new Collection of the Publick Acts of *England*, plainly evince that *Alexander* IV. was elected a few Months after *Innocent's* Decease. And indeed, we find there *Bulls* of these two Popes bearing Date towards the End of the same Year 1254.

Alexander,

Alexander, following the Steps of his Predecessor, resolv'd to prosecute the War against *Manfred*, who, having a Mind still to keep his Designs secret, had declar'd for *Conradin*, for fear of offending the *Germans*, of whom he stood in great Need. As the Pope was in no less Want of the Succours from *England*, instead of menacing *Henry*, as *Innocent* had done, he dispatch'd to him the Bishop of *Bonoxia*, on whose Hands he put a Ring to invest, by that Mark, Prince *Edmund* with the Kingdom of *Sicily*. But whilst the *Legate* was on the Road, *Alexander's* Affairs were intirely ruin'd. The Pope having borrow'd Money from all Hands, on the King of *England's* Account, had found Means to draw together an Army of Sixty thousand Men, of whom he had given the Command to Cardinal *Octavian Ulbaldini Florentinus*, with orders to besiege *Manfred* in *Nocera*. The Cardinal had for his Lieutenant-General the *Marquess* of *Hoemburch* a *German*, who had a long time serv'd *Innocent* IV, but who, sometime since, had been corrupted by *Manfred*. Upon the Approach of this Army to *Nocera*, the *Marquess*, who watch'd for an Opportunity to cause *Octavian* to take some fallie Step, represented to him, that it was not only needless, but a lessening to his Honour to employ so great an Army against a Paltry Town. He told him that the Country adjoining afforded no Forage, and that besides it was evident that *Manfred* was in no Condition to do any great Matters, since he had shut himself up within Walls. The *Ecclesiastical* General, who had but little Experience in the Art of War, looking upon the *Marquess* as an able and faithful Soldier, was easily perswaded to divide his Army, on the false Notion of his Enemy's being afraid of him. He had no sooner committed this Blunder, but *Manfred* sallied out of *Nocera*, and falling on a sudden upon the Army which was coming to besiege him, entirely put them to Rout. The Pope's Loss, in this Action, was so great, that he cou'd no longer keep his Footing in that Country. Accordingly *Manfred* without any Difficulty became Master of the two *Sicilies*, and was crown'd at *Palermo*, after he had

1255.
Alexander
levies a
great
Army a-
gainst
Manfred.
Act. Pub.
T.I. p.532.

M. Paris.
Act. Pub.
T. I. 541.
Gio. Sum.

Manfred
defeats the
Pope's
Army.

is crown'd
King of Si-
cily.

1255. spread a Report that young *Conradin* was dead in *Germany*.

The Legate invests Edmund with the Sicilies.

Though *Alexander* had Nothing to depend upon in *Italy*, yet he did not despair of restoring his Affairs by Means of the King of *England*, who little knew what a Turn had happen'd in the Country, which he was so much concern'd in. The Truth is, the Bishop of *Bononia* came to *London*, where, without saying a Word of what had happen'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or of the Coronation of *Manfred*, he invested Prince *Edmund* with the two *Sicilies*. This was done with great Solemnity, which was a fresh Satisfaction to *Henry*. This weak Prince was as much pleas'd with the Ceremony as if *Edmund* had actually been put in Possession of a Crown. But if there were Flatterers who congratulated him upon this Augmentation of Glory, there were wiser People who were griev'd to see their King become more and more a Tool to the Pope. Indeed it was no very hard matter to perceive that he was embarking in an Undertaking which all the Ready-Money in the Kingdom wou'd not suffice to bring about.

The King demands an Aid of the Parliament.

Henry had little Grounds to expect any great *Aids* from his People, to whom he had given but too much Cause of Discontent. Much less still cou'd he hope to get the Barons to approve of a Project which he had rashly engag'd in, without consulting those who alone cou'd furnish him with Means to come off honourably. Notwithstanding this, he demanded of a Parliament which he summon'd this Year, an *Aid* of Money, with the same Assurance as if he had been labouring purely for the Good of the Publick. Though the Parliament concern'd themselves but little about the Success of the Affairs of *Sicily*, they imagin'd however they shou'd be able to procure some Advantage from the King's Necessities, by laying hold of this Opportunity to get the two *Charters* observ'd after a more solid Manner. With this View, they return'd in Answer to the King, that they wou'd grant him a *Subsidy*, upon these two Conditions; that the *Charters* shou'd be observ'd, and that *the Treasurer, the Justiciary,*
and

Two Conditions requir'd.

and *the Chancellor* shou'd be nominated by the Parliament, without being liable to be turn'd out but by the same Authority. The King not thinking fit to agree to these Terms, prorogu'd the Parliament till *Michaelmas*. 1255.

*The Parliaments
prorogued.
The King's
Journey to
Scotland.*

In the Interim, *Henry* was oblig'd to take a Journey to *Scotland* on Account of the Queen his Daughter, who complain'd of her hard Usage from those that govern'd the Kingdom, during the King her Husband's Minority *. The Presence of the King of *England*, contributed very much to the settling the Affairs of that Kingdom, which began to feel the Effects which usually attend a *Minority*. He made but a very short Stay in *Scotland*, being in great Haste to return into *England*, where the Affairs of *Sicily* call'd him.

The Sums which this and the former Pope pretended to have borrow'd on the score of the Affair of *Sicily* were so excessive, that the King saw it impossible for him to satisfy the Creditors real or feign'd. *Alexander* knew this very well; but reckoning that the *English*, and particularly the *Clergy*, were responsible for their Sovereign, he us'd all possible Means to squeeze Money out of the unfortunate Kingdom which was already so much drain'd. His first Attempts were made by a *Nuntio*, one *Rustand*, whom he furnish'd with several *Bulls*, all tending to exact Money from the *Clergy*. The first, which the *Nuntio* produced, was an Order to gather a *Tenth* in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland* it self, as well to the Use of the Pope as of the King. This *Bull* was express'd in Terms which left the *Clergy* no Room to cavil. The Pope laid this Imposition on them, *Notwithstanding* * any former *Letters, Indulgences, Privileges, Exemptions or other Grants, under any Form. and for what Cause soever, and notwithstanding all Objections which cou'd be devis'd*. A second *Bull* gave the *Nuntio* Power to change the *Vow* the King had made

*Rustand
the Pope's
Nuntio
comes into
England
with se-
veral Bulls.*

* Non-
obstante.

* *Sir Robert de Ross* and *Sir John Baliol* the Regents were accus'd of keeping the Queen like a Prisoner, and of not permitting the King to enjoy her Embraces. But *Henry* having fined the Governors, brought the King and Queen together again and put them into such a Condition as they lik'd.

1255. to go to *the Holy Land*, into *That* of undertaking the Conquest of *Sicily*; a Conquest which the Pope wou'd have thought much more important than *That* of *Jerusalem*. Henry engag'd himself in this new Vow, by a solemn Oath on the *Relicks* of *St. Edward*, as he had done with regard to his first Vow. Moreover the *Nuntio* order'd a *Crusado* to be preach'd up against *Manfred*, as an Enemy to the *Christian* Name, and promis'd Pardon of their Sins to all Those that should assist *the Holy See* against that *excommunicated* Prince. The publishing this *Crusado* had but little Effect in *England*. But it had a very great one in *Palestine*, as it oblig'd the *Christians* there, when they found the Succours which were intended for them, diverted to other Ules, to conclude with the *Saracens* a Truce for ten Years.

*The Parli-
ment
meets.*

*Refuses to
give the
King an
Answer ;*

is dissolv'd.

*Richard
will not
lend the
King Mo-
ney.*

The Parliament, which had been prorogu'd, being met, the King solicited in vain for a *Subsidy*. He had taken Care not to summon such of the Lords as had shewn the most Resolution in the last *Session*. But this was the very Thing from whence the Parliament took Occasion to refuse his Demand. They alledg'd that, according to the *Tenor* of *the great Charter*, they were not oblig'd to debate any Business, unless All that had a Right to sit in Parliament were summon'd. Henry, seeing little Hopes of getting any Money from this Assembly, dissolv'd them, and took other Courses to obtain his Ends. He would fain have borrow'd once more of the Prince his Brother : But he was not to be prevail'd upon. *Richard* was displeas'd that the King shou'd rashly engage in this Affair without vouchsafing to consult either him or the Barons of the Realm.

1256. *Divers
Bulls to get
Money
from Eng-
land.*

M. Paris:

But what Henry could not do by his own Authority, he tried to effect by the Pope's Help, who was the more ready to assist him as his own Interest was concern'd in the Case. One may boldly say that in those unfortunate Days the Court of *Rome* had no Sense of Shame left : Of This, what I am going to relate is a clear Evidence ; the Truth of which is not built upon the Testimony of a single Historian, whose Fidelity some have endeavour'd

to call in Question, but upon the very *Bulls* of *Alexander IV.* extant among the *Records of England*, and printed in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. By the way, nothing can be more proper to confute all that has been alledged to weaken the Authority of *Matthew Paris*, than the Harmony which appears between the *Bulls* and his *History*. What is more to be wondered at in the Conduct of *Alexander*, is, that he did not expend in the War against *Manfred*, the extravagant Sums he incessantly drew from *England*, under that Pretence. If we compare together the *Histories of England and Sicily*, we shall find that at the very Time the Pope was draining *England* of Money for the projected Conquest, he suffer'd *Manfred* quietly to enjoy his Crown without making scarce any Effort to dethrone him. Thus the Conquest of *Sicily* was only a *Decey* made use of by the Pope, to get large Sums from *Henry*, upon the sorry Hopes he gave him of placing his Son *Edmund* on the Throne. In the *Collection of Publick Acts*, we find under the Year 1255 divers *Bulls* which plainly make appear with what Greediness the *Roman Pontiff* sucked the very Heart's Blood of wretched *England*.

1255.

In one of these *Bulls*, he orders *Henry* to pay four thousand Pounds to the Bishop of *Bononia*, for the Charges of his *Legateship*, as if the Court of *Rome* had no manner of Concern in the Affair.

A^d. Pub.
T. I. 547.

In another dated the same Month, he confirms the Change of the King's *Vow* to go to the *Holy Land* into That of an Expedition into *Sicily*, to the End the Money design'd for the War against the *Saracens*, might serve to pay the Debts contracted for the Conquest of that Kingdom.

ibid.

By the Fellow to This directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he makes, by his Authority, the same Change with regard to the *Vow* of the King of *Norway* and of his Subjects. Then he commands them to send into *England*, for the pretended Expedition to *Sicily*, the Money which they had rais'd for the Voyage to the *Holy Land*.

p. 549.

A third

1255.
P. 554.

A third *Bull* enjoins all the *English*, who have receiv'd any Money towards their Journey to *Palestine*, to pay it into the Hands of certain Commissioners, to be employ'd in the *Sicilian Expedition*.

ibid.

Although he had before confirm'd the Change of *Henry's Vow*, he granted him however by a *Bull*, the twentieth Part of the *Clergy's Revenue* in *Scotland*, to be expended in the Expedition to *the Holy Land*. This *Bull* bearing Date after *That* whereby the King's *Vow* was changed, one can't look upon it but as a downright Cheat, to make the *Scots* believe that their Money should be laid out in the War against the *Infidels*.

ibid.

After This, by a subsequent *Bull*, he absolves the *Scots* from their *Vow* of going to *the Holy Land*, on Condition they would send into *England* a certain Sum to be employ'd in the Conquest of *Sicily*.

p. 556.

He granted the same Favour to the *English*, by a *Bull* dated in *August* the same Year.

Lastly, By another in *October*, he commanded his *Nuncio* to compel the *English* Prelates, to pay the *Tenths* which had been granted to the King, for the Payment of the Debts contracted since his Ingagements with *Innocent IV*.

M. Paris.

If the *Originals* of all these *Bulls* were not among the *Records* of *England*, one should hardly be persuaded that *Christ's Vicar* was so little of a *Christian* as to prefer his own private Quarrel before *the Cause* of God; for so the *Crusadoes* against the *Infidels* were reckon'd in those Days. One can't see moreover, without Astonishment, that *Alexander* should take it in his Head to make the *Scots* and *Norwegians*, who live in the utmost Bounds of the *North*, contribute to the Charges of his Quarrel with the House of *Swabia*, about a Kingdom situated in the most *Southern* Parts of *Europe*. But if what the Historian adds be true, of which there is scarce any Room to doubt, it will be very easy to perceive that in order to get Money, there was no Means, though never so unjust, but what was approv'd of by this Pope.

The Sums taken up in the King's Name amounted, according to the Pope's Account, to one hundred thirty five thousand five hundred and forty Marks, Principal Money, besides *Interest* *. *Alexander* was not ignorant that the King's Revenue scarce sufficed for his necessary Expences, and that consequently it was impossible to take any thing from thence to satisfy the pretended *Creditors*. To give the King a Lift at this Juncture, he thought fit, that all the extraordinary *Levies* of Money made in the Kingdom should be applied to this Use, for which he took upon him to find Means himself to raise what Sums should be necessary. It was not so much the Purses of the People or Barons, as of the *Clergy*, that were to be plunder'd. Besides that the *Clergy* had the most Money by them, they more tamely submitted to the Pope than the People wou'd to the King. Accordingly, in order to oblige the *Clergy* to pay the greatest Share of this Debt, *Alexander* made use of a very extraordinary Means, suggested to him by the Bishop of *Hereford* *. He caus'd a great many *obligatory Notes* to be drawn up, whereby each Bishop in *England* acknowledg'd to have receiv'd of such a Merchant

A strange Means us'd by the Pope to get Money of the Clergy. Paris.

* Besides fifty Thousand more in which the Prelates stood bound to the Pope. though without their own Knowledge and Consent. The Words of *M. Paris* upon this Occasion are These: " The *sacred Privileges of Churches* signifie nothing, and though " the Pope has a Power only for *Edification* and not for *De-* " *struction*, yet the Tax upon the *Clergy*, which was granted at " first but for three, is now changed into five Years; and formerly " *Laymen* paid *Tithes* to the *Clergy*, but now even the Prelates are " compell'd to pay *Tenths* to the *Laiety*; An *Aid* was granted in " Succour of the *Holy Land*, and we are compell'd to pay it, to " fight against the *Christians* of *Apulia*; A *Tenth* was also granted " by us to the King for the Observation of *the Great Charter*, " which notwithstanding is not kept; besides many other *Grievances* then done to the *Clergy* and Church of *England* by the " Pope's Means, though with the Privity and Connivance of the " King himself, too long to be here repeated, " which, as *Tyrrel* observes, though omitted by *Dr. Brady*, yet may serve to let us see the sad Condition of the People, where the Prince instead of defending them, gives them up for a Prey to a *Foreign Power*. See *M. Paris* towards the Close of the Year. 1255.

* *Peter Egneblank* a *Foreigner*,

1255. Merchant of *Sienna* or *Florence*, or some other Place in *Italy*, the Sum of ——— * for the Occasions of his *Church*, and bound himself to repay it at such a Time. This done, Endeavours were used to constrain each Man to sign one of these *Notes*, as if he had actually borrow'd the Money, therein mention'd. An Oppression, of such a Nature, as would puzzle one to find an Instance of the Like among the most famous Tyrants.

1256. To put this Design in Execution, *Rustand* assembled all the Prelates of the Kingdom, and acquainted them with the Pope's Pleasure, that each of them shou'd sign one of these *Notes*, and bind himself to pay the Sum, mentioned therein, in a short Time under Pain of *Excommunication*. This Proposal surpriz'd the Bishops to such a Degree, that the Bishop of *London* could not forbear saying aloud, *That he would lose his Life rather than submit to so tyrannical an Oppression*. The Bishop of *Worcester* said as much, and in fine, *Rustand* had for Answer, *That the Clergy of England won'd not be Slaves to the Pope*. The *Nuncio* complained to the King of this bold Answer, and intimated to him that the Bishop of *London* was the Author of the *Clergy's* Disobedience. *Henry*, who was no less nettled than the *Nuncio*, fell into a great Passion with the Bishop, and told him, that since he was afraid neither of His nor the Pope's Indignation, he shou'd quickly be made to feel the Effects of it. This Threat not being capable of daunting the Prelate, he replied, *That he was very sensible, the King and the Pope were more powerful than He, but in Case his Mitre were taken from him, he would clap a Helmet in its Place*. However all this Firmness and Resolution con'd not make the *Nuncio* drop his Design. By the Help of the Bishop of *Hereford*, he sow'd Discord among the Chief of the *Clergy*, by caressing some, frightening others, and entering against some the Accusations, which he made a Handle to *excommunicate* them. His *Censures* were so much the more terrible, because if within forty Days they sued not for *Absolution*, which cou'd not be obtain'd but

* Five, six or seven hundred Marks a-piece, or more. *M. Paris*,

but by submitting to the Pope's Will, all their Revenues were confiscated. 1256.

But what the King and Pope could extort from private Persons by these violent Ways, could not rise to a Sum large enough to answer their Occasions. There was a Necessity of getting all the *Clergy* to consent to sign the *Notes*, otherwise it was not worth the while to commit such flagrant Acts of Injustice. *Rustand* once more summon'd the Prelates upon this Occasion. But the Absence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was out of the Kingdom, and the Vacancy of the *See* of *York** furnish'd the *Clergy* with an Excuse to ask a longer Time, which cou'd not be refus'd them. They were in hopes that Time wou'd bring along with it some favourable Turn which should exempt them from paying the Money demanded. But the Conduct of the *Nuntio* quite put them out of all Hopes. He fell into a Rage against Those who rais'd any Difficulties in this Affair, and thought it very strange that the least Opposition in the World should be made to the Pope's Pleasure. *Leonard*, a Deputy for the *Clergy*, having insisted on the Injustice of the Pope's Demand, *Rustand* order'd him to tell him whether he spoke for himself or in the Name of the Bishops. After which he wrote down the Deputy's Words, saying he would inform the Pope of the insolent Manner, wherein he had express'd himself. Another *Clergy-man* willing likewise to speak a little freely of this Matter, the *Nuntio* told him in a furious Tone, that were it not for his Respect for the Bishops, he would not leave him a Hair upon his Head.

The Time granted the *Clergy* being expired, all the Prelates with the Archdeacons, who were the *Representatives* of the inferior *Clergy*, assembled at *London*. As they met purely upon this Affair, *Rustand* renew'd his Instances the very first Day. The *Clergy* replied, by *Leonard* their *Prolocutor*, that their Poverty hindred them from consenting to the Pope's Demand, considering it was founded

**Walter de Grey* who had been Archbishop near forty years, died the last year, and was succeeded by *Sewal* Dean of the Church of *York*.

1256.

neither upon Reason nor Justice. The *Nuntio* made answer, there was no Injustice in what the Pope claim'd, since as all the Churches belong'd to him, he could dispose of their Incomes as he pleas'd. This extraordinary Pretension was taken up by *Leonard*, who replied, " That indeed it might be said in some Sense that all the Churches belong'd to the Pope, for him to protect and defend them, but not to appropriate them to his own Use. In like manner, *continued he*, as we say in England, that All Things are the King's: Yet no Man ever took it in his Head to say the King was *Proprietor* of all the Estates of his Subjects: So with Regard to the Lands of the Church, it can never be prov'd that it was the Intention of the Founders to give them to the Pope. " This Reply did but exasperate the *Nuntio* the more, who however thought not fit to argue and dispute the Matter any longer. He contented himself, with crying in a menacing Tone, Let every one speak for himself that the Pope may know who is *for* and who *against* him. This he said to frighten them: But his violent Behaviour had a quite contrary Effect. The Bishops, full of Indignation at this Treatment, unanimously replied, that they neither could nor would submit to so unjust an Exaction; that this was their last Resolve; and that they were ready to suffer Death in a Cause much more Just than *that* for which the Blessed St. Thomas Becket endur'd Martyrdom. The *Nuntio* finding there was no Good to be done by Threats, grew more calm, and said, he would go himself and talk with the Pope about the Difficulties which occur'd in the executing his Orders. The Clergy dispatch'd likewise, in their Name, the Dean of St. Paul's to acquaint his Holiness with the Reasons of their Denial. To finish this Affair; which I have no design to return to, I shall relate here what Terms the Clergy cou'd obtain at length from the Court of Rome, after long Sollicitations. As the Pope affirm'd that the Sums in Question were really taken up for the Service of the King and Church, he order'd that each Prelate shou'd pay his Share in Proportion to his Revenue; But that the Money thus paid, should be deducted out of the *Tiths* which shou'd

shou'd hereafter be granted to the King. After this Decision, he wou'd not hearken to any Thing further. So the *Clergy* saw themselves forced to pay Money which they had not borrow'd, and to the Payment of which they had been bound without knowing any Thing of the Matter.

12;6.

Some time after, the same *Nuntio* conven'd all the Ab-
bots of the *Cistercian Order*, and demanded one Year's
Revenue of their Wool to supply the Occasions of the
Pope and King. They made Answer, that they could not
assent to any such Demand, unless debated in a *General*
Chapter of their *Order*. This Reply not satisfying the
Italian Prelate, he fell into a Passion, and swore that if he
could not prevail with them in a *Body*, he would so handle
them *singly*, that they should be constrain'd to comply.
He was quickly as good as his Word. For *slight* or *imagi-*
nary Faults, he attacked them one after another, and got
them to be grievously *fin'd*. But this *Order* had such
powerful Protectors about the Pope's Person, that the
Nuntio was commanded to let them alone.

The Nuntio ass. to the Cistercian Ab-
bots.

Act. Pub.
T. I.

The Tyranny which the Court of *Rome* exercised over
the *Clergy* of *England*, was of so strange a Nature, that
the Historian, who relates all these Facts, seems to fear he
shou'd be suspected of Invention, unless he produced an
authentick Proof of them. This doubtless was his
View in inserting at large in his History one of *Alexan-*
der's Bulls, which shews that nothing was done in the Bu-
siness of the *Notes* but by his express Orders. This *Bull*,
directed to *Rustand*, concludes with these Words: *You*
shall take care to let the King know that all This is
our Will and Pleasure. Wherefore I set down in these
Presents, what each Abbot and Prior shall be bound to
pay. The PRIOR and MONASTERY of DURHAM, five
hundred Marks; of BATH, four hundred; of THORNEY,
four hundred, &c.-----Dated at Anagnia the X of the Cal-
ends of July, in the second Year of our Pontificate.

Bull of Alexander
IV. which
verifies
what has
been said
about the
Notes.
M. Paris.

Let us return now to the King, who was sollici-
ting with no less Earnestness for the *Aids* he had de-
manded of the Barons, to place the Prince his Son on the

The Parli-
ament re-
fuses the
King Mo-
ney.

1256. Throne of *Sicily*. The Archbishop of *Messina* was lately come from *Rome* on Purpose to back the King's Demand, with the Pope's Letters to the Lords, exhorting them to give the King Content. But the Eagerness of the Pope, and the pressing Instances of the Archbishop of *Messina*, had an Effect entirely opposite to their Designs. For it was very visible, that the *Subsidy* was to be put into the Hands of the Pope, otherwise he wou'd not have stirred so much in the Matter. Besides the Parliament could not resolve to suffer Troops to be sent into *Italy*, as the Pope and King desired, perswaded as they were that it was exposing them to certain Ruin. These Considerations induced them to refuse the King the *Aid* he demanded. To justify their Denial, they presented an *Address* to him, wherein they exhibited their Reasons. I. The Difficulty of the projected Undertaking. II. The Poverty of the Nation. III. The Dread of an Invasion from the neighbouring States, if the Forces of the Kingdom were sent at a Distance. IV. That this Project was form'd without the Consent of Parliament. V. *Lastly*, That the Conditions annexed to the Grant of *Sicily*, left the Pope at Liberty to revoke it whenever he shou'd think fit.

Reasons for
so doing.

Henry
will have
the Clergy
bound for
him.

The Clergy
refuse;

but yield
at last.

War with
the Welsh.

The King was not satisfied with demanding of his Parliament an extraordinary *Aid*. He wou'd have moreover the *Clergy* in particular stand bound for the Sums which the Pope pretended were still due to him, and give their Consent that the *Tenths* granted for three Years shou'd be continued for five more. These Demands were so extravagant, that the *Clergy* could not resolve to comply with them. But there was not the same Regard had for the *Spiritual* as for the *Temporal* Lords. The Pope had no sooner spoken with an imperious Tone, by the Mouth of his *Nuntio*, but the *Clergy* tamely submitted, and gave the King the greatest Part of what he had demanded.

How large Sums soever had been lately drawn out of the Kingdom, *Henry* still continued his Exactions, as well upon the Citizens of *London*, as upon the rest of the Kingdom. He made even the *Welsh*, whom he consider'd as his Subjects, ever since they had been his *Vassals*, feel the

the Effects of his Greediness. The Oppressions they had endured on divers Pretences, having at length put them beyond all Patience, they had recourse to Arms, and made Irruptions into the Frontiers of *England*, from whence they carried off a great Booty. Prince *Edward* had a Mind to go and chastise them; but it was not possible for him to raise a sufficient Number of Troops to stop their Progress. The King's Treasury was so exhausted, what by the Pope's and what by his own Favourites, that not being able to furnish Money for this War, he was forced to sit still, and suffer the *Welsh* unpunish'd to plunder his Borders. His Fondness for his Half-Brothers and the Queen's Relations was prodigious. He was not satisfied with loading them with immense Presents, which render'd him unable to defend his Kingdom, but permitted them to oppress his own Subjects, by forbidding the *Chancellor* to issue out any *Writs* which might prove to their Prejudice *.

1256.

The King's Profuseness to his Half-Brothers, and the Queen's Relations.

In the mean Time the Pope was not yet contented with the vast Sums he had drawn from *England*. He press'd the King continually to send him Money, threatening to revoke the Grant of *Sicily*, if he did not speedily perform what he had promis'd. *Henry* excus'd his not being able yet to send Troops to *Italy*, with an *English* General, because, far from being in a Condition to defray this fresh Expence, he cou'd not yet accomplish the Payment of the Sums which the Pope demanded of him. But to satisfy him in some Measure, he remitted to him five thousand Marks, and order'd Prince *Edward* his Son, who was to succeed him, to ratify his Agreements relating to *Sicily*. In another Letter which he wrote to him on this Occasion, he acquainted him that the Barons of the Realm refus'd to subscribe to the Terms which had been exacted of him, thinking them somewhat unreasonable (a), especially since the Affairs of *Sicily* had taken a new Turn by the Treachery

The Pope presses the King for Money.

Prince Edward ratifies the Contracts relating to Sicily.

* Which, says *Matthew Paris*, was contrary to the Law and Peace of the Kingdom.

(a) These Terms or Agreements are to be seen at the End of *Tom. I.* of the *Publick Acts* among Those that were omitted,

1256. Treachery of the Marquis of *Hoemburch*. As soon as the Pope heard that the *Great Men* began to murmur, he thought it time to get all he cou'd hope for from *England*, plainly fore seeing that the Game he was at cou'd not last long. With this View he sent into *England* a *Nuntio* one *John de Dic*, with several *Bulls*, all tending to procure Money of the King in order to pay the Pope's pretended Debts. By the first, he enjoin'd the Bishops punctually to pay the *Tenths* granted to the King, *notwithstanding all Letters, Indulgences, or Privileges whatsoever*. In all Appearance, the *Deduction*, which they were before allow'd to make, was render'd of no Effect by this *Clause*. Another *Bull* granted to the King for his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, from which he had already excus'd him, all the Revenues of the vacant *Benefices*. By a third, he gave him the Incomes of such *Ecclesiasticks*, as resided not on their *Living*s. A fourth, granted him the *Tenths* of all the *Ecclesiastical* Revenues of the Kingdom, according to their extended Value, whereas they were wont to be rated according to the antient Taxes. A fifth, order'd *Rastand* to adjudge to the King the *Chattels* of *Clergymen* who died *Intestate*. By a sixth, he commanded the same *Nuntio*, to tax himself all the *Ecclesiasticks* of the Kingdom, for the *Aid* they were to give the King, *notwithstanding all Privileges granted by his Predecessors, and all Exemptions or Objections whatever*. A seventh, *excommunicated* all the Prelates who shou'd not pay their *Tenths* within such a Time. There were several others which it is needless to mention, seeing they all aim'd at the same Thing. The Importunity of the Creditors of *Sienna* and *Florence* was always made the Pretence for these Oppressions. Altho' these Debts shou'd have been over-paid by all the Levies of Money which were made in *England* on that Score, they were like the *Hydra*, whose Heads sprung up afresh continually.
1257. One would think that in this unfortunate Reign, a Concourse of malignant Influences were met in *England*, to reduce the Nation to Beggary. Every Thing contributed to its Misery, and Events which seem'd the farthest

chest from it, were found at length to tend to the same 1257.
 End. *William*, Earl of *Holland* and King of the Ro- Prince
mans, having been kill'd in a Skirmish with the *Frisons*, Richard
 the *Electors* of the Empire were divided in chusing a new chosen
 King of the *Romans*. Some, who were the *Majority*, King of the
 gave their *Votes* for *Richard* Brother to the King of Eng- Romans.
land, and the rest elected *Alphonso* King of *Castile*.
Richard, more diligent than his Competitor, forthwith
 went and caus'd himself to be crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle*
 and kept up his Right by his Presence in *Germany*, whilst
Alphonso acted only by Ambassadors. However *Richard*
 had no other Advantage over his Rival but *That* of being
 crown'd: An Honour, which cost him so dear, that *Al-*
phonso would have been very sorry to purchase it at that
 Rate. 'Tis affirm'd that *Richard* carried over into Germa- Carried o-
ny seven hundred thousand Pound *Sterling* in ready Mo- ver into
 ney *, an immense Sum in those Days, which join'd to Germany
 all Those the Pope had squeez'd out of the Nation, made a vast Sum
 a very great Scarcity of Money. The meaner Sort of of Money.
 People were great Sufferers by it, because, the Harvest not
 having been very plentiful, they were not able to buy Pro-
 visions which were grown very dear *. All these Evils
 touch'd not the King's Heart. Infatuated with his *Sicilian*
 Project, he press'd the Clergy a-new for a *Subsidy*, that of
 the last Year not having even suffic'd, as he assured them,
 to pay his Debts. As he expected to meet with great
 Opposition from the Bishops, he brought to the Assem- The King
 bly Prince *Edmund* his Son, dress'd in a *Sicilian* Habit, extorts an
 imagining that charm'd like him with the Sight, they Aid from
 wou'd not be able to help granting what he demanded. the Clergy.
 But this Artifice wou'd have been but of little Force, had M. Paris.
 not

* *M. Paris*, says he was so rich, as to be able to spend 100 Marks a Day for 10 Years together.

* The Author of *Walter of Coventry's Julius* says, Provisions were so scarce that he himself saw the People fighting for the Carcasses of dead Dogs and other Carrion, and to eat the Wash that was set for the Hogs. But *M. Paris* observes that this was owing not so much to the Scarcity of Corn as to the Want of Money, Corn having several Times been dearer than it was now, and yet none died with Hunger, as many did at this Time.

1257. not the Prelates been again aw'd by the *Nuntio*, who constrain'd them by his Threats to grant the King fourty two thousand Pound *Sterling*.

Continuation of the Welsh War.

To all the Calamities which *England* labour'd under during the Course of this Year, must be added the War with *Wales*, which was vigorously carried on by the *Welsh*, but very faintly on the Part of *England*. Prince *Edward*, who had undertaken to chastise these turbulent People, had been forced to retreat before them with some Loss. The Progress which they made daily, oblig'd the King at last to march against them. But upon his Approach, they retir'd to their Mountains, after having themselves laid waste their Borders, and by that Means *Henry* was forced to halt, not being able to proceed any further. But this was not all. When he imagin'd the *Welsh* at a Distance and seiz'd with Fear, they knew so well how to take this Advantage of his Negligence, as to surprize him and cut in Pieces a good Part of his Army; after which he thought of nothing but retiring.

Henry is beaten.

The King demands of France the Restitution of Normandy.

One can't help wondering that, at such a Juncture, *Henry* shou'd take it in his Head to try to frighten the King of *France*. However, without considering the weak Estate he was in, he sent Embassadors * to him, to demand the Restitution of *Normandy* and the other Provinces in *France* taken from the *English*. It is not known, with what View or from what Mōtive he renew'd his Claim in so proud and haughty a Manner, that one wou'd have thought his Affairs had been in the most flourishing Condition, and that he found himself able to support this Bravado. *Lewis*, who had a greater Insight into his Affairs than He himself, forbore however to insult him, contenting himself with roughly denying a Demand made so unseasonably.

In

* They were no less than the Bishops of *Warcester*, and *Winchester*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Hugh Bigot Earl of *Norfolk* lately made *Earl Marshal*, Peter of *Savoy*, and Robert *Waleran*. It seems as if he did this on the Account of the King of *France's* Scruples.

In the mean time, *Rastand* the *Nuntio*, who was gone to *Rome* for new Instructions, return'd very quickly into *England*, with Power to *excommunicate* the King, if, pursuant to his Ingagements, he did not speedily take in hand the projected Conquest. *Henry* surpriz'd at these Menaces, and not knowing which way to turn, in order to satisfy the Pope, caus'd *Edmund* his Son humbly to intreat the Pope that he wou'd be pleas'd to soften the Terms on which he had accepted the Grant of *Sicily*. This Petition proving of no great Effect, *Henry* saw himself at length under a Necessity of appointing Ambassadors to go to *Rome* and renounce, in the Name of the Prince his Son, the Grant of this *Imaginary* Crown which had already cost him so dear. But this was not what the Pope wanted. Far from receiving this Renunciation, he sent a new *Nuntio*, one *Arlot*, to whom he gave Power to make some Alterations in the Articles relating to this Affair. But at the same time, he order'd him to use his utmost Endeavours to engage the King more and more, by procuring him some fresh Grants, which cost him Nothing since they were made at the Expence of the *Clergy*. With this View, he charg'd his *Nuntio* to publish a new *Bull*, whereby he commanded the Bishops to pay the *Tenths* granted to the King, under Pain of *Excommunication*; notwithstanding all Objections, all Appeals, and all Letters obtain'd or to be obtain'd, to the contrary. What is the more strange, and hardly conceivable, is, that the vast Sums sent to the Pope, not only had not promoted at all the Conquest of *Sicily*, but also that not the least Part of the Money had been put to that Use, since after the Defeat at *Nocera*, the Pope had no Army on Foot. Besides the *Tenths* which the *Clergy* had frequently paid, and the other *Subsidies* granted to the King on this Account, the Parliament had furnish'd considerable *Aids*; and yet there appear'd no Bottom to this Gulf, which swallow'd up all the Riches of the Kingdom. The *Clergy* groan'd to see themselves thus grievously oppressed. The People for their Part murmur'd no less, when they consider'd, that so much Money rais'd in *England* and which, 'tis affirm'd,

1257.
The King
petitions
the Pope
to soften
the Terms
relating to
Sicily.
A&P. Pub.
I. p. 624.

He wou'd
renounce
that
Crown.
A new
Nuntio
with fresh
Bulls.
p. 628.

Bull for
Money
from the
Clergy.
p. 640.

1257.

amounted to above Nine-hundred and fifty Thousand Marks, was not capable of satisfying the Avarice of the Pope, who still craved for more.

1258.

*The Barons
began to
take mea-
sures a-
gainst the
King.
M. Paris.*

It was not possible but so many Oppressions wou'd at length tire out the Patience of the *English*. The Barons were still more aggriev'd than the People, as the most considerable Posts, to which they look'd upon themselves alone to have a Right, were enjoy'd by *Foreigners*. This usually is the Motive which stirs up the Zeal of the *Great-Men*. This is what makes them such mighty Sticklers for the *Good* of the *Publick*. If their own private Interest was not join'd to *That* of the Kingdom, in vain wou'd it be expected that the *Nobles* wou'd expose their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, in Defense of the *Liberties* of an injur'd *People*. This is a Remark, which no Nation in particular ought to take offence at, since it agrees with all *Times* and with all *Places*. The *Great-Men*, who were then alive in *England*, were not of a different Character. The Credit *Foreigners* were in, and the Riches they possess'd, were the chief Grievance of the Barons, and the real Motive of their Complaints. If they insisted on some other Abuses, it was because they were not Gainers by them themselves, or to bring the People over to their Side. They had hitherto imagin'd they shou'd be able to oblige the King to alter his Conduct, by tying him up by the most solemn Oaths. But they perceiv'd at length there was no taking hold of this *Proteus*, as an Historian stiles him, unless they made use of more violent Means than had been hitherto employ'd. In this Belief, they began to hold secret Conferences together, wherein they consulted about proper Expedients to reform the Government, and especially, to exclude the *Foreigners*. The King quickly furnish'd them with an Opportunity to put their Designs in Execution, by calling a Parliament, of whom he demanded, according to Custom, a powerful *Aid* for the Affair of *Sicily*, for as to the Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, it was no longer mention'd. The Parliament, pursuant to the Resolution which the principal Barons had taken before among themselves, instead of

granting

M Paris.

*The King
demands
Money
of the
Parlia-
ment who
complain
of his Con-
duct.*

granting his Demand, grievously complain'd to him of the Breach of his Promises, and of all the *Grievances* in general which we have had Occasion to speak of in the Course of this Reign. *Henry*, perceiving that carrying it high wou'd be to no purpose on this Occasion, fell to his old Artifice of appealing the Lords, by acknowledging himself guilty, and promising to reform what was amiss.

But for once they were not so easy of Belief. They told him roundly, that, without leaving it to him, they design'd to reform the Government themselves in such a manner as they shou'd have no more reason to fear his Breach of Faith. Accordingly, under Pretence of the Difficulties which occur'd in this Affair, the Parliament was prorogu'd, and the City of *Oxford* appointed for the Place of the next *Session*. And as he was apprehensive, that, in the mean time, the Barons wou'd make Preparations, which he found he cou'd not prevent, he gave them a positive Promise that as soon as they shou'd meet, he wou'd join with them in redressing all Abuses. He sign'd likewise a *Writing*, whereby he consented, that the Articles to be reform'd, shou'd be drawn up by Four and twenty Lords, of whom he wou'd chuse Twelve, and promis'd to stand to whatever shou'd be settled by these Commissioners. To give the greater Authority to this *Writing*, he order'd Prince *Edward* his Son to sign it with him, that they might be convinc'd of his good Intentions. They had been so often deceiv'd by the like Promises, that they cou'd hardly believe this to be more sincere. Without relying on the King's Protestations, the Barons summon'd all that ow'd them *Military-Service*, and at the Day appointed came to *Oxford*, well-attended and resolutely bent to compel the King to stand to his Word. The first thing they did was the electing of the Four and Twenty Commissioners, who were to draw the Articles of the intended Reformation. The King chose Twelve *, and the other Twelve were elected by the Barons,

The Barons form the Project of reforming the Government. Parliament adjourn'd to Oxford. The King agrees to the Reformation.

Four and twenty chosen to settle Matters.

* The Bishops of *London* and *Winchester*; *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*; *John* Earl of *Warren*; *Guido de Lusignan* and *William de Valence*, the King's Half-Brothers; *John* Earl of *Warwick*;

1258.

Barons *, who placed *Simon de Monfort* of *Leicester* President of this *Council*. The Election being over, the *Four and Twenty* drew up some Articles, to which the Parliament reserv'd to themselves a Power to add, from time to time, such others as shou'd be deem'd necessary for the *Good* of the *State*. They were in Substance as follows.

I. That the King shou'd confirm *the Great Charter* which he had sworn so many times to observe without any Effect.

II. That the Office of *Chief Justiciary* shou'd be given to a Person of fit Capacity and Integrity, that wou'd do Justice as well to the Poor as the Rich, without Distinction.

III. That the *Chancellor, Treasurer, Justices*, and other Officers and publick *Ministers* shou'd be chosen by the *Four and Twenty*,

IV. That the Custody of the King's Castles and of all strong-Holds shou'd be left to the Care of the *Four and Twenty*, who shou'd intrust them with such as were well-affected to the *State*.

V. That it shou'd be Death, for any Person of what Degree or Order soever, to oppose directly or indirectly what shou'd be enacted by *the Four and Twenty*.

VI. That the Parliament shou'd meet at least once every Year, to make such *Statutes* as shou'd be judg'd necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom *'.

It

John Mansel, Friar; *J. de Derlington*, Abbot of *Westminster*; *Henry de Wingham* Dean of *St. Martin's London*; the Twelfth is omitted, but suppos'd to be either *Peter of Savoy* or *James Audley*.

* The Bishop of *Worcester*; The Earls, *Simon* of *Leicester*, *Richard* of *Glocester*, *Humphry* of *Hereford*, *Roger* of *Norfolk* Earl-Marshal; The Lords, *Roger Mortimer*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Hugh Bigod*, *Richard de Gray*, *William Bardolf*, *Peter de Monfort*, and *Hugh de Espenser*. M. Paris.

* The *Annals of Burton*, where the Order is drawn up in Form, say, The *Four and Twenty* ordain'd, that there shou'd be three Parliaments in the Year; the first, eight Days after *Michaelmas*; the second, the Morrow after *Candlemass-day*; and the third, on the first of *June*. P. 415.

It is certain that twelve *Deputies* or *Representatives* of the *Commons* were present in this Parliament: But whether This was by *Permission*, or *Right*, I mean, whether This was a new Regulation, or whether the *Commons* had their *Representatives* in the former Parliaments, is what I dare not take upon me to determine, since the *English* are not agreed in this Point among themselves. However as in a Dispute of this Nature it is difficult to help leaning towards one Side, I shall, make no Scruple to own my self of their Opinion who believe that this is the first time that the *Representatives* of the *Commons* were admitted to sit in Parliament. And indeed, if the *Commons* had a Right to sit there at the time we are speaking of, it wou'd be a very strange thing, that they shou'd nominate but twelve *Representatives* for the whole Kingdom. And what is more, All the Historians agree that these *Twelve* were not *Commoners* [as now reputed] but all Barons stil'd *immediate Tenants* of the Crown*. Add to this, that it wou'd be very surprizing, if the *Commons* enjoy'd this *Privilege* before, that Historians shou'd never have distinguish'd them from the *Nobility*. And yet, among so many Writers, who from the *Conquest* to the End of the Reign of *Henry III*, have spoken of *Parliaments*, there is not so much as One which has distinguish'd the *Commons* as making

* In the same *Annals* is the Act for the *Election* of the *Twelve*, which was drawn up in *French* in this Form: " Be it remember'd, that the *Community* have chosen *Twelve Wisemen-Men*, who shall come to Parliaments, as also at other times, when there shall be need, and the King or his Council shall command or send to them to treat of the Business of the King and Realm; and the *Community* will hold for establish'd what these *Twelve* shall do; and this shall be done to spare the Cost and Charges of the *Community*."

The Names of the *Twelve* are enter'd in the said *Annals* thus:

" These are the *Twelve* who are chosen by the Barons to treat in the three Parliaments every Year with the King's Council, for the whole *Community* of the Land, upon the common Business, namely, The Bishop of *London*, The Earl of *Winchester*, The Earl of *Hereford*, *Philip Basset*, *John de Baliol*, *John de Verdun*, *John de Gray*, *Roger de Sumeri*, *Roger de Montalt*, *Hugh de Espenser*, *Thomas de Gresley*, and *Aegidius de Argentun*." *Ann. Bar.* p. 419. Now all these were Barons and *Tenants in Capite*.

1258.

making a distinct Body, or separate *House* from the Barons. In fine, it may be added, as a *Precedent* which by no means favours the Antiquity of the Right of the *Commons*, that in *France* it was not till the Reign of *Philip the Fair*, that the *Third Estate* was admitted to sit in the General Assembly of the *States*, as *Pasquier* assures us. However this Matter be, as it is from this Assembly and another which I shall mention presently, that some have dated the Original of the Privilege of the *Commons*, it was necessary to acquaint the Reader with it.

The Parliament having approv'd of the *Articles* drawn up by *the Four and Twenty*, the King saw himself oblig'd to give his *Assent* to them, and cause all necessary Orders for putting them in Execution to be dispatch'd. Prince *Edward* likewise solemnly swore that he wou'd observe them and cause them to be observ'd to the utmost of his Power. Thus *Henry*, for his too great Neglect of his Subjects, found himself at last forced to divide with them the Government of his Kingdom, or rather to give up the whole into their Hands. Perhaps he wou'd have avoided this Misfortune, had he been less obsequious to the Court of *Rome*, which certainly was the principal Cause of his being reduced to this Condition. But at that time, it was very difficult to keep in that Respect a just Medium. King *John* lost himself by too vigorously opposing the Pope, and *Henry* by making himself a Slave to him.

Opposition
to these
Articles.

The *Articles* agreed upon, which were call'd the *Statutes* or *Provisions* of *Oxford*, met at first with some Opposition. The Earl of *Warren* refus'd to sign them. Prince *Edward*, who had sworn to them against his Will, wanted to go from them. *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, openly protested, that they were of no Force, till the King his Father, who was then in *Germany*, had consented to them. This Protestation drew a very home Reply from the Earl of *Leicester*. Without regarding his Quality, the Earl roundly told him, that *if the King his Father refus'd to join with the Barons, in the Regulation just made, he shou'd not enjoy one Foot of Land in England*. But the greatest Opposition was from the *Foreigners*,
and

The *For-
eigner*sex-
pell'd the
Kingdom.

and especially the King's Half-Brothers and the Queen's Relations. Particularly *William*, Bishop elect of *Valence*, was chiefly concern'd in this Affair, because the whole Royal Authority, which they had taken care to reduce within narrow Bounds by these *Statutes*, was properly in his Hands. Accordingly he publickly declar'd, he wou'd not deliver up the Castles of which he had the Custody. But the Earl of *Leicester*, who was naturally of an impetuous Temper, immediately replied, that he shou'd part either with the Castles or his Head. This Threat having been back'd by the rest of the Barons, the *Poitevins* resolv'd to go and shut themselves up in *Winchester*, plainly seeing they were not able to stand against the Torrent. Their going off * was no sooner known, but the Barons mounted their Horses and pursued them, but there was no overtaking them. However, as at such a Juncture, it was a hard matter for *Foreigners*, so universally hated as they were, to procure a Protection powerful enough to screen them, they consented to depart the Kingdom, provided they might have a *Safe-Conduct*. This Condition being readily complied with, they were brought to *London*, till they cou'd be shipp'd off. 'Tis affirm'd, that during their stay in the City, they invited to an Entertainment several Lords, some of whom died presently after; the which made it suspected that they were poison'd. But, it may be, the Hatred which the *English* bore these *Foreigners*, was the chief Ground of this Suspicion. Be that as it will, a few Days after, they went and embark'd at *Dover* in order to return into their own Country. M. Paris.

The Barons, being thus rid of the *Foreigners*, agreed, before they broke up upon an Oath of *Association*, whereby they obliged themselves to stand by the *Provisions of Oxford* with their Lives and Fortunes **, If we may believe M. Paris.

* They stole away privately while the Barons were at Dinner, in order to take Refuge with their Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*. M Paris.

** You may see the Form of the *Association* in the *Annals of Burton*. p.413. and likewise of the Oath the *Four and Twenty* were to take, *ibid*. As also of the Oaths of the *Chief Justiciary* and *Chancellor*, *ibid*.

1258.

lieve an Historian who has given us the Particulars of this Affair, the *Four and Twenty* were not long before they abus'd their Power, by giving all the Places and Offices to their Relations and Friends. He accuses them also of holding frequent Parliaments, without the King's Consent, whom they look'd upon but as the mere Shadow of a Sovereign.

London
enters into
the Association.

The Foreigners
banish'd.

The Barons
Letter to
the Pope to
justify
what was
done.
Act. Pub.
I. p. 660.

In a Parliament assembled at *Winchester*, the Barons resolv'd to send *Deputies* to the City of *London*, to invite them to join in their *Association*. They were at no great Pains to get them to do this, the *Londoners* having still more reason to complain of the King than all the rest of the Kingdom. This Affair being ended, and the Parliament, judging it necessary to proceed in a legal Way against the *Foreigners* who had been expell'd the Kingdom, pass'd an *Act* for their perpetual Banishment. In the mean time, as *Athelmar*, Bishop of *Winchester* was in the Number of the Banished, there was a Necessity of making some Excuse to the Pope, since, for a long time, the Bishops were not subject to the *Civil Jurisdiction*. There was Occasion likewise to justify, to the Pope, the Conduct of the Parliament, as well with regard to the Affair of *Sicily*, as to the Alterations lately made in the Government of the Kingdom. It was resolv'd therefore, that the Barons shou'd write to the Pope, to inform him of what had pass'd. The Substance of their Letter was, that they had been prevented for several good Reasons from yielding to the Instances made them in his Name, on the score of the Conquest of *Sicily*. *First*, because the King had engag'd in that Undertaking, without consulting them, and without considering the State of the Kingdom, which was by no means able to bear the Expence of such an Expedition. *Secondly*, because the Conditions, on which the King had accepted the Grant of *Sicily*, for the Prince his Son, were too hard and impracticable. Nevertheless, that if the Pope wou'd mitigate them, they were ready to prosecute that Affair to the utmost of their Power. Then, they vindicated the *Oxford Provisions*, by alledging the King's Incapacity and his Easiness to give himself

himself up to the Guidance of such as had no manner of Concern for the Good of the Kingdom: They insisted chiefly upon this, making it appear by strong Reasons that it was not proper the Kingdom shou'd be govern'd by *Foreigners*. They mention'd the Bishop of *Winchester* in particular, as the principal Author of the Evils *England* labour'd under. They affirm'd, that this Prelate had been guilty of divers enormous Crimes, which had induced him to demand leave to depart the Kingdom, being very sensible that it wou'd not be possible for him to render a good Account of his Actions, more especially they accus'd him of having advis'd the King to break his Word and Oath, the which cou'd not but be construed as a settled Design to disturb the *Peace* of the Kingdom. In fine, they added, that they wou'd never suffer him to return again, and supposing they shou'd agree to it, the People were bent to oppose it. To give the greater weight to their Apology, they sent their Letter to the Pope by the Hands of some of their own Body, who were commission'd to display more fully the Outrages of the Bishop of *Winchester* and the rest of the Relations of the King and Queen *.

The Pope was not satisfied with these Reasons. He had a mind to continue to draw Money from the King, on the old Pretence of the Business of *Sicily*, and what the Barons had done laid an insuperable Obstacle in the way of his Designs. However, not to exasperate them, he delay'd sending an Answer, and contented himself with privately assuring the King of his Protection. But at the same time, as if *Henry* had been in a Condition to go on supplying him with Money, he press'd him to pay the Arrears due to the *Italian* Merchants, of which he pretended that the Interest alone amounted to a vast Sum. He was willing however to give him some short time, which was

The Pope continues to press the King on the Sicily Affair.

Gives him some time.

* To this Letter Eleven Great Men put their Seals, and witness'd it in the Name of the whole *Community*. Eight of them were of the Number of *the Four and Twenty*, and the other Three were *William de Forz* Earlof *Albemarle*, *Peter of Savoy* Earlof *Richmond*, and *James Audley*.

1258. no sooner expir'd, but the Bishop of *London* receiv'd an exprefs Order to excommunicate all the Debtors of the *Italian* Merchants of what Quality soever. But Times being alter'd, his Orders, which were no longer countenanced by the Government, remain'd unexecuted. For the same Reason the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was now look'd upon as a chimerical Project which only tended to the Ruin of *England*.

*The King
shews his
Resent-
ment for
the Earl of
Leicester.*

In the mean time, the unfortunate *Henry*, stript of all his Authority, saw himself constrain'd to assent to every Thing the Governours were pleas'd to prescribe him, and to sign all the Orders that were brought him for the causing the *Statutes*, which depriv'd him of all his *Prerogatives*, to be observ'd. Though the Earl of *Leicester* was his Brother-in law, yet of all the Barons he look'd upon him as his greatest Enemy, and as the chief Author of his Disgrace. The Constraint he was under, did not hinder him from letting the Earl himself know what he thought of him. One day as he was going to the Tower by Water, a sudden Storm [of Thunder and Lightning] having oblig'd him to land at the first *Stairs*, it happen'd to be *Durham-House*, where the Earl of *Leicester* then lay. He was receiv'd at his coming out of the Boat by the Earl himself, who, willing to hearten him after his Fright, told him, *He need not be afraid, for the Storm was over.* No, *Monfort*, replied the King with a severe Look, *by God's Head, the Storm is not yet over ; and I see none that I fear so much as I do thee.*

1260.
*The King
of the Ro-
mans de-
clares a-
gainst the
Oxford-
Provisions*

It was not without reason that the King stood in fear of the Earl of *Leicester*. This Earl, who was the Head of the Confederates, took with them all possible Measures to hinder him from throwing off the Yoke his Indiscretion had laid upon his Neck. The Resolution they had taken to hold fast their Authority, manifestly appear'd in their Answer to the King of the *Romans*. This Prince having communicated to them by Letter his Design of returning to *England*, to assist them in appeasing the Troubles of the Kingdom, receiv'd this mortifying Answer ; That they wou'd not suffer him to enter the Kingdom,

1160.

Kingdom, unless he wou'd swear to observe the *Oxford Provisions*. *Richard* receiv'd the Deputies which were sent on this Occasion, in a very haughty manner. He told them, that it was very strange to him, that the Barons shou'd take upon them to alter the Government in his Absence, and without his Knowledge, and protested that he wou'd not take the Oath, they wou'd extort from him, but however was resolv'd to return to *England*. This Answer being brought back to the Governours, they fitted out with all speed a Fleet and rais'd an Army, in order to dispute his Passage and Landing. But these Precautions were to no purpose. As this Prince was in no Condition to surmount so many Obstacles, and yet as he thought his Presence necessary in *England*, he promis'd to agree to what had been done. Upon this Condition, he was suffer'd to come over, and as soon as he was arriv'd at *Dover*, he took the Oath in the Presence of the King and a great Number of Barons who were come to meet him *.

but is constrain'd to swear to them.

Since the *Revolution* happen'd in *England*, those who held the Reins of the Government made it a Rule to keep Peace with the neighbouring Princes, lest a Foreign War shou'd destroy the Work they had so happily begun. They were apprehensive above all Things, that the King of *France* wou'd take Advantage of the ill State *England* was in, to push his Conquests in *Guienne*. The Fear of This made them resolve to conclude a firm and lasting Peace with *France*, by making him a Sacrifice of all the

The Barons make a disadvantageous Treaty with France.

* King *Henry* met him at *Canterbury*, and both Kings going into the *Chapter-house*, *Richard* Earl of *Glocester*, call'd upon the King of the *Romans*, by the Name of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, (without any Regard to his other Title) to take the Oath, which he did in these Words.

“ Here ye, all People, that I *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*, do here swear upon the Holy Gospels, that I will be faithful and diligent, together with you the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of *England*, hitherto too much out of Order by the Counsel of Evil Men; and I will be your effectual Help er to expel all Rebels and Disturbers of this Kingdom, and will observe this Oath inviolably, under Pain of losing all the Lands I hold in *England*. M. Paris.

1269.

Act. Pub.
I. p. 675.

Claims which the King had to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. Besides they were in hopes that by this Means, they shou'd be sure of *Lewis's* Assistance, seeing it wou'd be his Interest to support the Form of Government lately establish'd. Indeed the Performance of the Treaty which they propos'd to make with him, depended in some Measure on the Continuance of the present Establishment. Pursuant to this Design, the Earl of *Leicester* took upon him to go and propose the Matter at *Paris*. The *French* saw what the *English* offer'd was greatly to their Advantage. And therefore, being very ready to look upon the Earl of *Leicester* as sufficiently authoriz'd, though they were not ignorant of the Posture of Affairs in *England*, they concluded a Treaty with him, which *Henry* was forced to sign. He was even persuaded to go and meet *Lewis* at *Abbeville*, where the *States* of *France* were assembled, and to quit in their Presence, all his Pretensions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. *Lewis* in Return gave up the *Limesin*, and *Perigord*, with all that *France* possess'd beyond the *Garonne*, on Condition he wou'd do him Homage, and take his Seat among the *Peers* of the Realm, as Duke of *Guienne*. Thus it was that by a Treaty, *France* acquir'd to these two Provinces a Right which *she* had not before, but by Force of Arms. But the Kings of *England*, Successors to *Henry III.* did not think themselves bound by a Treaty made at such a Juncture.

The 24 for-
bid sending
to Foreign-
ers the In-
comes of
their Bene-
fices.

Whilst the King was in *France*, the *Four and Twenty*, who govern'd *England*, thought it Time to reform a very great Grievance, which had been introduced by the King's excessive Complaisance for the Court of *Rome*. This was the prodigious Number of *Italian Ecclesiasticks* who were in Possession of all the best Preferments in the Kingdom. These Men, without ever residing on their *Benefices*, farm'd them out to private Persons or *Religious Houses*, who sent the Revenues to them into *Italy*. By this Means, the Want of Money, which People long since complain'd of, daily increas'd. As a Remedy to this Evil, the Governours issued out a Proclamation enjoining all that farm'd the *Benefices* of *Foreigners* to pay the Revenues
into

into the Hands of certain Persons who were appointed to receive them, on Pain to the Offenders, of seeing their Houses raz'd to the Ground. By this Decree, *England* was freed for a Time from these *Italian Leaches*, who suck'd the best Blood of the Inhabitants. 1260.

Although the Barons had hitherto appear'd to hold very well together, a secret Disgust was forming in the Minds of some, caus'd by the too great Authority which the Earl of *Leicester* assum'd. Whether the Earl thought himself more capable, and more zealous than his Companions, or whether, as his Enemies charged him, his Ambition carried him to pave himself a Way to the Supreme Power, it is certain he usurp'd all the Authority committed to the *Four and Twenty*. He cou'd not continue to act Thus, without stirring up the Jealousy of his Collegues, and particularly of the Earl of *Glocester*, who tried by Degrees to form a Party against him. He began at first with privately blaming his Conduct, and spreading a Report that he was in League with Prince *Edward* to place him on the Throne in his Father's Life-Time. This pretended Project having reach'd the King's Ears, who was then at *St. Omers*, he was so terrified at it, that he cou'd not think of returning to *England* for fear of being clapt up in Prison, or perhaps of something worse. He had been told that the Prince his Son had form'd the Design of taking the Government into his Hands, and obstructing his Return, or, in Case that cou'd not be done, to imprison him for Life. But *Edward* found means to clear himself so fully and in such submissive Terms, that he entirely wiped out all Suspicion in the King his Father. He even offer'd to submit to the Judgment of the King of the *Romans* his Uncle, being unwilling to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Barons of the Realm, whom he did not look upon as his *Peers*. But he had no farther Occasion to prove his Innocence. *Henry*, at his Return, seem'd perfectly well satisfied of it. The Earl of *Glocester* finding these indirect Ways did him more Hurt than Good, directly attack'd the Earl of *Leicester*, accusing him of many Misdemeanours

The Earl of Glocester jealous of the Earl of Leicester.
M. West.
P. 54.

He raises a false Report of Prince Edward;

who clears himself.

Glocester directly accuses Leicester;

1260.

*but drops
his Accu-
sation.*

*The Breach
made up
by the King
of the Ro-
mans, who
goes for
Germany,
and re-
turns a-
gain.*

*The King
and Queen
of Scot-
land and
Earl of
Bretaign
arrive.*

*Henry re-
calls the
Bishop of
Winchest-
er, who
dies on the
Road.*

nours committed as well in *Guienne* as in *England*. Upon this Foundation, he demanded that a Day shou'd be fix'd to hear the Accusation he had to produce against him. However, on the Day appointed, seeing the Earl of *Leicester* boldly appear'd to make his Defence, he was afraid to proceed, either for want of Evidence, or least his Adversary's Party shou'd be too strong. Accordingly pretending some of his Witnesses were absent, he desir'd the Affair might be further adjourn'd. This Quarrel might have been attended with fatal Consequences, had not the King of the *Romans* interpos'd to put an End to it, and appease the Prince his Nephew, who was exceedingly incens'd against the Earl of *Glocester*. He succeeded at length to the great Satisfaction of the *English*, who were apprehensive that a *Civil War* was going to disturb the Calm they began to enjoy. As soon as this Business was over, *Richard* set out for *Germany*, where he had some Hopes of being own'd for Emperor by all the Princes of the Empire. But having soon perceiv'd, that it was not in his Power to dispel the *Factions* which the *Germans* were divided into, he dropp'd this Project, and return'd back to *England*. Here he found the King and Queen of *Scotland*, who were come to pay the King a Visit. A few Days after arriv'd also *John de Dreuse* Duke of *Bretaign*, in order to espouse *Beatrice* the King's second Daughter, so that the Court was very numerous. Although the Governours had no great Regard for the King's Person, they however did Honour to his Royalty, by receiving these illustrious Guests in a very magnificent Manner. But this was with little Satisfaction to *Henry*, who not having the Management of his Revenues, cou'd not value himself upon the good Reception which his Son-in-law met with at his own Court.

Although *Henry* was a Prince of no very elevated *Geni-
us*, he cou'd not however help being sensible of the Mor-
tifications he daily receiv'd. He even sought Means to
free himself from the Yoke laid on him : But he had No-
Body about him, whom he cou'd advise with. In this
Perplexity he privately invited *Arhelmar* his Brother, Bi-
shop

shop of *Winchester*, who was gone to *Rome* *, to return to *England*. He was in Hopes that his *Character* and the Pope's Protection wou'd screen him from the Persecutions of the Barons. The Bishop was already on the Road for *England*, where he wou'd doubtless have caus'd great Disturbances, had not Death seiz'd him at *Paris*. The Barons were overjoy'd at the News, because by that Means they saw themselves freed from no little Uneasiness. And indeed, they cou'd not have denied him Entrance into the Kingdom, as they were determin'd to do, without breaking entirely with the Pope.

This Accident hinder'd not the King from pursuing his Design of throwing off the Yoke of the Barons. The unexpected Breach between the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, which was only made up outwardly, putting him in Hopes of succeeding in his Project, he demanded of the Pope to *absolve* him from the Oath he had taken concerning the *Oxford-Provisions*. His Holiness readily granted him this Favour, it being no less his own than the King's Interest to get an Establishment alter'd which was so prejudicial to him. But *Alexander* dying before the *Dispensation* cou'd be seal'd, he was forced to stay till the *Holy See* was fill'd again. *Urban IV.* who was promoted to the *Papal Throne*, being as compliant as his Predecessor, *Henry* was not long before he pull'd off the Mask. The Parliament being assembled at *London*, he suddenly repair'd thither without having acquainted any Person with it. Immediately he declar'd, that before he was made to sign the *Oxford-Provisions*, they had oblig'd themselves to pay his Debts, and increase his Revenue, and since neither of these Articles had been perform'd, he did not look upon himself as bound to keep his Word. He added that his Intention was no longer to make use of the *Counsellors* which were impos'd upon him, and who treated him rather like a Slave than a King. After he had thus declar'd his

The Pope absolves the King from his Oath concerning the Oxford-Provisions.
M. West.
Act. Pub.
I. T. 722.

Urban IV. Pope. p. 741.

1261.

The King declares to the Parliament that he will no longer observe the Oxford-Provisions p. 746.
Paris.

* To get his Election to *Winchester* confirm'd, which was done, and also a Letter was sent by the Pope to the King and Barons to intercede for his Re-admission; but the Answer, printed in Dr. Brady against Mr. Petyt, was a flat Denial.

1261.
He retires
to the
Tower,
and turns
out all the
Officers
chosen by
the 24.

his Mind, in a few Words, he retir'd to the *Tower*, the Governour whereof he gain'd to his Side, and seiz'd upon all the Money he found there. This first Step being made, he turn'd out by *Proclamation* all the Officers and Magistrates chosen by the *Four and Twenty*, and nominated others in their Room. In fine he shew'd by his whole Conduct that he was resolv'd to reign in the same independent Manner, which he had done before the Parliament of *Oxford*.

Edward
returns
from Paris.

Prince *Edward*, who was then at *Paris* *, having Notice of what had pass'd in *England*, return'd thither with all Speed, to endeavour to apply some Remedy to the Evils, which in all Appearance, wou'd quickly break out. He was well enough acquainted with the King his Father's Temper, to have Reason to fear, that he had taken this Step, without having concerted proper Measures; and his Fears in this Respect were not without Grounds. The Barons waited his Return with Impatience, as they were, assur'd that having a greater Insight into Things than the King, he wou'd apply himself warmly to prevent the Calamities impendent on the Kingdom. To prepare the Way for him, they had presented an *Address* to the King, wherein they desir'd him to observe his Oath, offering on their Part, to give up such Articles as shou'd be found to bear too hard upon him, in the *Oxford-Provisions*. *Henry*, pretending nothing cou'd be done till his Son's Arrival, had return'd no Answer to this Proposal, which by no Means squar'd with his Projects. He was no less impatient than the Barons, to see the Prince, in hopes that he wou'd strengthen his Party. But he was extremely surpriz'd, when he found that the Prince at his Return, openly blam'd him for having broke his Word. He was like one Thunder-struck at this, which was follow'd by a still more fatal Blow. The Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, upon whose Dissention he had relied, were reconciled in good earnest, in order to divert the common Ruin, and

The Barons
address the
King, who
returns no
Answer.

Edward
blames his
Father.

The Earls
of Glocest-
er and Lei-
cester re-
concile, and
threaten
the King.

* He was gone thither in Company with the Earl of *Bretaign*'s Son, and the two Sons of the Earl of *Leicester* (whom the King had knighted) to be present at a Great *Tournament*. *T. Warton.*

and swore once more to the *Oxford-Provisions*. The Barons Party being considerably strengthened by this Union, they sent the King word, that if he wou'd not of his own accord remove from about his Person all *Evil Counsellors*, they wou'd find Means to make him to do it by Force. This weak Prince, who had rashly engag'd in a Business, in which he saw he cou'd not come off honourably, chose to return them no Answer. In the mean time he kept himself shut up in the *Tower*, from whence he durst not stir, for fear of being delivered into their Hands.

1261.

In this ill Posture of Affairs, he saw no other Course to take, but to treat of an Accommodation with the Barons. He perceiv'd that his Condition wou'd be but worse, if he persisted in vain to prosecute his Design. Matters even seem'd to be in a good way by the *Concessions* of Both Parties. But this Prospect lasted not long. Henry thinking to make his Cause better, by means of the Pope's Authority, gave Occasion, to make the Breach wider, by unadvisedly shewing the *Bull* whereby he was absolv'd from his Oath. The Discovery of this *Secret*, which he ought to have kept conceal'd, at such a Juncture, did him an irreparable Damage.; The Barons, who till then were in hopes they shou'd be able to bring him to equitable Terms, resolv'd to keep no longer any Measures. They plainly saw they cou'd have no Dependence upon an Accommodation, to which the most solemn Oaths cou'd give no manner of Force. Pursuant to this Resolution, they form'd the Design of surprizing the King in *Winchester*, whither he was gone upon the Hopes, that the Negotiation on foot wou'd have a good Issue. But Henry having receiv'd timely Notice, retir'd again to the *Tower*. As soon as he found he was safe, his first Care was to send into all the *Counties*, orders to turn out the *Sheriffs* appointed by the *Four and Twenty*; the which produced a general Confusion over the whole Kingdom. Some were willing to obey the *Sheriffs* nominated by the King, whilst others refus'd to acknowledge them *. In

An Accommodation set on Foot.

The King breaks it off by his Indiscretion.

They try to surprise him.

* The *Writs* or *Letters* issu'd out by the King on this Occasion are
V o l. III. M m m upon

1261.
The Cin-
que-Ports
declare a-
gainst the
King.

In the mean time, the Barons, continuing to take Measures to oppose the King's Designs, had prevail'd with the Governours of the *Cinque-Ports*, to fit out a Fleet to guard the Coasts, lest he shou'd receive any Succours from some *Foreign Prince*. The *Cinque-Ports* were oblig'd by their *Charter* to equip fifty Men of War whenever the King's *Service* requir'd it. Upon this Occasion, the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports*, interpreting the King's *Service* by *That* of the Kingdom, pretended to serve the King by making use of their Forces against him. This Maxim will not appear very strange, when 'tis consider'd, that in *England* the King and *State* have all along been look'd upon as making but *One* and *the same* Body. Upon this Foundation 'tis affirm'd, that when the King comes to separate his Interests from those of the *Publick*, he loses his *Prerogatives*, which are rather the *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*, than of the *Person* of the Sovereign.

1262.
The King
promises to
confirm
the Ox-
ford-Pro-
visions.

Every thing manifestly tended to a *Civil War*. But the Fear that the Adherents to both Parties were in of making their Condition worse, suspended the Effects of the Animosity which they mutually bore one another. Whilst the King and the Barons were equally desirous of avoiding the Blame of having begun the War, the King of the *Romans* took the Advantage of this Disposition, in order to try to procure a lasting Peace. His Mediation being accepted, he found means to get the King his Brother to promise that he wou'd confirm the *Oxford-Provisions*, and the Barons to yield up such Articles as were most displeasing to the King. In all appearance the *Four and Twenty*, were then depriv'd of their Authority, which is the more likely because, from the Beginning of the Troubles, it was

upon *Record*, and printed in Dr. *Brady's Appendix*, N. 205. The Substance of them was;

That the Barons not having perform'd their Part of the *Oxford-Provisions*, he had got himself absolv'd by the Pope from his Oath to observe them. That he was ready to do Justice to all Men in his *Courts* and to keep the Articles of the *Great Charter* and *Charter of Forests*; which the *Sheriffs* were order'd to proclaim in all Places.
Or.

was not generally acknowledg'd. The Earl of *Leicester* refus'd to consent to this Accommodation, and chose to retire into *France*. He said that he durst not rely on the word of a Prince, who made no scruple to break his Oath, when he found it for his Interest. Among the Barons who sign'd this Agreement, there were several that were no less dissatisfied with it. But as the *Majority* had given their Consent, they chose rather to join with them than give a Handle to be accus'd of being the sole Cause of the Troubles. By this Treaty, *England* seem'd to be restor'd to its former Tranquillity. But the Fire which lay conceal'd under the Cinders, was not long before it kindled afresh and burst out into new Flames.

During this Calm which *Henry* flatter'd himself wou'd be of long continuance, the Affairs of *Guienne* oblig'd him to go over to *Bordeaux*, where falling ill of a *Quartan Ague*, he stay'd longer than he design'd. *Richard* Earl of *Glocester* dying in the mean while, *Gilbert* his Son immediately repair'd to *Guienne*, to be invested with the Inheritance of the Earl his Father. *Henry* having no kindness for that Lord, was sollicitous a good while before he wou'd do him that Justice. And it was not till after he receiv'd a considerable Present, that he sent him away satisfied.

The King's Absence furnish'd *Leicester's* Friends with an Opportunity to renew their Cabals, and unite the Party which the late Treaty had divided. They compass'd their Ends the more easily as the King gave the Barons a plausible Pretence to complain, by delaying to confirm the *Oxford Provisions*. As soon as the Earl of *Leicester* was inform'd that the Party began to hold up their Heads, he return'd forthwith into *England* where his Presence entirely restored the Courage of those who, out of Fear or weakness had sign'd the Agreement. Upon News of this, the King came over in great Haste; but it was now too late. The Barons had resolv'd to put themselves in a Condition not to fear any thing from his Inconstancy. Immediately after his Return, they presented an Address to him, wherein they call'd upon him to confirm the *Statutes*.

1262.-
Leicester
retires into
France.

Henry
passes over
into *Gui-*
enne.
Glocester
dies, and is
succeeded
by his Son.

The Party
of the Ba-
rons unite.

Leicester
returns,

and the
King like-
wise.

1263.
The Ba-
rons pre-
sent an ad-
dress.

1263.

*The King
threatens
them.*

*He gains
his Son
Edward
and the
King of
the Ro-
mans.*

*Edward
takes
10000l.
from the
Templars
by Force.*

*Urban
threatens
Henry
to give
Sicily to
another.
A & Pub.
l.p. 769.*

tutes of Oxford, pursuant to his Agreement, threatening, in case of Refusal, to take such Measures as wou'd not be at all pleasing to him. They were in hopes that Fear wou'd oblige him to grant their Demand ; and it was a great Surprise to them to find themselves call'd Rebels and threatened with the severest Punishments. It will doubtless seem strange, that the King, in the State he was in, shou'd behave thus haughtily. But he had a private Reason for it, unknown to the Barons. During his Voyage to *Guienne*, he had gain'd the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*. The Last had already rais'd some Foreign Troops, under Pretence of employing them against the *Welsh* ; but indeed, with design to use them against the Barons. The War however did not break out so soon. There were still some Negotiations, but which serv'd only to render the Breach the wider, and to give the Barons time to prepare themselves. During this Interval, *Edward* went and carried the War into *Wales* ; where however he did nothing considerable, for want of Money to pay his Troops. In the Situation the Prince was in, not being able to resolve to disband his Army, and yet having not wherewithal to satisfy the Soldiers, he thought he might take some extraordinary Method to get the Money, he stood so much in Need of. On a sudden he came to *London*, and without having communicated his Design to any Body, he led himself a Company of armed Men to *the new Temple*, and took out of the Treasury of the *Templars* ten thousand pounds *Sterling*, which the Citizens had deposited there. This violent Action rais'd loud Murmurs among the Parties concern'd : but their Complaints were to no Purpose. The Prince had already caus'd the Money to be convey'd to *Windsor-Castle*, from whence it wou'd be too difficult a Matter to take it by Force.

Whilst these things were transacting in *England*, *Urban IV.* took with regard to *Sicily* new Measures, with which he never minded to acquaint *Henry*. The Revolution which had happen'd in *England*, causing him to consider that Kingdom as a Fund already exhausted, he had

turn'd

turn'd to *France*, and was enter'd into a Negotiation with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, in order to place that Prince on the Throne of *Sicily*. To prepare *Henry* for this Change, he wrote him a long Letter, wherein, after having upbraided him with all that *the Holy See* had done for him, he complain'd of his not having perform'd what he had promis'd. In fine, he gave him to understand, he shou'd be forced to seek, in another Prince, for speedier and more effectual Succours.

1263.

In the mean time the Negotiation between the King and Barons was still kept on Foot : But it went on very slowly, both Parties having no other Design but reciprocally to lay upon one another the Blame of the Rupture. At length the Earl of *Leicester*, fearing that all these Delays wou'd tend only to corrupt his Adherents, conven'd an Assembly of the Barons, wherein it was unanimously resolv'd to maintain the *Oxford-Provisions* by Force of Arms. This Resolution being taken, they chose the Earl of *Leicester* for General, and each went and drew together the Troops which had been already prepar'd beforehand, in the Uncertainty every one was in, as to the success of the Negotiation. The *Foreigners*, dispers'd about the Kingdom, were the first that felt the fatal Effects of this Rupture. The People were so exasperated against them, that, without distinguishing the *Innocent* from the *Guilty*, they persecuted all alike that cou'd not speak good *English*, that alone being sufficient to render them odious. On the other hand, the Earl of *Leicester* plunder'd without Mercy the Estates of the King's Favorites and Counsellors, and publicly declar'd that he wou'd hearken to no Proposals of Peace, till they were all entirely destroy'd *. As the King had no Army with which he cou'd make head against the Barons, he still kept himself shut up in the *Tower of London*, whilst the Barons became Masters of *Glocester*, *Hereford*, *Bridgnorth*, *Worcester* and other Places near the *Severn*.

Beginning
of the Ba-
rons Wars.Leicester
chosen
General.Foreigners
ill treated.

* The Storm fell most upon *John Mansel* and *Robert Waleran*, who were thought to be the King's chief Advisers, not to come to an Agreement. And likewise on *Simon de Walton*, Bishop of *Norwich*, who with *Mansel* had publish'd the Pope's Bull to absolve *Henry* from his Oath to the *Oxford-Provisions*. A. S. A.

1263.
London
declares
for the Ba-
rons.

*The Barons
present an
Address
to the
King.*

Henry a-
grees to a
Treaty.

*Articles
of the
Treaty.
M. West.
W. Rish.*

vern. These Conquests were follow'd with the Declaration of the City of *London* in their Favour. The *Londoners* eagerly embracing the Opportunity of being reveng'd of the King, sent him word, that they had resolv'd to stand by the *Oxford-Provisions*, and to shut their Gates against Foreigners, in case he shou'd think of bringing any into the City.

Altho' these happy Beginnings gave the Barons great Reason to hope well of their Enterprize, they were of Opinion, that to gain the People still more to their Side, it was necessary to make appear, that they had taken up Arms with Regret, and were ready to lay them down with Joy. With this View, they presented to the King a *Petition* drawn up in very respectful Terms, wherein they offer'd to consent that a free Parliament shou'd review the *Oxford-Provisions*, and annul such Articles as were found too prejudicial to the Royal Authority. But at the same time, they demanded, that the King shou'd confirm the rest, and that the *State* shou'd be govern'd by the Natives of the Kingdom, as was practis'd in all other Countries. This *Petition* had no manner of Effect upon the King, who, though block'd up as it were in the *Tower*, expected every moment that the Prince his Son wou'd come and relieve him. This was what the Barons fear'd, and therefore to prevent the Designs of *Edward*, they had posted themselves at *Thistleworth*, through which place he must necessarily pass in order to go and succour the King. This Precaution of the Barons caus'd the King to alter his Resolutions. As he was almost out of hopes of being reliev'd, he found himself oblig'd to send them word, that he wou'd confirm the *Provisions* of *Oxford*. This was all the Barons wanted; so that it was no hard Matter to agree upon a Treaty which contain'd four main Articles, namely, I. That the Castles and Strong-Holds shou'd be put into the Hands of the Barons. II. That the *Provisions* of *Oxford* shou'd be inviolably observ'd. III. That all Foreigners except such as shou'd be allow'd of by the unanimous Consent of the Barons, shou'd be banish'd the Realm. IV. That the Administration of Affairs

Affairs shou'd be committed to the King's natural Subjects, approv'd of by the Barons.

1263.

This Agreement wou'd have restor'd Peace to the Kingdom, had the King consented to it, with Design to perform it. But as his sole View had been to free himself from the troublesome State he was in, it was not long before he broke it. The Insolence of some of the Citizens of *London* did not a little contribute to his taking this Resolution. One day as the Queen was going by Water to *Windsor*, the *Mob*, just as she was about to shoot the Bridge, houted at her in a manner very mortifying for a Queen. They not only set upon her by foul Reproaches, but some were so brutish as to cast Dirt and Stones at her *. The King was extremely incens'd at this Insult, and it serv'd to confirm him in the Resolution he had already taken, of making a vigorous Effort for the Recovery of his Authority. He began therefore to store with Arms and Provisions the Castles that were still in his Power, and by that Proceeding, he let the Barons plainly see that it was their Business to be upon their Guard.

The Queen insulted by the Mob.
M. West.

Henry resolves to exert himself.

Matters standing thus, it was hard to say whether the Kingdom was at Peace or at War. Though Hostilities were not yet begun, the Distrust on both Sides was so great, that they look'd upon one another as real Enemies, each Party being ready to take what Advantages shou'd offer. During this State of uncertainty, Prince *Edward* thought it necessary to lay in Provisions in *Bristol-Castle*, of which the King his Father had entrusted him with the Custody. To that End, he came to *Bristol* and wou'd have oblig'd the Citizens to find him what Provisions he wanted. In the Temper People were in at that time, this Demand, made it may be a little too haughtily, rais'd a Sedition among the Townsmen, which forc'd the Prince to retire hastily into the Castle. He was no sooner there, but the Inhabitants resolv'd to besiege him, or at least, to keep him so

Prince Edward block'd up in Bristol-Castle by the Citizens.

* *Matthew of Westminster* says, she was very much against the King's signing the late Treaty. This Insult was the Cause of the loss of the Battle of *Lewis* as will be seen hereafter.

1263.

*He gets off
by a De-
vice,*

*and shuts
himself up
in Wind-
sor:*

*Is seiz'd at
a Confe-
rence, and
forced to
deliver up
the Castle.*

so closely block'd up that he shou'd not be able to escape, well-knowing that for want of Necessaries he cou'd not hold out long. This Resolution threw *Edward* into a very great Streight. He got out of it however by a De-vice, which indeed freed him from the present Danger, but soon brought him into another, from whence he cou'd not so luckily disengage himself. He sent to desire the Bishop of *Worcester* to come to him, and gave him to understand, that he intended to adhere to the Barons Side: but desir'd first to talk with the King his Father, to try to prevail with him to give them entire Satisfaction: That not being able to perform his Intent, by Reason of his being thus block'd up, he intreated him to become *Security* for him, and to accompany him to *London*, to be a Witness of his Conduct. The Bishop being perswaded of the Prince's Sincerity, told the Citizens of *Bristol*, that it wou'd be for the Good of the *common Cause* to let *Edward* go, to which they consented, and the Blockade was rais'd. Accordingly the Prince set out, in Company with the Bishop, who did not at all question but that his Journey wou'd have a good Effect. But when they were come near *Windsor*, *Edward* clapping Spurs to his Horse, rid away from the Bishop without taking leave of him, and went and shut himself up in the Castle. However this Artifice did not turn so much to the Prince's Advantage as he expected. The Bishop, nettled at being thus impos'd upon, went and carried his Complaints to the Barons, who resolv'd forthwith to go and lay Siege to *Windsor*. This Castle was so ill provided with every Thing necessary for a good Defence, that *Edward* thought it not in his Power to stand a Siege. But on the other hand, he cou'd not resolve to give it up. As he depended very much upon his Address, he imagin'd that it wou'd not be impossible for him to amuse the Barons by a Negotiation which wou'd leave him in Possession of the Castle upon certain Terms, the Performance whereof wou'd be in his Power. With this View, he went himself to the Earl of *Leicester*, who was advancing towards *Windsor*. He met the General at *Kingston upon Thames*, where he held a Conference with him.

him. But just as he was preparing to return, not having been able to agree upon Terms, his Person was seiz'd upon *, and by that Means he was forced to accept of what Conditions they thought fit to impose on him. He was requir'd to surrender the Castle of *Windsor* to the Barons, and to order the Garrison, which consisted wholly of Foreign Troops, to depart the Kingdom.

1263.

It seem'd as if the War was going to break out with greater Fury than ever, so much did the two Parties appear exasperated against one another. Nevertheless, as the King was in no great Readiness, and as it was the Barons Interest to let him begin the first Hostilities, in order to bring over the People to their Side, some Persons of a peaceable Disposition, took the Opportunity and procured a Truce, which was followed by a Peace on the same Conditions with the former. But this Treaty restor'd not Tranquillity to the Kingdom. As the King was forced to it, he soon broke it by endeavouring to surprize *Dover-Castle*, then in the Hands of the Barons. This Attempt having oblig'd both Parties to take Arms again, every one tried to strengthen his Party by seizing several Places. The *Londoners*, tho' inclin'd to the Barons, were however oblig'd to keep a Sort of Neutrality, because they had already experienced how much it was in the Power of the Garrison of the *Tower*, which was all along in the King's Hands, to annoy them. Besides *Henry* had still in the City a good Number of Adherents, which were a Check upon the opposite Party. In the mean time, the Earl of *Leicester*, considering of what Importance it wou'd be to him to have the *Metropolis* on his Side, march'd towards it thro' the County of *Surry* situated Southward of the *Thames*, in hopes that his Friends wou'd be able to open to him the Gates of the Bridge. But the King having had Notice of his Design, left the *Tower* and went and encamp'd with his Troops near *Southwark*, resolutely bent to dispute the Passage with the Enemy. The Earl of *Leicester*, who rely'd more on the Assistance of the Citizens than on his own Forces, vigorously attack'd the King's Troops,

Truce between the King and Barons.

The King begins Hostilities.

The Earl of Leicester wants to be Master of London.

Skirmish in Southwark.

* By the Advice of the Bishop of *Worcester*. M. West.

1263. in Expectation that the *Londoners* wou'd favour his Passage. During the Fight, some Citizens of the King's Party, perceiving that the City was in Motion to assist the Earl, lock'd up the Bridge-Gate, and threw the Keys into the River *. This Contrivance had like to have prov'd fatal to the Earl of *Leicester*, who was for some Time very hard put to it, having brought with him but few Soldiers, for fear his Design shou'd be discover'd. But at length the Gates being broke open, and the Citizens sallying out in Crouds to succour the Barons Troops, the King was fain to retire, and the Earl enter'd the City.

The Earl enters the City.

1264.
The King and Barons refer their Differences to the King of France.

Lewis's Sentence. A& Pub. l. p. 776.

The Advantage, the Barons had gain'd, was attended with the usual Effect, that is, the King made them Proposals of an Accommodation. But as all the Treaties, which had been concluded hitherto, were to no Purpose, because the King complain'd of being forced to accept of too rigorous Terms, which the Barons wou'd never own, it was agreed on both Sides, to refer all their Differences to the Arbitration of the King of *France*. *Lewis* having accepted the Mediation, *Henry* attended by Prince *Edward* went to him at *Amiens*, where the *States General* were assembled. The Sentence, *Lewis* pronounced upon these Differences, was favourable to *Henry*. He declared that the *Provisions of Oxford* shou'd be null and void; that the King shou'd be restor'd to his antient Power; that he shou'd have Liberty to nominate himself all the *Great Officers* of the Crown; that *Foreigners* shou'd be as capable of Offices and Dignities as the *English* themselves. But he added one *Clause* which destroy'd the whole, by declaring *that it was not his Intent to abrogate the Privileges granted to the English by their Kings before the Parliament of Oxford (a*.)* The Barons look'd

* The chief Contriver of this Design was one *John Gisors* a Norman by Birth. *M. West.*

(a) *Nolumus autem, nec intendimus derogare per presentem ordinationem in aliquo Regis Privilegiis, Chartis, Libertatibus, Statutis, & laudabilibus consuetudinibus Regni Anglia, quæ erant ante tempus Provisionum ipsarum.* * This Award (which you may see at large in

look'd upon this *Clause* as a manifest Contradiction to the rest, because they pretended that the *Provisions of Oxford* were enacted only to corroborate their Privileges. This furnish'd them with a Pretence not to stand to the *Arbitration*, and gave them a Handle to renew the War.

1264.
*rejected by
the Barons.*

The Account of what pass'd between the two Parties, till the famous Battle of *Lewes*, is clogg'd with so many confus'd Circumstances for such as know not the Situation of the Places where the War was wag'd, that it cannot but be very dull and tedious. It will be better to hasten to that remarkable Event which put an End to the Quarrel in Favour of the Barons. I shall only observe, that during the Time between the renewing of the War and that Battle, *Henry* gain'd several Advantages over the Barons; and also by Means of the Prince his Son, and 'of the King of the *Romans*, got over to his Side many of them, who considerably strengthen'd his Party. Moreover he became Master of *Oxford*, from whence he expell'd the *Scholars*, because they had shewn too much Partiality for the Barons. The Town of *Northampton* was taken by Storm by the King's Troops, where fifteen Barons and sixty Knights were made Prisoners *. The King was like to have hang'd them all; but the Advice of his Generals and Fear of Reprisals, diverted him from carrying Things to that Extremity. The taking of *Northampton* was follow'd by That of *Nottingham*. Then the King march'd into *Kent*, where he constrain'd the Barons to raise the Siege of *Rocheſter* and retire to *London*.

*The King
gain several
Advantages.*

in *Tyrrel's Appendix* N. 7.) bears Date *Feb. 3. 1263*, in *Father Dacherie's Spicilegium*, because the *French* began not their Year till our *Lady-day*, whereas according to the Accounts of all our former Historians, the Year began on *Christmas-day*, and so the Sentence is dated, as here in *Rapin*, in 1264

* Besides *Peter Monfort* the Earl's Cousin, and also *Simon Monfort* his second Son, whose Horse, as he was riding too near the Breach, started at something, and ran headlong through the Ruins of the Wall down into the Ditch, whence the Rider narrowly escap'd breaking his Neck, but was taken up by the King's Soldiers.
T. Wikes.

1264.
He ap-
proaches
London;

The King's Mind was equally liable to the Impressions of Presumption and Fear, according to the Posture his Affairs were in. Flush'd with the Success his Arms had hitherto been crown'd with, he resolv'd to march directly to *London*. He did not question but that the City, dispirited at the Advantages he had lately gain'd, wou'd declare in his Favour. Perhaps his Hopes wou'd not have been ill-grounded, if since his sitting on the Throne, he had treated the Citizens of his Metropolis more civilly. But the Remembrance of the Ill-Usage they had receiv'd at his Hands, prevented them from exposing themselves to the Like again. The Earl of *Leicester* having taken Occasion from the King's Approach to exasperate them against him, managed it so dextrously, that he brought them to a Resolution of going out of the City in order to give him Battle. *Henry* was surpriz'd at this, and being unwilling to hazard a Battle with them just at their own Gates, march'd further off, and went and encamp'd at *Lewes* in the County of *Sussex*.

retires to
Lewes.

The Earl
of Leicester
follows
him, and
presents a
Petition,

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Leicester*, with the confederate Barons, having reinforced their Army with a strong Body of *Londoners*, marched out of the City in pursuit of the King, with Design to end the Quarrel by one decisive Battle. Pursuant to this Resolution, they advanced towards *Lewes*, and encamp'd about six Miles from the King's Army. This they did to try whether there might be still any Means left to restore Peace to the Kingdom. It may be, they really wish'd it, or else it was only to clear themselves from the Blame of what shou'd follow in Case the King refus'd to comply with reasonable Terms. Before they approached any nearer, they sent the King Word *, *that* they had taken Arms not to withdraw themselves from their Allegiance to him, but purely to reform what was amiss in the Government; *that* they humbly besought him to join with them in that Work, protesting that he shou'd find them as faithful as Those who, under

* In a very respectful Letter, seal'd by *Leicester* and *Glocester* at the Request of the Rest. *M. West*.

under Colour of serving him, fought only his Ruin, by endeavouring to set him against his most dutiful Subjects, by their infamous Calumnies. How respectful soever this *Petition* might be, it touch'd Those about the King too much to the Quick to be receiv'd with Moderation. The King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward* were so offended at it, that they answer'd it with the *Lie*, *Defiance*, and *Threats*, and prevail'd with the King to send much the same Reply *. If it be true, as it is not unlikely, that the Barons had made this Step only to clear themselves from Blame, they were not sorry that so plausible a Pretence was given them to push Things to Extremity. Accordingly, throwing off all Regard for the King, they sent him word that they renounced their Allegiance to him, and that they look'd upon him as an Enemy to the State *'. 1264.
which is
haughtily
rejected.

They re-
nounce
their Feal-
ty.

All hopes of an Accommodation being lost, by the Animosity of both Parties, nothing was thought of but a Battle. The Earl of *Leicester*, having advanced with his Army, drew it up in order of Battle just by the King's, who was preparing to receive him. The royal Army was divided into three Bodies, of which that on the Right was commanded by Prince *Edward* *², the King of the *Romans* was on the Left *³, and *Henry* himself headed the main Body. The Barons Army was divided into four Bodies. Battle of
Lewes.
M. West.
T. Wikes.

* In his Answer dated the 12th of *May* 1264 at *Lewes*, he says, 'That not himself but they were indeed the Cause of all the War, Destruction, Rapine, and Misery which had befallen the Nation; that their Intentions were not according to their Professions, nor their Actions agreeable to their Pretences, and therefore he defied them.' The King of the *Romans* Letter bears the same Date. *M. West.*

*¹ But this was not till they had interceded by *Henry* Bishop of *London*, and *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, for Peace to the King, and offer'd thirty thousand Pounds in Consideration of the Damages done by them in the Kingdom, yet so that the *Provisions* of *Oxford* might stand good.

*² Together with *William de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surry*.

*³ With his Son *Henry*. The King's Standard was then a *Dragon*.

1264.

Edward
beats the
London-
ers, and
pursues too
far.

Henry and
the King
of the Ro-
mans made
Prisoners.

Edward
returning
from the
Pursuit
suffers
himself to
be amus'd
by Leicest-
er.

Bodies. The first was led by *Henry de Monfort* Son to the General *. The Earl of *Glocester* *' commanded the Second. The Third was headed by the Earl of *Leicester*. The Fourth, consisting of the *Londoners*, was on the Left, commanded by *Nicholas Segrave*. The two Armies being thus drawn up, Prince *Edward* began the Fight with attacking the *Londoners*, who not being able to stand against so vigorous a Charge, immediately took to their Heels. As the Prince, spurr'd on with a Desire of revenging the Affront done the Queen his Mother by the *London-Mob*, pursu'd them above four Miles, without giving them any Quarter: But this Revenge cost him dear. Whilst he pursu'd his Victory, with more Eagerness than Discretion, the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester* had gain'd the same Advantage over *Henry* and the King of the *Romans*. The Barons being very sensible what their Lot wou'd be in Case they shou'd be vanquish'd, attack'd, with a Fury mixt with Despair, the Royal Troops, who had not the same Reasons to fight with that Animosity. Accordingly they ran away, after a slight Defence, leaving the two Kings in the Hands of their Enemies. *Henry* having surrender'd himself to the Earl of *Leicester*, and *Richard*, to the Earl of *Glocester*, were presently conducted to the *Priory of Lewes*, situated at the Foot of a Castle of the same Name, which was kept by some of the King's Troops. It was towards this Place, that the Soldiers of the Royal Army took their Flight, in order to retire into the Castle. But when they saw that the Town was already in the Power of the Barons, that the two Kings were made Prisoners, and that, in all Appearance, they were going to be hemm'd in on all Sides, they threw down their Arms, and surrender'd at Discretion *.

In the mean Time, Prince *Edward*, who was returning in Triumph from the Pursuit, was extremely surpriz'd, to see the Royal Army dispers'd, and to hear that the two Kings

* And the Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*.

*' *Gilbert de Clare*, with *John Fitz-John* and *William de Montecamis*. * This Battle was fought on the 14th of May. M. West, T. Wikes.

Kings were made Prisoners. His first Thoughts were to exert his utmost to set them at Liberty. If this Resolution cou'd have been put in Execution immediately, Matters wou'd infallibly have taken a new Turn. The Victors, employ'd in guarding their Prisoners, or dispers'd up and down the Field in Pursuit of the flying Enemy, wou'd have been hard put to it to withstand a vigorous Attack. But the Prince's Soldiers, dismay'd at the Defeat of the rest of the Army, and the taking of the two Kings, show'd no Inclination to renew a Fight which to them seem'd too unequal. This Fear, which all *Edward's* Sollicitations cou'd not remove, made him lose so fair an Opportunity, wherein, very probably, he wou'd have gain'd a great deal of Glory. In the mean time the Earl of *Leicester* drew his Army together again with all possible Expedition. At first, he thought only of standing upon his Defence, justly dreading to be attack'd in the Disorder he was in. But when he saw that they gave him time to rally his Troops, he had no other Concern upon him but how to hinder the Prince from escaping. With this View, he sent him Proposals, in order to amuse him, whilst by several Detachments he took care to prevent his Retreat.

The Uncertainty *Edward* was at first in, about what Course he shou'd take, the Opposition he met with from his own Troops, the Time he spent in trying to animate them, and the several Messages which the Earl of *Leicester* sent to amuse him, were the Cause of his losing so many precious Hours, which shou'd have been laid out either in Fighting, or in Retreating in good Order. But having done neither, he found himself on a sudden surrounded on all Sides, and under a Necessity of accepting Conditions which appear'd tolerable in the ill Situation he was in. This Negotiation, which lasted but a few Moments, was ended by these Articles of Agreement: *That the Statutes of Oxford*, shou'd be inviolably observ'd; but however in such a Manner that they might be amended by four Bishops or Barons chosen by the Parliament: And if it shou'd happen that these four Commissioners shou'd not agree, they were to stand to the Arbitration of the Earl of *Anjou*,

He can neither fight nor retreat.

Accepts of hard Terms

Annals of London.

1264.

Anjou, Brother to the King of *France*, assisted by four *French* Noblemen. Hitherto all went well for the Prince; but the last Article was the worst. This was, that he himself and *Henry* his Cousin, Son to the King of the *Romans*, shou'd remain as Hostages, in the Custody of the Barons, till all Matters were settled by Authority of Parliament. How hard soever this last Article might be, *Edward*, who saw there was no Remedy, was fain to consent to it. These Articles, called the *Mise*, that is to say, *the Agreement of Lewes*, were sign'd by *Edward*, and confirm'd by the King, who was not in a Condition to reject them.

*The Mise
of Lewes.*

*Leicester
makes use
of the
King's
Name a-
gainst the
King him-
self.*

The Earl of *Leicester*, having the King and almost all the Royal Family in his Power, took all the Advantages from thence, that his Politicks cou'd suggest to him. He who a little before made no Scruple to disobey the King, on Pretence that he was directed by evil Counsellors, made use only of this Monarch's Name, since he had him in his Hands. He made him send Orders to the Governours of his Castles to surrender them to the Barons. He caus'd him to sign Commissions to the *Sheriffs* of the several *Counties*, empowering them to take up Arms against all those that shou'd dare to disturb the *State*, that is, against the King's own Friends. In fine, he who had involv'd the King in so much Trouble purely to curb the exorbitant Power he wou'd have assum'd, took it very ill that this same King when guided wholly by his Counsels was not blindly obey'd. Thus it is that Men alter their Principles and Maxims according to their Interests, and according as their Affairs come to have a new Face. But these are Reflections which wou'd too frequently occur, shou'd we stay to make them every Time there was Ocasion.

*The Ba-
rons form
a new Plan
of Govern-
ment.
M. West.*

As the Barons had no other View in the Agreement of *Lewes*, but to secure the Person of Prince *Edward*, they did not much trouble themselves about performing the Articles. On the contrary, they drew up a new Plan of Government, and resolv'd to get it confirm'd by the Parliament which was to meet on the 22d of *June*. The

Posture

Posture of the Affairs of the Kingdom render'd the Calling of this Parliament liable to a great many Difficulties. Indeed it was done in the King's Name who cou'd not oppose it. But the Barons that had come off Conquerors, were not willing Those of the contrary Party shou'd be summon'd, under Pretence that they were still in Arms against their Country. On the other Side, a Parliament consisting but of Part of those who had a Right to sit there, seem'd to fall short of a lawful Authority. It might be objected, that it was only an Assembly of some private Persons. These Difficulties put the Barons upon contriving Means to make this Assembly more General, and to give it a greater Air of Authority. With this View they made the King sign Commissions, whereby were appointed, in each County, certain Officers or Magistrates who were stiled *Conservators*, on Pretence that they were design'd for preserving the Privileges of the People. These Officers, who depended wholly upon the Barons, were invested with very great Authority. Their Commission empower'd them to do whatsoever they shou'd judge proper to preserve entire the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects. This Step being taken, the King was made to sign new Orders, whereby the *Conservators* were commanded to nominate four *Knights* of each County to sit in the ensuing Parliament as Representatives of their respective *Shires*. From hence many affirm the Original of the Right of the *Commons* to sit in Parliament takes its Date. They maintain that this is the first Time, wherein it appears in a manner incontestable, that the several *Counties* sent Deputies to the Parliament: That all the Reasons alledged to prove that the *Commons* enjoy'd this Privilege before the Year 1264, are subject to so many Difficulties, that they can't be said to amount to a clear Evidence. It seems indeed, that one can't produce a good Reason which shou'd have induced the Historians to observe unanimously, that on this Occasion there were in the Parliament *Representatives* of each *County*, if the same Thing had been customary ever since the Beginning of the Monarchy, or at least, ever since the *Norman Conquest*.

To that Purpose a Parliament is summon'd.

Conservators establish'd. A. & Pub. I. p. 802.

Four Knights of each Shire sit in Parliament.

Original of the Rights of the Commons.

Brady.

1264.

What is the Reason that they shou'd have neglected to make the same Remark on so many former Parliaments mention'd by them? It is certain that those, who pretend to find in the antient Historians Proofs of the People sending *Representatives* to Parliament, are forced to deduce them from Consequences which appear not always Just.

The Parliament approves of the Barons Plan.

The new Parliament made up in the manner above-mention'd, and being entirely at the Devotion of the *confederate* Barons, fail'd not to approve of the Plan which had been form'd. This Plan was, *that the Parliament shou'd appoint three wise and discreet Commissioners, who shou'd have Power to chuse a Council of nine Lords, to whom the Administration of the Publick Affairs shou'd be committed. That the King by the Advice of the Commissioners, might change, when he pleas'd, Part of the nine Counsellors, or even all at once. That in case the three Commissioners shou'd not agree in changing or chusing the Counsellors, the Majority shou'd carry it. That the Resolutions taken by the nine Counsellors shou'd be in Force, provided they were consented to by any six of them. But if it happen'd that they shou'd not be able to agree together, and that six of them shou'd not be of the same Opinion, the Business in Question shou'd be brought to the three Commissioners, who shou'd determine it as they thought fit. That the King shou'd have it in his Power to change or turn out the three Commissioners, provided it was done with the Consent of the Community of the Barons. Lastly, that the Nomination of all the publick Officers shou'd belong to the Nine Counsellors.*

The King and Prince are forced to consent to it.

This Ordinance was to take place, till the Parliament shou'd unanimously agree to annul or alter it. 'Tis pretended that the King and Prince *Edward* were compell'd to consent to it, the first by being threatned with Deprivation, and the other with perpetual Imprisonment. So that, if they outwardly consented, it was only with a Resolution to recant, as soon as a favourable Opportunity offer'd. In the mean time the Barons continued to govern the Kingdom according to this Model, persuading them-

selves

selves that their Affairs were upon such a Foot, as not to be easily shaken. 1264.

The Year before, *Urban IV*, had appointed for his *Legate in England*, Cardinal *Guido* Bishop of *St. Sabine*. This *Legate* upon his Arrival in *France* had receiv'd a Letter from the Earl of *Leicester*, informing him that it was no proper time for this *Legateship*, and that neither the Great Men nor the People were dispos'd to receive him. Though the *Legate* was extremely offended at this Refusal, he durst not however continue his Journey. Indeed, there was no Likelihood that he cou'd enter the Kingdom against the Consent of those who govern'd. Nevertheless he had proceeded as far as *Bologne*, where he had summon'd all the *English* Bishops to appear and give an Account of their Conduct. The Bishops not having thought fit to obey the Summons, he had thunder'd out against them the Sentence of *Excommunication*, from which they appeal'd to the Pope. At length, the Affairs of the Kingdom being settled according to the Barons Wish, they thought it necessary to give the *Legate* some Satisfaction. To that End, they sent four Bishops to acquaint him with their Reasons for denying him Entrance into the Kingdom. These Deputies found the *Legate* extremely incens'd against the Barons. For Answer they had Orders to return into *England*, publish the Sentence of *Excommunication* against the Earl of *Leicester*, and put the City of *London* with all the Lands of the Earl of *Glocester* under an *Interdict*. The Bishops having sent Word to *England* of the Orders they had receiv'd from the *Legate*, were met at Sea by People, who pretending to be Pyrates, took away all their Papers and threw them overboard. This Procedure having made the *Legate* sensible, that it wou'd be a hard Matter to get his Master's Authority regarded at such a Juncture, he return'd to *Rome*, where quickly after he was rais'd to the Papal Throne under the Name of *Clement IV*.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Leicester*, who was at the Head of the Government, was in some Perplexity. The Queen was making great Preparation in *France* in order

The Barons refuse to receive a Legate.
T. Wikes.

Some English Lords revolt against the Govern-

1264.
ment of the
Barons.
M. West.
T. Wikes.
Chr. Mail-
rose.

Leicester
reduces
them.
The
Queen's
Enterprize
comes to
nothing.

der to go and disengage the King her Spouse. On the other hand, the Insurrection of some Lords *, bordering upon *Wales*, made him uneasy. He was apprehensive that the *Welsh* wou'd intemeddle in the Quarrel and succour the King's Party. It was dangerous to leave the Coasts open to the Invasion of *Foreigners*, who, being then in *Flanders*, waited only for a fair Wind to embark. But it was no less inconvenient to suffer the Insurrection, which began to appear in the Counties adjoining to *Wales*, to grow to too great a Head. To prevent these Dangers, he resolv'd to go in Person against the Rebels, whilst he order'd the *Militia* of the Kingdom to be drawn together to the County of *Kent* to oppose the Queen's Landing. His good Fortune freed him alike from both these Perils. After having gain'd to his Interests, *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, who might have given him some Trouble, he vanquish'd the Rebels, and compell'd them to throw down their Arms. He was no less fortunate with regard to the Invasion he was in dread of. The Wind continued so long contrary to the Foreign Troops which were on the other Side of the Water, that they were forced to return Home upon the Approach of Winter, without the Queen's being able to reap the least Benefit from the great Expence she had been at *. All this while, the King remain'd in the Custody of the Earl of *Leicester*, who dispos'd of him just as he pleas'd, making him act against his own Interests, under Colour that it was for the Good of the Publick.

The

* *Roger de Mortimer, James de Audley, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leyburn, Haimo L' Estrange*, with some others who had made their Escape from the Battle of *Lewes*. M. West.

*¹ *Matthew of Westminster* says, Queen *Eleanor* had got together a great Army, which was commanded by so many Dukes and Earls as seems incredible, and those who knew the Strength and Number of that Army affirm'd, that if they had once landed; they wou'd certainly have subdu'd the whole Kingdom. But God (says our Author) in his Mercy order'd it otherwise. So true an *Englishman* was this Author, though he appears highly concern'd for the King's Interest, that he did not think it safe for the Nation to have had the King restor'd by an Army of *Foreigners*.

The Barons, who had taken up Arms against the King, purely on account of the excessive Power which he wou'd have assum'd, cou'd not but behold with a jealous Eye that of the Earl of *Leicester*, which was no less absolute. The Earl of *Glocester*, above all the rest, was highly disgusted at it. He look'd upon *Leicester* as a Man who was taking large Steps towards the Throne, under the specious Pretence of the Publick Good. For this reason he was afraid, by lending a helping hand to his Rise, of furnishing him with Arms to his own, as well as to the Destruction of some others, who were no less jealous of his Greatness. The Disgrace of [*Robert de Ferrars*] Earl of *Derby* gave him cause to make these Reflections. This Earl, who was no Friend to *Leicester*, had been sent to the *Tower*, not so much for a Punishment of the Crime laid to his Charge, as for an Example to such as shou'd dare to censure too openly the Conduct of the principal Governour. On the other hand, the Earl of *Glocester* fancied he saw in the cold and reserv'd Behaviour of *Leicester* towards him, a secret Purpose to destroy him when an Opportunity shou'd offer. Not only he was no longer call'd to the private Councils, but had no share in the Administration of Affairs but what cou'd not be denied to one of the greatest *Peers* of the Realm. These Reasons, and more than all this, the Envy he had entertain'd at *Leicester's* Greatness, carried him to countenance the Male-contents in the *Marches* of *Wales*, that he might make use of them to thwart the ambitious Views of him whom he look'd upon from thenceforward as his Enemy. The Cabals, which he openly carried on, having convinced *Leicester* that it was his Business to omit nothing in order to destroy the Designs of so dangerous an Enemy, he caus'd an order to be sent to all those that had lately taken up Arms against the *Establishment*, to retire into *Ireland*. But they, instead of obeying, went into the Lands of the Earl of *Glocester*, where they met with Protection.

In the mean time, the Earl of *Leicester's* Enemies publish'd in all Places, that his rigorous Treatment of the King, and also of the King of the *Romans* and Prince *Edward*,
Edward,

1265.
Leicester
suspected
of aspiring
to the
Crown.

Glocester
turns a-
gainst him.

Leicester
seems wil-
ling to set
Edward
at Liber-
ty.

1265. *Edward*, was but too evident a Proof of his pernicious Designs. As these Reports began to produce Effects prejudicial to the Earl, he thought it necessary to efface these Impressions, by letting the People see that he was very far from forming the ambitious Projects which his Enemies aspers'd him with. To that Purpose, he summon'd a Parliament, and declar'd that the chief End of it was to consult about the Means to restore Prince *Edward* to Liberty. He intended by that to shew, that seeing he was willing to release the Heir to the Crown, it was very unlikely that he shou'd have those pernicious Views he was charg'd with. The calling of this Parliament was remarkable, for that each County was order'd to send, as their Representatives, two *Knights*, and each City and Borough two *Burgesses* *. The Assertors of the Antiquity of *the House of Commons* infer from hence that since the Historians observe not that it was a new Institution, it follows that it was a customary thing. Others, on the contrary, pretend, that if it had been usual, it wou'd have been needless to take notice of this Particular after having spoken of so many Parliaments, without making the like Remark. The Reader is left to chuse of these two Consequences that which to him shall appear the most natural.

A Parliament call'd to that End.

To which are summon'd two Knights from each Shire, and two Burgesses from each Borough. Remark on that account.

Edward deliver'd to the King, who continues still a Prisoner.

As soon as the Parliament was assembled, the Earl of *Leicester*, who had a Majority of *Votes* at his Beck, caus'd an Order to be pass'd that Prince *Edward* shou'd be set at liberty. But it was clog'd with such a Condition, as render'd the Favour of no use. This was, that he shou'd remain with the King his Father, and obey him in all things. This Condition was a plain Sign, that their only View was to blind the Eyes of the Publick. The Truth is,

* These *Writs* of Summons to the *Sheriffs* of the Counties to return the *Knights of the Shires* and *Burgesses*, are the First *Writs* of this Kind that are now extant on the *Rolls*, which made Dr. *Brady* infer that they were the First that were ever issued, and that this Parliament, in the 59th of *Henry II*, was the First to which *Knights of Shires*, and *Burgesses* were summon'd. But how truly, see the Works of Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Tyrrel*, and Mr. *Hedy*.

is, to order that *Edward* shou'd be set at liberty, and that at the same time he shou'd continue with his Father who was himself a Prisoner, was no better than changing his Prison, or at best but enlarging his Confinement. Pursuant to this Order the Prince was taken out of *Dover-Castle*, where he had been shut up ever since the Battle of *Lewes*, and delivered to the King, that is to say, to the Earl of *Leicester*. This is what they call'd setting him at Liberty. In the mean time *Henry* remain'd under the Custody of *Leicester* who carried him about with him, and took all imaginable care to prevent his Prisoners from escaping out of his hands.

1265.

The Scene, which had just been acted, serv'd only to increase the Earl of *Glocester's* Suspicions, or rather fully to convince him that *Leicester* was paving his way to the Throne. He wou'd not however have broke out yet, if an Opportunity had not offer'd, wherein it wou'd have been dangerous to dissemble. The two eldest Sons of the Earl of *Leicester* having proclaim'd a Tournament to which all the Nobles were invited, the Earl of *Glocester* did not think fit to be present. He was perswaded that this was only a Device to draw him into some Snare. Whether his Suspicions had any Foundation, or whether his Prejudice caused him to consider them as plain Proofs, he openly confederated with the Lords of the *Marches of Wales*, Enemies to *Leicester*, and fortified his Castles, as one preparing for War. This Proceeding having furnish'd his Enemies with a plausible Pretence to strike him home, a *Proclamation* was issued forthwith, declaring the Earl and his Adherents Traitors and Enemies to the *State*. Pursuant to this Declaration, *Leicester* put himself at the Head of an Army, in order to go and punish these pretended Enemies to the King. With this Design he march'd towards the *Severn*, and afterwards came to *Hereford*, carrying his two Prisoners along with him.

Glocester declares openly against Leicester.

The great Care with which he guarded the King and the Prince his Son, did not hinder the Earl of *Glocester* from projecting *Edward's* Escape out of his hands. He perceiv'd that as long as his Enemy shou'd have the King

Prince Edward escapes out of Leicester's hands.

in W. Hem

1268.

in his Power, he wou'd make great Advantage of it. For which Reason he thought it expedient to get the Prince from him, to the end he might oppose the Authority of the lawful Heir to the Crown to that of the King detain'd in Confinement. Apparently he did not judge it so easy a Matter to free the King as the Prince, or perhaps he depended more upon the Assistance of *Edward* than of the King his Father. Be this as it will, he communicated his Design to *Roger Mortimer*, one of the Lords *Marchers*, who furnish'd him with the Means to put it in execution. *Mortimer*, having a great many Friends at *Hereford*, made *Edward* a Present, by a third Person, of a prodigious swift Horse, and at the same time acquainted him with the Use he was to make of him, and with the Design that was laid for the Recovery of his Liberty. To second the Project, the Prince having feign'd himself ill, and to want a little Exercise, desir'd leave to ride some Horses. The Earl of *Leicester*, who suspected nothing of the Matter, granted his Request, though with a deal of Precaution. Besides his usual Guard, he order'd some Gentlemen to keep always near him, and to have their Eye upon him continually. *Edward*, being come out into the Fields, immediately breathed two or three Horses. Then he call'd for that which had lately been presented him, and as if he had a mind to use him gently to his Rider, he walk'd him at some distance from his Guard, being accompanied by the Gentlemen who stuck close to him. When he was come to a certain Place which he had already exactly remark'd, and which seem'd proper for his Design, laying the Reins on his Horse's Neck and clapping Spurs to his Sides, he surpris'd in such a manner those that attended him, that he was got a good way off, before they were recover'd from their Astonishment. However they rid after him till they saw a Troop of Horse which the Earl of *Glocester* had sent out to favour his Escape. *Edward* having thus made his Escape, went and join'd the Earl of *Glocester*, who receiv'd him with abundance of Joy and Respect. Nevertheless, his View in procuring the Prince his Liberty, was not to re-establish the Arbitrary Power which the

King

*He joins
the Earl
of Glo-
cester, who
makes him
swear to
redress
Grievan-
ces.*

King had attempted to usurp. Accordingly he plainly told *Edward*, that he cou'd not promise him his Assistance, unless he wou'd oblige himself by Oath to use his utmost Endeavours to restore the antient Laws, and to banish all Foreigners from about the King's Person. *Edward* promis'd and swore to do so, in the presence of several Barons; after which he took the Command of the Troops which the Earl of *Glocester* had rais'd.

1265.

Though the Earl of *Leicester* was very sensible of what Consequence the Prince's Escape might be, he made as if he was unconcern'd at it, and continued, as before, to govern in the King's Name. He caus'd to be issued under the *Great Seal*, all such Orders as he judged expedient for the Good of the *State* and his own Interest; these two things being generally confounded together by those who hold the Reins of the Government.

Leicester hides his Concern.

It wou'd be needless to relate here all the Precautions *Leicester* took to support himself in his Authority, to enrich his Friends, and to advance his Creatures. It is sufficient to say in a word, that he omitted nothing that might turn to his Advantage, or contribute to the baffling the Designs of his Enemies. All this was for his own sake, and with a View to his own private Interest: But he did one thing very beneficial to the Kingdom in taking at length from the Popes, the Pretence, they had so long and so successfully made use of, to enrich themselves at the Expence of the *English*. As he found the People had not for the Pope the same Esteem and Deference as they had heretofore, he order'd a Commission to be drawn up empowering him to renounce, in the King and Prince *Edmund*'s Name, all Pretensions to the Crown of *Sicily*. By virtue of this Power, he made an Authentick Renunciation, of which he took care to give the Pope Notice in a Letter from the King.

He does all he can to support himself.

He renounces for Prince Edmund the Crown of Sicily.

In the mean time the Earl, foreseeing how fatal Prince *Edward*'s Escape might prove to him, caus'd very severe Orders to be publish'd to all the King's Subjects to oppose to the utmost of their power Prince *Edward*, the Earl of *Glocester*, and their Adherents, who were all stil'd Trai-

Edward's Forces increase.

1265.

Leicester
flies before
him.

Edward
defeats Si-
mon
Montfort.

and mar-
ches a-
gainst the
Earl of
Leicester.

tors to the King and *State*. But notwithstanding this, a very great Number of Barons *, Officers and Soldiers came and offer'd their Service to the Prince, who in a short time saw himself at the head of an Army superiour to that of the Confederates. Then it was that Affairs began to have a new Face. The Earl of *Leicester*, who, a little before, had all the Forces of the Kingdom at his Disposal, cou'd not prevent *Edward* from becoming Master of *Glo- ce- ster* and several other Places. He was even fain to give ground to that young Prince who follow'd him from Place to Place, and to use all his Cunning and all his Experience to avoid coming to a Battle. As he was a very good General, he took care to post himself so, as to be able to retreat, whenever he shou'd be hard press'd. In the mean while, he sent repeated Orders to his Son *Simon*, to quit the Siege of *Pevensey*, which detain'd him in *Kent*, and come and join him. *Simon* obey'd, and with his little Army march'd with extraordinary Expedition to reinforce him. But as he drew near *Evesham*, where his Father was encamp'd, *Edward*, who had notice of his Coming, fell upon him on a sudden with all his Forces, and cut in pieces this little Body which cou'd not stand against him *.

This Victory having animated the young Prince with fresh Ardor, he return'd forthwith, in order to go and attack the Father before he had receiv'd the News of his Son's Defeat. He knew so well how to deceive the Watchfulness of the old General, by this sudden Resolution, that he came up close to the Enemy at the time when the Earl imagin'd it was his Son coming to his Assistance. *Leicester's* Surprize was so great, that he cou'd not forbear showing

* Particularly *John Gifford*, the second Man to the Earl of *Glo- ce- ster* in Military Affairs, brought a great Force of Horse and Foot.

* *T. Wikes* says, the Prince, marching all Night, came by break of Day to *Kennelworth*, and set upon *Simon* and his Men, who were then in their Beds, and kill'd and took Prisoners most of them, the chiefest of whom were *Robert de Vere*, *William Lord Munchansy* and *Adam of Newmarket*. *Simon* escap'd into the Castle.

showing it. However he put every thing in a good Posture of Defence, perceiving that Retreating wou'd be still more dangerous than Fighting. The Battle began about two a Clock in the Afternoon, and lasted till Night, notwithstanding the hasty Flight of the *Welsh-men* who deserted the Earl in the very Beginning of the Action. He sustain'd however, by his Courage and Conduct, the Efforts of *Edward*, who fought with an astonishing Valour, well-knowing that the Good or Ill-Fortune of his Life depended on the Success of that Day. At length, after a long Resistance on the Side of the Barons, the Earl of *Leicester* and his Son *Henry* being slain on the Spot, their Troops lost all Heart, and the Prince obtain'd a full and compleat Victory *. His Joy at this Success was so much the greater as, during the Heat of the Battle, he had the Satisfaction of freeing the King his Father from the Confinement he had been under ever since the Battle of *Lewes*. The Earl of *Leicester*, who durst not suffer his Prisoner to be out of his sight, had been so hard as to expose him to the Danger of the Battle, in which he was wounded in the Shoulder. 'Tis said that he was going to be kill'd by a Soldier, who knew him not, if an Officer had not run in to his Assistance, upon his crying out to the Soldier, *Don't kill me, I am Henry of Winchester, thy Sovereign*. *Edward*, who was not far from the Place, being inform'd of the Peril the King his Father was in, ran thither immediately. He left him to a strong Guard, and just asking his Blessing returned to the Battle, that he might not lose time which was then so precious to him.

1265.
*Battle of
Evesham.*

*Leicester
slain.*

*Edward
gains the
Victory,
and frees
his Father.*

W. Hem.

This Battle was fought near *Evesham* on the 4th of *August* 1265, fourteen Months after the Battle of *Lewes* wherein the King lost his Liberty. The Body of the Earl of *Leicester* being found among the Dead, *Roger*

* In this Battle were slain, *Hugh d'Espenser* the Justiciary, *Peter de Montfort*, *William de Mandeville*, *Ralph Basset*, *John de Beauchamp*, *Roger de St. John*, &c. The Prisoners were *Guy de Montfort* the Earl's 3d Son, *John Fitz-John*, *Humphry de Bohun*, *Henry de Hastings*, &c.

1265. *Mortimer* was so inhuman as to mangle it in a barbarous Manner. At last he cut off the Head and sent it to his Wife as a certain Token that he was reveng'd of his Enemy. Such was the End of the Earl of *Leicester*, who, though a Foreigner, had found means to make himself the most considerable Peer in the Kingdom, and was even suspected of aspiring to the Throne. But however there is no certain Proof of it, the Reports that were spread on this Account being built only on bare Suspicions, and, perhaps, Calumnies. But it can't be denied, that he abus'd the Power which he acquir'd, and the Trust which his Friends and Collegues placed in him. At least he discover'd by his Conduct that he was not so great an Enemy to arbitrary Power as he wou'd have made to be believed when he was put at the Head of the Confederates. This is no Proof however of his aspiring to the Crown. Most certainly, this Earl had noble Qualities. If he was like the Earl his Father in his Valour and Bravery, at least, he resembled him not in Cruelty. He had all along shewn so great a Regard for the *Monks*, that after his Death, they wou'd fain have made a *Saint* of him, at any Rate, affirming that abundance of Miracles were wrought at his Tomb. A modern Historian assures us, that he saw in an antient *Manuscript* several Prayers directed to him as a Martyr *. This opinion of him was so spread among the People, that the Pope was forced to use all his Authority to put a stop to that Superstition. However this be, as it is uncertain from what Motive the Earl acted, it is doubtful whether there is more Reason to blame than to pity him. If in taking up Arms against the King, his Sovereign and Benefactor, he was sway'd wholly by Ambition, one can't enough detest his Ingratitude against a Prince his Brother-in-law, who had loaded him with Favours. But if he was Head of a Party solely with a View to the Good of

*Reflections
on the Earl
of Leicester.*

*The Monks
look upon
him as a
Martyr.*

Tyrrel.

* *Tyrrel* says he had seen at the End of a Manuscript in the publick Library at *Cambridge* certain Prayers directed to him as a Saint, with a great many Rhyming Verses in his Praise. Vol. II. p. 1052.

1265.

of the Publick, and in order to free the Kingdom from the manifest Oppression it groaned under, doubtless there wou'd be People who wou'd not want plausible Reasons to justify his Conduct. However without examining the Matter too closely, Modern Writers, for the most Part, inveigh bitterly against him, and the Name of *the English Catiline* is one of the least reproachful they give him. But one can hardly expect otherwise from most of the Historians, who generally dedicate their Works to Kings, Queens, Prime-Ministers, Favorites.

The Defeat of the Confederates entirely changed the Face of Affairs. Those who, a little Before, had been persecuted, now become Persecutors in their Turn. They griev'd their Enemies a thousand Ways, and made them endure many Hardships. The King, who was naturally revengeful and greedy of Money, was extremely impatient to be revenged of those who had offended him, and to seize their Spoils. With this View it was that he call'd a Parliament, which being wholly made up of his Creatures, granted him the Confiscation of the Estates of the Rebels. The City of *London* was not spared. The Parliament having decreed that she deserv'd to forfeit all her Privileges, she was deliver'd up to the King's Mercy, who took away her Gates, Chains, Magistrates, and exacted a large Sum of Money * from the Citizens to restore to them afterwards what he had taken from them. The Confederate Barons, seeing themselves expos'd to a Revenge which in all appearance was to have no Bounds, were in a Consternation so much the greater as they saw no Remedy in this their distressed Condition. *Simon de Montfort*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Leicester*, did not question but that he shou'd be attack'd the first, considering the Hatred the King had entertain'd against the Earl his Father and his whole Family. In this Belief, he endeavour'd betimes to make *Richard* the King of the *Romans* his Friend, whom he had in his Custody in the Castle of *Kennebworth*, by releasing him without demanding a Ransom. This

The Confederate Barons are persecuted, and their Estates Confiscated.
London severely chastis'd.
Example

* Twenty thousand Marks. *Annal. de Lond.*

1265. Example turn'd to the Advantage of several Prisoners at the Battle of *Lewes*, who were likewise set at Liberty with the same View by those who guarded them.

*The King
revenges
himself on
his Enemies.*

In the mean time, the King was taking Vengeance on those that had taken Arms against him, by seizing their Estates, which he kept to his own use or bestow'd them liberally on his Favorites. Far from troubling himself about the Consequences, he entirely gave way to his Passion, without considering that People reduced to Beggary are within an Ace of growing desperate. He wou'd have done much better in imitating the prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, his first Governour, who had restor'd to the vanquish'd Barons their Estates, for fear of exposing the Kingdom to fresh Troubles. But *Henry* was not of that Temper. It was not his Fault that he lost not the Fruits of the Prince his Son's Victory over the Barons, by refusing them the least Favour. *Simon de Montfort*, perceiving his case desperate, quitted the Castle of *Kennelworth* after he had left a strong Garrison in it, and having drawn together some Troops out of the Remains of his Father's Army, he threw himself into the Isle of *Axholme* in *Lincoln-shire*. As it was very easy to fortify that Place, he soon put it in a Condition to serve for a Refuge to himself and Friends. Great Numbers resorted to him daily, who at length began to make their Enemies uneasy.

1266.
*The Queen
arrives,
and is fol-
low'd by a
Legate,
who ex-
communicates the
Rebel-Barons.
The Pope
revokes the
Grant of
Sicily.*

Whilst the Court was preparing to hinder the Consequences of this new Revolt, the Queen arriv'd from *France*, whither she had retir'd with Prince *Edmund* her Son, after the Battle of *Lewes*. She was quickly follow'd by a *Legate* who, a few days after his coming, conven'd a *Synod*, in which he solemnly *excommunicated* the late Earl of *Leicester* and all his Adherents, as well those that were dead, as those that were alive. *Clement IV.*, finding that the *English* were tir'd with furnishing Money for the Conquest of *Sicily*, thought his wisest way wou'd be to save the Honour of *the Holy See*, which had somewhat suffer'd by Prince *Edmund's* Renunciation. With this View, he gave the King notice, by his *Legate*, of a

Ball

Bull of *Urban* his Predecessor, whereby the Grant to the Prince his Son was annull'd. He had kept this *Bull* private, because he was willing to see the Issue of a Negotiation enter'd into with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, to whom he actually gave this very Year the Investiture of the two *Sicilies*. *Henry*, who had not receded from his Pretensions but because he was forced to it by the Earl of *Leicester*, during his Confinement, cou'd not without regret see himself oblig'd to renounce his Hopes. But he cou'd not help it.

1266.
and invests
the Earl of
Anjou
with it.

Thus ended at length the Affair of *Sicily*, which the Popes had made a Handle for so many Oppressions on the People and Clergy of *England*. If it cost the *English* immense Sums, they reap'd at least this Benefit by it, that it sensibly lessen'd the good Opinion which they entertain'd before of every thing that came from the Court of *Rome*, and taught them to be more upon their Guard for the future against her Usurpations. This is what we shall have Occasion to know more particularly in the following Reigns, where we shall see the *English* much less tractable with regard to the Popes. One may say likewise that this Affair was the Principal Cause of the Misfortunes to which *Henry* was expos'd for so many Years, and at the same time of the solid Establishment of *the Great Charter*, which from thenceforward was but feebly attack'd. Had not *Henry* been under the Necessity of satisfying the Avarice of the Popes, he wou'd have less oppress'd his Subjects, and the Barons wou'd have wanted the most plausible Pretence of their Confederacy. It is very strange that the Pope's Grant to Prince *Edmund* shou'd be unknown to the Historians of *Naples* and *Sicily*, who say not one word of it, though the Countries, of which they have written the History, were so much concern'd in it. There is but one of them that just mentions it by the by, and even he is mistaken in the Name of the *English* Prince, to whom he says the Pope had a mind to make a Grant of *Sicily*. *Villani*, an Historian of Note, gives us the Pope's Speech to the Cardinals to induce them to approve of his Design to invest *Charles* of *Anjou* with the two *Sicilies*.

Remark on
the Affair
of Sicily.

In

1266.

In this Harangue the Pontiff lays before them all the Injuries *the Church* had sustain'd from the Hands of *Manfred*, the Necessity there was of destroying the House of *Swabia*, and the Advantages which would accrue to *the Church*, if these Kingdoms were given to a Prince who shou'd be able to undertake her Defence. One wou'd think that this was a very natural Occasion to speak of the Endeavours which his Predecessors had us'd to dethrone the Usurper, by the Assistance of the King of *England*, in giving the Crown of these Kingdoms to one of his Sons. But he says not a Word of the Matter. What may we then infer from this Silence of the Pope and the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* Historians, but that the Court of *Rome* never really intended to procure this Crown for Prince *Edmund*, and that her sole Aim was to drain *England* of Money under so frivolous a Pretence ?

Simon de
Montfort
is forced to
surrender.

Montfort's retiring into the Isle of *Axholme*, might be attended with such Consequences, as requir'd Prevention ; accordingly Prince *Edward* was sent with an Army into those Parts. It was no easy Matter to beat the Malecontents from a Place so strongly fortified both by Art and Nature. However the Prince fail'd not to bring it about. After an obstinate Defence, the Besieged were constrain'd to surrender, on Condition their Lives and Limbs were spar'd. As to their Estates, it was agreed they shou'd submit to the Judgement of the King of the *Romans*, and Prince *Edward*. This Capitulation being sign'd, *Montfort* was brought to the King, and found a powerful Mediator in the King of the *Romans*. The Prince affirm'd that after the Battle of *Evesham*, the Garrison of *Kenselworth* wou'd have murther'd him, if *Montfort* had not hinder'd it at the Peril of his own Life. After which, he entreated the King to pardon him in Consideration of his having generously set him at Liberty without demanding a Ransom. 'Tis said that *Henry*, mov'd with the good Offices *Montfort* had done the King his Brother, was inclin'd to restore him entirely to Favour, if the Earl of *Glocester* had not openly oppos'd it. So that, as it was necessary to keep fair with *Glocester* as well as with
the

The King of
the Ro-
mans in-
tercedes
for him.

the King of the *Romans*, it was resolv'd in Council, that *Montfort* shou'd have Liberty to depart the Kingdom, and that the King shou'd grant him a yearly Pension of five hundred Marks, provided he deliver'd up the Castle of *Kenelworth*. But it was not in his Power to perform this Condition, because the Garrison refus'd to obey him. All the other Rebels were pardon'd upon their taking an Oath, that they wou'd never more bear Arms against the King: an Oath which was afterwards very ill kept. This Affair being over, the Kingdom immediately enjoy'd some Tranquillity. *Montfort* seem'd pretty well satisfied with his Lot. But shortly after, either out of Inconstancy, or because he had not wherewithal to subsist, he join'd himself with certain Pyrates of the *Cinque-Ports*, who gave him the Command of their Ships, with which he plunder'd without Distinction all the *Merchant-Men* that came in his Way. As it plainly appear'd that the Inhabitants of the *Cinque-Ports* countenanc'd these Pyracies, the King sent Prince *Edward* down to chastize them. But the Prince found Means to reduce them to their Duty without coming to Blows. This was by promising them a general Pardon and the Confirmation of their Privileges, for which they swore Fealty to the King again.

1266.
Montfort
is to deliver
the Kenel-
worth, but
cannot.

He turns
Pirate.

Edward
reduces the
Cinque-
Ports to
Obedience.

How great soever the Success of the King's Arms might be, it cou'd not however be said that Peace was fully restor'd to the Kingdom. Since the Castle of *Kenelworth* was still in the Hands of the Male-contents. There was likewise, in the Northern Counties, a Troop of armed Men *, who oblig'd the King to send against them, *Henry*, eldest Son of the King of the *Romans*. This young Prince made such Speed, that he surpriz'd the Rebels, and having cut in Pieces the greatest Part of them, he dispers'd the rest. He cou'd not however seize the Ring-leaders, who having join'd with some other Male-contents, and particularly those who had quitted *Axholm*,

Several In-
surrections
ens.

VOL. III.

Q q q

went

* Headed by Robert Earl of Ferrars in Conjunction with Baldwin Wake, and John Dayville, and several other Barons. The Earl was taken Prisoner, the rest escap'd to the Isle of Ely.

1266.
The Male-
contents
seize the
Isle of Ely.
A brave
and gene-
rous Acti-
on of Ed-
ward.
M. West.

went and became Masters of the Isle of *Ely* in *Cambridge-shire*. From whence they made continual Inroads into the neighbouring Counties, where they committed great Ravages.

At the same Time, another Rebel call'd *Adam* [*de Garr-dun*,] having taken up Arms in *Hampshire*, *Edward* march'd into those Parts, where he had occasion to give sensible Proofs of his Courage and Generosity. In a Battle with the Rebels, *Adam*, who was strong and valiant, attack'd the Prince Hand to Hand, and oblig'd him to use all his Dexterity and Valour. This single Combat was not interrupted till *Adam*, being down on the Ground, was fain to yield himself Prisoner to the Prince *. This Act of Bravery in *Edward* was immediately follow'd by another of Generosity, which gain'd him no less Honour. Without suffering himself to be transported with a Desire of Revenge against a Man who had put him in so great Danger, he generously gave him Life and Liberty. *Adam* sensibly touch'd, as he ought, with this Favour, serv'd him faithfully everafter *'.

The King
besieges
Kenel-
worth.

The Garrison of *Kenelworth* was become so formidable, and at the same Time so odious, by Reason of the Outrages they committed in the adjoining Country, that the King's Council resolv'd that this Castle shou'd be immediately block'd up, and that the Siege of *Ely* shou'd be put off to another Time. The King was extremely incens'd against the Governour of *Kenelworth*, who had been so insolent as to cut off the Hand of his Herald whom he had sent to summon him to surrender. The Desire he had to punish him, made him resolve to go in Person to this Siege, imagining that his Presence wou'd strike the greater Terrour into the Besieg'd. But they defended themselves

* It seems the Prince when he came up with the Rebels between *Earnham* and *Alton*, hastily leap'd over a Ditch or Trench which surrounded their Camp, and his Forces not being able to follow him presently, he was obliged to fight thus Hand to Hand with *Adam*.

*' *Walter de Hemingford* says, he sent him in Chains to *Windser-Castle*, there to keep *Earl Ferrars* Company.

themselves so stoutly, that after a six Months Siege, there was no Appearance of being able to force them to come to a Capitulation. This vigorous Resistance was the Reason that the Siege was turn'd into a Blockade. In the mean Time the King continued in the Town of which he was Master, expecting that Hunger would compel the Garrison to surrender.

1266.

During the Blockade, *Henry* call'd a Parliament at *Kenelworth*, to consult about the Means to reduce the Rebels of *Ely*, either by offering them an easy Composition,

1267.

A Parliament at Kenelworth.

or by Force, in Case they rejected what shou'd be offer'd them. To this End the Parliament drew up certain Articles containing the Terms on which the King was to grant a general Pardon *. These Terms were easy enough, considering the present Circumstances. To have Possession

Terms offer'd to the Male-contents of Ely;

of their Estates again, some were to pay five Years Revenue; some, three; and others but one. But whether the Male-contents cou'd not depend upon the King's Word, or whether they thought these Conditions too

who reject them.

hard, they refus'd to accept them. They even took occasion from thence to increase their Outrages, and had the Boldness to make an Excursion as far as *Norwich*, from whence they carried off above twenty thousand Pound Sterling *.

Those of *Kenelworth*, though closely block'd up, and forced to eat their Horses, relying on the Succours which *Simon de Montfort* had promis'd them, held out so long a Siege with an invincible Resolution. At length when they cou'd scarce withstand any longer the Hunger which press'd them, seeing no Likelihood of Assistance, they came to a Capitulation, whereby they obliged themselves to deliver up the Castle, in Case they were not reliev'd

The Garrison of Kenelworth.

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within

* These Articles were called *Dictum de Kenelworth*, and were to be put in Execution by twelve Persons nominated by the King and Barons assembled in Parliament. This Decree or Statute of *Kenelworth* is to be seen at large in a *Manuscript* Copy in the *Cottonian Library*.

* They did the same by the Town of *Cambridge* in their Return to *Ely*.

1667. within forty Days. In the mean time they were to be furnish'd with Provisions, This Term being expir'd, they came out of the Castle so pale and meager, that it cou'd not be conceived that a Garrison in so wretched a Condition shou'd have had the Assurance to demand such a Capitulation*.

The Earl of
Glocester
takes Mea-
sures a-
gainst the
King.

The taking of *Kenelworth*, and his Hopes of reducing very shortly the Rebels of *Ely*, made the King forget all his past Misfortunes, as well as the Engagement the Prince his Son had enter'd into for him, with the Earl of *Glocester*. *Edward* himself, though more particularly concern'd by Reason of his Oath, had the Performance of his Promises less in his Thoughts than the Means to reduce the Male-contents of *Ely* to the Obedience of the King. The Earl of *Glocester* observ'd with Regret, that in Proportion as the King's Affairs prosper'd, the Father and Son acted with less Moderation, and made less Scruple to stretch the *Prerogative Royal* beyond the Bounds prescrib'd by the Laws. What he had done for the King and Prince was not so much to enlarge the Royal Power, as to prevent the Earl of *Leicester* from paving his Way to the Throne. This was evident enough from the Oath he had exacted from Prince *Edward*. The Conduct of the King, who was going on in the old Track, having made him sensible, that if the Male-contents were once reduced, it wou'd be too difficult a Matter to confine the Sovereign within the Bounds of an Authority limited by the Laws, he thought it necessary to put a Stop in Time to his Progress. Having taken this Resolution, he retir'd to his own Estate on the Borders of *Wales*, where he made a League with *Lewellyn* and some neighbouring Barons. After This, he sent word to the Male-contents of *Ely* that he wou'd endeavour to succour them,

It

* The King bestow'd this strong Castle, which was forfeited to him by the late Earl of *Leicester*, upon Earl *Edmund* his second Son, whom he had created some Time before Earl of *Derby* upon the Attainder of *Robert de Ferrars*. T. Wikes.

It cou'd not be, but his Absence and the Preparations he was making shou'd give some Umbrage to the Court. Nevertheless, as he conceal'd his Designs under Colour of a Quarrel with *Mortimer*, he still left Room to doubt of the Motives of his Arming. In the mean time, whereas Policy and good Sense requir'd that the King shou'd try to give some Satisfaction to so considerable a Lord, all his Thoughts were engross'd about Means to reduce the *Ely* Rebels. This was not so much to restore the publick Tranquillity, as out of Impatience to render himself as much or more Absolute than ever. He plainly perceiv'd, he cou'd not attain to his Ends, whilst there shou'd be a Body of Rebels in Arms in the midst of his Dominions. With this View he conven'd a Parliament, that he might take Measures about quelling the Male-contents. The Earl of *Glo-*
cester's Refusal to appear, gave the King some Uneasiness, who sent some Lords to admonish him to come and take his Seat. These Lords found the Earl very busy in levy-
 ing Troops; and as they shew'd their Surprize at it, he told them for their Satisfaction, that they were design'd against *Mortimer* his Enemy. He even made no Difficulty to give a Writing sign'd with his own Hand, whereby he engaged never to bear Arms against the King. By this Means, he wip'd off all Suspensions against him. This Fear being vanish'd, the King and Parliament thought of nothing more but how to lay Siege to *Ely*, the only Thing that gave them any Disturbance. The Resoluti-
 on which was taken of vigorously pushing this Siege, furnishing the King with a plausible Pretence to demand a *Subsidy*, the Parliament granted him a very considerable one. Although the *Legate* had not the same Reasons, he press'd the *Clergy* however to grant the same *Aid* to the Pope. This unseasonable Demand extremely provoked the Prelates. They not only refus'd to comply with it, but also committed to writing the Reasons of their Denial, which were not much for the Honour of the Court of *Rome*,

1267.

*He refuses
to come to
Parlia-
ment,*

*and amu-
ses the
King's Mes-
sengers.*

*The Parli-
ament
grants a
Subsidy.*

*The Legate
demands
one of the
Clergy, but
is denied.*

As

1267.
The King
marches
to Cam-
bridge.

As soon as the Parliament broke up, the King took the Field at the Head of his Army. He advanced as far as *Cambridge*, where he halted in order to lend and summon the Rebels of *Ely* to return to their Duty. But their Answer plainly made appear that they were not easily to be frighten'd. Their Resolution and the Situation of the Isle of *Ely*, which had formerly very much embarrass'd *William the Conqueror*, abated a little his warlike Ardour, and caus'd him to wait the coming of the Prince his Son who was then at *York*.

The Earl of
Glocester
becomes
Master of
London
and of the
Tower.

Whilst the King was at *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Glocester* headed the Army he had rais'd on his own Lands and in *Wales*. He forthwith marched towards *London*, and with that Expedition, that he enter'd the City before they had time to hinder him, and even before they knew whether he acted for or against the King. It is however probable that the Magistrates and principal Citizens were not ignorant of his Designs. Be this as it will, the Earl, leaving every one to make his own Conjectures, approach'd the *Tower*, the Custody whereof the King had committed to the *Legate*. He summon'd him to deliver it up immediately, alledging that it was not a Post to be trusted in the Hands of a *Foreigner*, much less of an *Ecclesiastick*. The *Legate* surpris'd at this unexpected Summons, made as if he wou'd stand upon his Defence. But as he wanted Provisions, and as the Earl had strictly forbidden the bringing him any, he was quickly constrain'd to surrender. As soon as the Earl was Master of the *Tower*, he was no longer careful to hide his Designs. Besides, as several of the Male-contents* came daily and join'd him, it was visible to all, that his Intention was not to act for the King's Interest. At length, he pull'd off the Mask, by publishing a *Manifesto*, wherein he declared, that he had taken up Arms, to obtain reasonable Terms for the Male-contents. Moreover, he complain'd of the King and Prince, affirming that his Design was to oblige them better to keep their Promises. Surpris'd at this fresh Revolt, *Henry* sent pressing

He pub-
lishes a Ma-
nifesto a-
gainst the
King.

* They were call'd then, *The Disaffected*.

pressing Orders to the Prince his Son to come and join him without Delay, being in a continual Fear of an Attack. He did not think himself in a Condition to come off with Honour in an Affair of this Nature, if he shou'd

1267.

be forced to come to a Battle. These Orders having met the Prince in his Return from the *North*, where he had finish'd his Matters, obliged him to march with all possible Expedition to the King's Relief. As soon as they were

Edward
joins his
Father.

join'd they advanced together towards *London*, and encamp'd at *Stratford*, which is within three Miles of the City. The universal Esteem *Edward* had acquired a-

The Royal
Army in-
creases.

mong the Nobles and People, rather than their Affection for the King, caus'd in a very short Time the Army to be considerably increas'd. For this Reason, the Earl of *Glocester* kept himself shut up in *London*, from whence he durst not depart for Fear of engaging at too great a Disadvantage. He had been in hopes that the whole Kingdom wou'd side with him, and that the King would on a sudden be deserted by his own Troops. But finding he had

depended upon Uncertainties, and that his Friends began to leave him, he applied himself betimes to the King of the *Romans*, by whole Intercession he obtain'd much better Terms than he had reason to expect. He was not only ac-

Glocester
make his
Peace.
Act. Pub.
I. 84r.

quitted upon laying down his Arms; but he had the Satisfaction also to get the City of *London* included in his Pardon, which otherwise wou'd doubtless have been severely punish'd. He wou'd fain have procur'd the same Favour for the Rebels of *Ely*; but the King and Prince being inexorable on their Account, he was forced to abandon their Interests.

This Affair being concluded more happily than there was Room to expect, *Edward* approach'd the Isle of *Ely*.

Ely-Rebels
surrender.

As the Male-contents had no Prospect of Relief, they chose to surrender before they should be reduced to Extremity. The only Condition they cou'd obtain was the saving their Lives and Limbs. Thus at length an End was put to the Troubles which had afflicted the Kingdom during five Years.

The End of
the Barons
Wars.

Henry.

1267.
*Treaty of
Peace with
Wales.*
M. West.

Henry, having an Army in a Readiness, resolved to go and correct the Insolence of the Prince of *Wales*, who, during the late Troubles, had all along assisted the Rebels. To this End, he advanced as far as *Montgomery*, where *Lewellyn* sent him Ambassadors to sue for Peace. The Offer he made the King to pay him twenty thousand Marks, and to do him Homage for his Principality, induced *Henry* to hearken to his Proposals. But besides what he had offer'd, he was obliged to deliver up certain Castles which were convenient for the King.

1268.
Edward
takes the
Cross to go
to the Ho-
ly Land.

The Peace of the Kingdom being thus restored, the King summon'd a Parliament, in which *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate was present. He inform'd the Assembly that the Pope had resolv'd to publish a *Crusado* in all the *Christian* States, and took Occasion from thence to exhort the *English* to contribute their Money and Persons towards this Expedition; the sole End whereof was the Glory of God and the Good of the *Church*. The Tranquillity, *England* began to enjoy, caus'd great Numbers to engage in this Undertaking, especially when they saw Prince *Edward*, and *Henry* Son of the King of the *Romans*, receive the Cross at the Hands of the Legate. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Pembroke* and above a hundred and twenty Knights, follow'd the Example of the two Princes, besides an infinite Multitude of Persons of inferiour Quality. The Legate having no further Business in *England*, return'd to *Rome*, and the King of the *Romans* took his third Journey to *Germany*.

*Statutes of
Marlbo-
rough.*

Whilst the *Croises* were preparing for their Voyage, the King assembled a Parliament at *Marlborough*, where a Body of *Statutes* were enacted, which make a considerable Figure among the Laws of *England* *.

Before

* The *Statutes of Marlebridge*, now *Marlborough*, were made Novemb. 18. An. 52d. H. 3. 1267. In the Preface they are said to be made by the Advice and Consent of the more Discreet Men of the Realm, as well of the Higher as of the Lower Estate; which last Tyrrel understands of the House of Commons or Knights of the Shire and Burgessees. These *Statutes* chiefly aim at reforming the Abuses

Before we go on to the Events of the next Year, it will be necessary to take Notice of the Death of Pope *Clement* IV, which was followed by a *Vacancy* of three Years. It was also this Year that the famous Battle near the Lake of *Celano* * was fought between *Charles* of *Anjou* the new King of *Sicily*, and *Conradin* Son of the Emperor *Conrade*. Young *Conradin* having had the Misfortune to be vanquish'd and taken Prisoner, *Charles* was so cruel as to cause his Head to be struck off *'.

1268.
Death of
Clement
IV.

Battle of
Celano.

The *Crusado* had not only been publish'd in *England* but also in all the Christian States, and particularly in *France*. *St. Lewis* was to be Head of it. His ill Success in an Expedition against *Egypt* not having been able to cool the Zeal of this Monarch, he had never ceas'd, since his return, thinking on Means how to carry War once more into the Country of the *Infidels*. Prince *Edward*'s late taking upon him the *Cross*, put *Lewis* in hopes of succeeding the better, if he cou'd perswade him to join with him. To that Purpose, he desir'd him to come to *Paris* where he communicated to him his Project. *Edward* wish'd for nothing more than to join Forces with so powerful a Prince, and to command under him. But he let him know that he cou'd not be ready soon enough by Reason he was in want of Money for the Expence of the Voyage. *Lewis*, glad to find he made no other Objection, lent him thirty thousand Marks, for the Payment of which *Edward* mortgag'd to him the Revenues of *Bordeaux* for seven Years. This Agreement being made, *Edward* return'd into *England*. The King his Father had already assembled a Parliament, which granted him a *Twentieth* of the *Moveables* of the Kingdom, Part whereof was to be

Edward
engages to
accompany
the King of
France to
the Holy
Land.
Act. Pub.
l.p. 858.

Lewis
lends him
Money.

Subsidy
granted
the King.

Abuses crept in during the late Troubles, and are divided into twenty-nine Chapters, as the Reader may see at large in our Law Books.

* Antiently call'd *Lacus Fucinus*.

*' *Conradin* had escap'd in Disguise but was betray'd to the Conqueror, who upon his going to the *Holy Land* order'd him to be beheaded in the Market-Place of *Naples*.

1268. employ'd towards the Charges of the Prince's Expedition.

Second marriage of the King of the Romans.

Before *Edward* was ready to set out, the King of the *Romans* arriv'd with his new Wife, whom he had married in *Germany*, not so much on the score of her Riches as of her Beauty *.

1269. The Body of St. Edward remov'd to the new Church.

A little before the Departure of the *Croises*, *Henry* caus'd the *Relicks* of *Edward the Confessor*, for which he had a particular Veneration, to be remov'd. The Ceremony of the Translation, to which all the considerable Men of the Kingdom had been invited, was perform'd with a great Deal of Pomp. The *Sbrine* of the *Saint*, adorn'd with precious Stones, was carried on the Shoulders of the King of the *Romans*, the Princes, and chief Lords, and placed in the new Church of *Westminster* which was just finish'd, and render'd the most stately Church then in *Europe* *.

1270. The King of the Romans reconciles Edward to the Earl of Gloucester.

The Calm, *England* enjoy'd for some time, was like to be disturb'd by the Suspicions the Earl of *Glocester* entertain'd against Prince *Edward*. The Earl not being able to perswade himself that the Prince was heartily reconcil'd to him, kept from Court, and always found some Excuse not to be present at the Parliaments. This Behaviour made the King very uneasy, being apprehensive that the Earl had still a design to break the Peace of the Kingdom. But the King of the *Romans* rid him of his Fears, by procuring a perfect Reconciliation between the Prince and Earl.

St. Lewis lands in Africa to besiege Tunis. T. Wikes. Vignier.

Whilst these things were passing in *England*, the King of *France* had alter'd his Design. Instead of going directly to the *Holy Land*, as he had at first intended, he had sail'd to *Africa* at the Instance of *Charles* King of *Sicily* his Brother, who was at Variance with the King of *Tunis*.

* Her name was *Beatrice*, Daughter of *Theodorick de Fulkmarite* a German Nobleman of great Reputation.

* The Shrine was of Gold, and no doubt remain'd there till the 27th of *Henry VIII*, when all such Shrines and *Relicks* were remov'd as Superstitious. This Translation was perform'd on the 13th of *October*, as mark'd in the *Kalendar*.

1270.

Tunis. He expected that the *African* Prince shou'd pay the same Tribute to him as his Predecessors had paid to the Emperor, with all the Arrears that were due. To support his Pretensions, *Lewis* had landed his Army in *Africa*, and was preparing to lay Siege to *Tunis*. But the *Moorish* King chose rather to bind himself to pay what was demanded of him than hazard the Loss of his Dominions.

Lewis was sail'd for *Africa*, when *Edward* set out from *Portsmouth* in order to go and take with him the Princess his Spouse at *Bordeaux*, from whence they went together and embark'd at *Aigues Mortes*, where their Fleet waited for them. They join'd the King of *France*, before *Tunis*, where he was staying to see the Performance of the Treaty he had made with the *Moors*. How urgent soever *Edward* might be with this Monarch, to perswade him to pursue his Voyage to *Palestine*, he cou'd not prevail with him to stir before he shou'd have receiv'd full Satisfaction from the King of *Tunis*. As *Edward* had no Manner of Concern in that Affair, he resolv'd to go and pass the Winter in *Sicily* with Design to proceed for the *Holy Land* in the Beginning of the Spring. Hardly had he quitted the Coasts of *Africa* before the Pestilence broke out in the Camp of the *French*, and raged in such a Manner that it not only carried off the private Soldiers, but also the principal Officers. The King himself being seiz'd with it, at length resign'd up his last Breath in the Arms of *Philip* his eldest Son, who thought of nothing but returning to *France*.

Edward goes to join the King of France, and leaves him in Africa.

Pestilence among the French. Lewis dies of it.

Though by the Death of *Lewis*, *Edward* had lost all hopes of making any great Progress in *Palestine*, he continued his Voyage however, and arriv'd there according to his Vow *. In the mean time, *Philip's* return to *France* giving him some Uneasiness on account of *Gai-*

Henry Son of the King of the Romans murder'd by Guido de Montfort.

* He was so bent upon going, that when he was dissuaded from it in *Sicily*, he smote his Breast and swore, *By the Blood of God, though all shall desert me, yet will I go to Acon, if I am attended only by Fowen my Groom.*

1270.
Act. Pub.
I. p. 870.

enne, he resolv'd to send thither *Henry* his Cousin, Son of the King of the *Romans*, to have an Eye over the *French*. This Young Prince, being gone with all speed for *Bordeaux*, pass'd through *Viterbo* a City in the Pope's Dominions, where he had a mind to make some stay, which cost him his Life. *Guido de Montfort*, Son to the late Earl of *Leicester*, being then at that Place, and seeing the Prince go into a Church, follow'd him and murder'd him before the High-Altar, in revenge of his Father's Death, slain in the Battle of *Evesham*. But the Pretence made use of by the Murderer to justify this infamous Action, cou'd not be but unjust, since neither this Prince, nor the King of the *Romans* his Father, were present at that Battle, being then both under Confinement *.

1271.
Edward
comes to
Palestine.

He is
wounded
by an As-
sassin,
whom he
kills.

Edward's Progress, in the *Holy Land*, was not great. He did not fail however, with the few Troops he had with him, to let the *Saracens* see what they were to expect from him, in case he shou'd come to be assisted with more Forces. His Valour, Fame, and the Reputation of King *Richard* his great Uncle, struck such a Terror into the *Infidels*, that to free themselves from their Fears, they sent an Assassin to dispatch him out of the way. The Villain, under colour of settling a Correspondence between *Edward* and the Governour of *Joffa*, who feign'd as if he were willing to turn *Christian*, found means to be admitted into the Prince's Presence, and frequently to discourse with him. At last one day as he was alone in his Chamber, he was just going to stab him with a Dagger in the Belly, if *Edward* had not warded off the Blow with his Arm, where he receiv'd a dangerous Wound. The Assassin, enrag'd at having miss'd his Aim, was about to redouble his Blow with greater Violence; but *Edward* gave him such a Kick on the Breast with his Foot, that he
beat

* Both his Cousin Germans *Simon* and *Guido* are said to have a hand in this Murder. *Henry's* Body was brought over the next Year into *England*, and buried in the Monastery of *Hayles* in *Glostershire* founded by King *Richard* his Father.

beat him down backwards, and leaping upon him at the same time, wrested the Dagger out of his hand, and kill'd him immediately. The Prince's Wound was much more dangerous than at first it appear'd to be, by Reason the Dagger was poison'd. The Wound beginning already to gangreen, made all despair of a Cure; but happily for him, there was then in the Army a skilful Chirurgeon who put him out of danger. Some have affirm'd he ow'd his Life to the tender Love of *Eleonora* his Spoule, who wou'd venture to suck with her own Mouth all the Venom out of the Wound. But this Circumstance is mention'd by no Author of that time *. This Princess was brought to Bed at *Acres* of a Daughter, call'd *Joanna de Acres* from the Place of her Birth, according to the Custom of those days. 1271. Birth of Joan de Acres.

Whilst *Edward* was in *Palestine*, *Theobald*, Archdeacon of *Liege*, who had attended him thither, receiv'd the News of his Election to the *Papal* Throne. He set out immediately for *Rome*, where he took upon him the Name of *Gregory X*. Gregory X. Act. Pub. I. p. 879.

Edward's Army daily diminish'd, either by Sickness, or by divers Battles with the *Saracens*, without his having any hopes of being reinforced from *France* or elsewhere. This Consideration oblig'd him, though with great Reluctance, to propose to the *Sultan* a Truce, which after a short Negotiation was concluded for ten Years ten Months and ten Days, both Parties being to keep what they were in Possession of. Nothing detaining *Edward* any longer in *Palestine* he embark'd his Troops, and set sail for *England*. 1272. Edward makes a Ten Years Truce with the Sultan.

During his Absence, the King his Father enjoy'd a perfect Tranquillity, which was not disturbed but by the Death of the King of the *Romans* his Brother. It is said that this Prince's Grief for the tragical Death of his Son threw Death of the King of the Romans.

* *Tyrrel* observes that *Camden* in his *Britannia* (in *Middlesex*) is the first that mentions it, and from him *Speed* has transcrib'd it in his *Chronicle*. Both of them quote *Rodericus Toletanus*; but that Archbishop, as he says himself, finish'd his History in the Year 1243, twenty Years before this Accident happen'd.

1272. threw him into a fit of Sickness which laid him in his Grave *, *Edmund*, his other Son, succeeded him as Earl of *Cornwal*, with which Title he was invested by the King his Uncle.

Sedition at
Norwich.

Shortly after, a Sedition happen'd at *Norwich*, occasion'd by a Quarrel between the Citizens and *Monks*, in which the *Cathedral* and *Monastery* adjoining were reduced to Ashes, by the Townsmen. *Henry*, resolving not to let this Riot go unpunish'd went in Person to *Norwich*, where he caus'd those that were found guilty to be severely punish'd *. In returning to *London* he was seiz'd at *St. Edmundsbury* with a languishing Distemper, which not seeming at first to be very dangerous, hinder'd him not from continuing his Journey to *London*. But his Sickness encreasing after his Arrival, he died in a few Days, aged sixty six Years, whereof he had reign'd Fifty six, and twenty Days. He order'd that his Body shou'd be interr'd near the Shrine of *Edward the Confessor* in the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*, where his Tomb [with his Statue in Brass] is still to be seen *.²

Death of
Henry III.

Character
of him.

This Prince's Character has so visibly appear'd in all the Circumstances of his Life, which I have related, that it will be needless to stay to make him better known. His narrow Genius, his easiness to suffer himself to be govern'd by haughty and selfish Counsellors, his variable and fickle Temper, and the Notions of Arbitrary Power which were instill'd into him from his very Youth, were the real Causes of the Troubles which disturb'd his Reign. Too Faint-hearted when he shou'd have shewn the most Resolution, and too Stout when he shou'd have stoop'd and complied with the Times, he seem'd to effect continually the doing what was least consonant with his own Interests. One can say nothing of his Courage, since he never

* During *Edward's* Absence died *John* his eldest Son, a Child of great Beauty and Wit for his Age. he was buried in the Abbey-Church, where his Tomb is still to be seen.

* They were drawn at Horses Tails to the Gallows and there hanged, and their Bodies burnt.

*² He died on the 20th of *November*, 1272.

never gave any sensible Proof of it. But one may justly commend him for his Continnence and Aversion to every thing that look'd like Cruelty, being always satisfied with punishing the Rebels in their Purses, when had it not been for him they wou'd have lost their Heads on the Scaffold. He was exceeding greedy of Money, but it was to squander it away so idly, that the vast Sums he levied upon his Subjects made him never the richer. How pressing soever his Necessities were, he cou'd not help lavishing away his Money upon his Favorites, not considering the great Pains he was forced to be at to obtain *Aids* from his Parliament. This Profuseness, and the immense Sums which in vain were laid out in the unlucky Affair of *Sicily*, were the principal Causes of the Mortifications and Misfortunes he was expos'd to during the whole Course of his Life.

1272.

Four things especially render this Reign remarkable. The first is the Readiness wherewith the Barons, in league against King *John*, return'd to the Allegiance of their young Sovereign, the moment they thought they had no longer any Reason to fear the loss of their Privileges. The second is, the Patience of the Barons, which lasted above forty Years, though the little Regard *Henry* had for them, and the continual Breaches of his Oaths, gave them but too much Reason to complain. In the third Place it is to be observ'd, that to the Troubles which distracted this Reign, the *English* are indebted for the *Liberties* and *Privileges* they enjoy at this day. If the Barons of those days had been more *Passive*, it may be suppos'd with very good Reason, that the two *Charters* of King *John* wou'd have been buried in eternal Oblivion. If their Revolt proved in the End fatal to themselves, at least it was beneficial to their Posterity, seeing the Kings, Successors to *Henry*, dreading to expose themselves to the like Dangers, durst not any more venture to revoke these *Charters*, which are the Basis and Foundation of the *Liberties* of the *English*. Accordingly, they had time to be so strongly establish'd by Degrees, that there was no annulling them. Let the Earl of *Leicester* be exclaim'd a-

Four things to be remark'd in the Reign of Henry III.

gainst

1272.

gainst never so much, let him be call'd Impious and Wicked for daring to take up Arms against his Sovereign; at least it must be confest that his Ambition has produced happy Effects for the whole *English* Nation. The fourth Remarkable thing is the Tyranny of the *Roman Pontiffs*, who abusing their Power, treated the *Clergy* of *England* with inconceivable Rigour. I shou'd add here an Article of no less Importance, I mean, the Origin of *the House of Commons*, if the thing was not liable to so many Disputes.

His Issue.

Henry III, of nine Children he had by *Eleonora* of *Provence* his Wife, only two Sons and two Daughters surviv'd him, the rest dying in their Infancy; *Edward* his eldest Son was his Successor. *Edmund* his second Son, after having in vain expected the Crown of the two *Sicilies* which the Pope had flatter'd him with, was Earl of *Lancaster*, *Leicester* and *Derby*, Lord of *Monmouth* and High-Steward of *England*. *Margaret* his eldest Daughter, was married at nine Years of Age to *Alexander III*, King of *Scotland*, to whom she left but one Daughter of her own Name, who was Wife to *Eric* King of *Norway*. By this Marriage came a Princess of the same Name of whom I shall have Occasion to speak in the following Reign. *Beatrix*, second Daughter to *Henry* was married to *John de Dreux* Duke of *Bretaign* *.

* In this Reign the following Remarkable things which are not taken Notice of by *Rapin* were transacted. Tryal by *Fire* and *Water-Ordeal*, though never taken away by *Act* of Parliament, was by King *Henry's* Command laid aside by the *Judges*, and soon after grew quite out of use. In the Year 1257, the King coin'd a Penny of pure Gold of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and order'd that it shou'd pass for twenty Shillings. This is thought to be the first Piece of Gold coin'd in *England*. *Weights* and *Measures* were thus fix'd. An *English Penny* call'd a *Sterling*, round and without clipping, was to weigh 32 Wheat-corns taken out of the Midst of the Ear, and 20 *Pennies* were to make an Ounce, 12 Ounces one Pound, and 8 Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and 8 Gallons of Wine a *London Bushel*, which is the eighth part of a *Quarter*.

The End of the Reign of *HENRY III.*

The STATE of the Church, during the Reigns of HENRY II, RICHARD I, JOHN LACKLAND, and HENRY III.

DURING the four last Reigns, which we have just gone through, the Affairs of the *Church* were so blended with those of the *State*, that there was a Necessity of relating them together. And indeed the Contests between *Henry II*, and *Thomas Becket*, and between *John* and *Innocent III*, and the Tyranny the Popes exercis'd in *England* in the Reign of *Henry III*, furnish the chief Materials of the *Ecclesiastical History* of these three Reigns. That of *Richard I*, was the only one, wherein the *Church* had no Influence; unless we are to consider the *Crusado*, in which that Prince was engaged, as an Affair purely *Ecclesiastical*. There are some who look upon the Time of these four Reigns, as a Time of Triumph for *the Church*, because they include in their Notion of *the Church* the *Pope* and *Clergy* only. Others are of Opinion that this was a Time of *Oppression* and *Slavery*, because *Christians* were expos'd to the Oppressions of the Popes, who shamefully abus'd the Authority they had been suffer'd to assume.

The bare Reading of the History of these four Reigns is sufficient to make appear, that it is not without Reason that I have heretofore dwelt so much on the prodigious Increase of the *Papal Power*, since it was to be the main Matter of the Sequel of the History. We have seen the pernicious Effects of the Authority the Pope's assum'd to themselves. It remains now to shew on what Principles they had

founded their Power, and the Consequences they had drawn from thence, to extend it more and more. This is the more worthy of Notice, as it is to be consider'd as the Spring of all the remarkable Events which happen'd in the Church of England during several Centuries.

Principles
on which
the Eccle-
siastical
Power
was esta-
blish'd.
1 Principle.

The first Principle was, that *Jesus Christ* had committed the Care of instructing the Faithful, to the Ministers of his Church, from whence were drawn these two Inferences. First, that the Faithful ought to submit to the Decisions of these same Ministers in Matters of Faith. Secondly, that Laymen had no manner of Right to decide, or even to examine the Difficulties which might arise about these Matters, but that they ought blindly to follow the Determinations of the Ecclesiasticks. This manifestly supposes Infallibility in the Ministers of the Church. But as this Supposition was founded upon the Promises of Christ made to his Church in General, and as the Consequence drawn from thence for the Infallibility of the Ministers in particular was not sufficiently evident, a Means was found out to blind the Eyes of the World, by confounding the general Notion of the Church with That of the Clergy in particular. Thus by Degrees the Clergy alone were called the Church, and to them only were applied the Promises of Christ made to all Christians in general. So that in saying with Christ that the Gates of Hell shou'd not prevail against the Church, they affected to say in downright Terms, that the Clergy or Councils, made up wholly of the several Members of the Clergy, shou'd be infallible in their Decisions. The Misinterpretation therefore of the Word Church, was one of the chief Causes of the blind and implicit Obedience of Christians. The Reader will be able to extend his Reflections on this Head, for my Purpose is only just to point out the several Steps by which the Ecclesiastical Power rose to so prodigious a Height.

2 Principle.

The second Principle was, that *Jesus Christ* had not only appointed Ministers in his Church, for the Instruction of the Faithful, but also to inspect their Life and Conversation. Hence it was infer'd, That it was the Business of the Pastors

ters to declare to their Flocks, what was Duty and agreeable to the Laws of God, and what not. From this Principle was drawn moreover this Consequence, that not only they had a Right to exhort *the Faithful*, and to censure them when they neglected their Duty, but also to punish them when in a State of Impenitence.

For a third Principle it was laid down, that the *Church* ^{3 Principle.} of *Jesus Christ* ought to be Pure and Holy, without Spot or Wrinkle, and therefore it was necessary to use all possible Endeavours to prevent her being polluted either by Sins or Errours. Now as, by the foregoing Principles, the *Clergy* alone had the Right of *Instruction* and *Inspection*, it follow'd that to them belong'd the Care of keeping *the Church* thus pure and spotless.

This led to a fourth Principle, That in order to preserve *the Church* in Purity, it was necessary to cut off the rotten Branches. The Consequence drawn from thence, was, that when a *Christian* had suffer'd himself to be corrupted either by Sin or Errour, he was to be *excommunicated*, that is, cut off from the Body of the *Church*. It is very easy to see, that, according to the above-Principles, it was the *Clergy's* Business to perform this *Cutting off*, and that they acquir'd a great Authority from thence, and gain'd a profound Respect from all *Christians*.

If the Governours of *the Church* had all been Holy and Infalible, these several Principles with their Inferences wou'd have produed none but good Effects. But it happen'd too often, that they were sway'd by Interest, Caprice, or the Impulse of an ill-govern'd Zeal. And therefore, one cou'd not help thinking that it was by no Means likely, that God shou'd have been pleas'd to subject his *Church* to the Passions and Prejudices of his Ministers. This Belief cou'd scarce fail to breed, for unjust and rash *Excommunications*, a Contempt which had even some Influence over the most regular. Every one is naturally enough inclin'd to imagine himself unjustly condemn'd. From this Contempt proceeded an Unconcern in the Persons *excommunicated* to be reconcil'd to *the Church*, and to give her the Satisfaction she requir'd.

If in *Excommunication*, the *Clergy* had aim'd at nothing more than the Preserving the *Church's* Purity, they wou'd have been contented with cutting off the *Rotten Members*, and grieving at the *Obstinacy* of those who neglected to get themselves absolv'd. But this was not what affected them the most. Satisfaction was the Point that chiefly gave them a Concern. The Reason is, because the greatest Part of *Excommunications* were thunder'd out against such as struck at the *Lands* or *Immunities* of the *Clergy*, to whom alone the Name of *the Church* was all along appropriated. It was necessary therefore, for the Interest of the said *Clergy*, to oblige those who were cut off from the Body of the *Church* to be reconcil'd to her, and to give her Satisfaction. For this Cause another Principle was establish'd: That *spiritual Punishments* not being sufficient to conquer the *Obstinacy* of harden'd Sinners, it was necessary for the *Glory* of God, to make use of temporal Ones, in order to force them to *Obedience*. Upon this Foundation it was that the *Clergy*, who were already in Possession of regulating all Matters relating to Religion, came to this Decision in their Councils, *That excommunicated Persons were not only to be separated from the Assemblies of the Church, but also from all Intercourse with the Faithful*. If this rigorous Law had been strictly observ'd, the *Excommunicated* wou'd quickly have ended their Days for want of the mutual Assistance, which Men naturally give one another, unless they had resolv'd to go and live among the *Infidels*. But as it was not possible to hinder their Relations and Friends from affording them some Relief, though the contrary often happen'd, another Expedient was found out to put the Persons cut off from the *Church* under a Necessity to submit to her Orders; that is to say, to Those of the *Clergy*. It was ordain'd in the Councils, that if within forty Days after *Excommunication*, the Party *excommunicated* did not sue to be reconcil'd to the *Church*, the *Magistrate*, upon the *Bishop's* Complaint, shou'd be oblig'd to cast him into Prison, and confiscate his Estate. So that, when a *Christian* was *excommunicated*, he was to expect to lose his Liberty and Property, or
make

make the *Church* such Satisfaction as the *Church* herself, that is the *Clergy*, shou'd judge proper. This Decree of the *Councils* wou'd hardly ever have been enacted into a Law, if Sovereigns had not found their Advantage in it, by Means of the *Confiscations*. They did not expect that this severe Treatment was ever like to reach them. But when once they had admitted the Principle of the unlimited Authority the *Church* assum'd, they quickly experienced that as *Christians* they had no more Privilege than their Subjects. The Popes, whose Power daily increas'd, extended it at length over Crown'd-Heads. They made no Scruple to *excommunicate* Princes themselves, who saw themselves frequently deserted by their own Subjects and *Domesticks*, and to take their Kingdoms from them and give them to Others.

The same Principles then, which had been establish'd with Regard to private Persons, extended to Kings and Emperors. There was at first but one Thing which distinguish'd an *excommunicated* Prince from a private Person: Which was, that his Subjects were bound to him by an Oath, which many cou'd not think of violating on Pretence that their Sovereign was *excommunicated*. But the Popes found means to remove this Scruple by absolving them from their Oath of Allegiance, by Virtue of the Fulness of the *Apostolical* Power which they affirm'd was committed to them. This was a Consequence of the Maxim before establish'd, *That an excommunicated Person was to be depriv'd of his Possessions*.

All this however was not sufficient to compel *excommunicated* Princes, to give the *Church* the Satisfaction she demanded. There were many of their Subjects who were not convinced that the Pope had Power to *excommunicate* Sovereigns. Others were of Opinion that as long as a King was on the Throne, his Subjects ought not to refuse him the Obedience due to him. Some, though perswaded of the Pope's Authority, thought it unlawful to take up Arms against the King actually reigning. Others again durst not venture on so hazardous an Undertaking, which might end in their own and their Families Ruin. To surmount these Difficulties, the Popes bethought them-

themselves of these two Expedients. The First was to depose *excommunicated* and *obstinate* Kings, in a *Council*, or only in a *Consistory*, in order to remove all Scruples of Conscience from their Subjects. The Second was, to commission some powerful Prince to put their Sentence in Execution, to the End that joining with those Subjects whose Fears were remov'd, the *deposed* Prince might be constrain'd to submit to the *Church*. Of this, without going any farther, we have seen a terrible Instance in the Quarrel between *Innocent III.* and King *John*.

In this Manner it was that from *Principles* which might be originally Good, consider'd in themselves, such Consequences were drawn as tended to erect the *Spiritual* Jurisdiction of the *Church* into a *temporal* and *absolute* Monarchy. Indeed cou'd a *Christian* help regarding, as his real *Master*, Men who dispos'd of his Estate, his Honour, his Life, and his Salvation? What is more strange, is that *Christians* shou'd be so far blinded as to admit all these *Principles* with all their unlimited Consequences, and suffer such a *System* to be built upon them, as wholly tended to enslave them. It is true, they bethought themselves, though too late, that it was necessary to set Bounds to the absolute Power the Pope and *Clergy* assum'd and extended by Degrees over all Things. But they met with strong Opposition, and a Resistance so much greater, as they had given them Time to confirm themselves in their Usurpations.

This is the main Matter of the *Ecclesiastical* History of *England*, during several *Centuries*, and especially during the four Reigns we are now about. Except a few Events, it contains nothing but Affairs resulting from the exorbitant Power the *Pope* and *Clergy* had assum'd. The sole Aim of the *Councils* was to maintain the *Privileges* and *Immunities* of the *Church*, that is, of the *Clergy*: For these Two were generally confounded together. All the Popes Projects tended only to extend their Authority as well over the *Lairy* and Sovereigns themselves, as over the *Clergy*. If they have not been able to keep the excessive Power they had got in their Hands, it is entirely owing

ing to the ill-use they made of it ; the which caus'd them to lose by Degrees the Regard which was paid to every Thing flowing from *the Holy See*. The bare Facts related in this History, concerning the Affair of *Thomas Becket*, the Deposing of King *John*, and the Oppressions *England* endur'd from *Rome*, during the long Reign of *Henry III*, are sufficient to convince all reasonable and unprejudiced Persons of the Cruelty with which the Popes exercis'd the Authority, they had been suffer'd to grasp. What would it be, if we shou'd add to these Instances all that was acted on the same Score, in the other *Christian Kingdoms*? But to confine my self wholly to what relates to *England*, I shall content my self with observing, that *Becket's* Affair carried the Pope's Power in *England* higher than it had ever been, after the World had seen a Prince, so haughty as was *Henry II*, constrain'd to stoop to a shameful *Discipline*. The Homage which King *John* was forced to do the Pope, finish'd the Matter, and lifted this Power to its utmost Height. From that Time the Popes look'd upon *England* no otherwise than as a conquer'd Country, with which they did not think themselves obliged to keep any Measures. This is manifest throughout the whole Reign of *Henry III*.

It must be further observ'd, that if the Rigour, wherewith the Popes treated *England*, serv'd for some Time to keep the Kingdom in Subjection, it prov'd in the End the chief Cause of the Decay of their Power There, when Circumstances came to be alter'd. As they had a mind to push it too far, they made the *English*, naturally jealous of their Liberty, desirous to throw off a Yoke which was become intolerable. Accordingly when a favourable Juncture offer'd, they fail'd not to lay hold of it, so much the rather as they found themselves back'd by the *Clergy*, who had felt, no less than the People, the Effects of the Pope's Tyranny. This will appear in some of the following Reigns. In the mean time, we are to consider the Days of *John* and *Henry III*, as Those wherein the *Papal Power* was at its utmost Height in *England*, and, if I mistake not, in most other Kingdoms in *Europe*. I might

might maintain what I advance by numberless Proofs, if what has been already said did not appear to me sufficient. They who have a Mind to see a more particular Account of the unjust and violent Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* with Respect to *England* during the Reign of *John* and *Henry III*, may for their Satisfaction consult the History of *Matthew Paris*, who treats of them at large. It is true indeed that Endeavours have been us'd to destroy the Credit of this Author: But Men of Sense don't look upon, as an Evidence of Unfaithfulness, bare Allegations without Proofs.

Contests about Elections.

The frequent Contests about the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, make also a considerable Article of the Affairs of the *Church*. But as I have had Occasion to speak of them several Times, it will be needless to enlarge any further upon that Subject. It will suffice to point out in general what serv'd for a Foundation to these Disputes. As to the *See* of *Canterbury*, the Monks of *St. Augustin's* affirm'd that the Right of electing the Archbishops belong'd to them exclusive of all others. But the *Suffragan-Bishops* of that *See* maintain'd, that they had an equal Right with the *Monks*. On the other Side, the Court wou'd not willingly suffer that any one shou'd be promoted to the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity, but whom they approv'd of. So that directly or indirectly, the Court had all along a great Hand in the Elections. These several Interests were the Occasion that hardly cou'd an Archbishop be chosen without some Contest. One while because the *Monks* elected without consulting the *Suffragan-Bishops*, another while because the Bishops made a different Choice from that of the *Monks*. Sometimes the *Monks* themselves made a double Election, and sometimes it happen'd that the Prelate not being agreeable to the King, cou'd not obtain his Confirmation. The Court of *Rome* reap'd great Benefit from these Controversies, since to her was referr'd the Decision of them. Upon these Occasions the Popes laid it down for a steady Rule to declare in Favour of him who appear'd the best affected to the *Holy See*. Oftentimes by the Fulness of their *Apostolical Power*, they annu'd

null'd the Elections made with unanimous Consent, and caus'd such as they were pleas'd to nominate to be elected. Of this we meet with several Instances in the History of *England*.

These Dissentions were almost as prevalent in the Elections of other Bishops and Abbots. The Court had all along among those that had a Right to vote, a Party, which generally carried it from the others. At least, the Party was strong enough to hinder the Election of such as were disagreeable to the King. Whatever happen'd, they rais'd Disputes which were referr'd to the Pope's Decision. Then it was that the King made use of such means with the Pope as seldom fail'd of Success. Instances of this frequently occur in the History of *the Church of England*. But it is sufficient to have made here these few Remarks, without staying to say any thing more on this Head.

The *Immunities* which the Court of *Rome* very often granted to *Churches* and *Monasteries* to the Prejudice of the Bishops, were moreover a fertile Source of Disputes. These *Immunities* regarded either the *Visitation* of the *Religious Houses*, or the Elections of the Abbots, or the Dispensation to some Bishops not to be present at the *Councils*. All these Articles produced an infinite Number of *Suits*, the Benefit of which accrued to the Pope, who, under this Pretence, commanded the Parties to repair to *Rome* to defend their respective Rights. When once they were there, they never saw an End to their Suits, unless by Presents they found means to procure Dispatch; and He that gave most generally came off best. Of this 'twou'd be no hard Matter to give several Instances. But there is no Occasion to stay to prove a Fact so well known and averr'd. I shall now proceed to the *Councils* that were held during the four Reigns we are speaking of.

C O U N C I L S in the Reign of HENRY II.

a Mixt
Council.

IN the Year 1155, being the First of *Henry II*, a mixt *Council* was held at *London*, consisting of Bishops and Barons, wherein were debated several Affairs relating to the *Church* and *State*. I take Notice of this Assembly on purpose to make appear that the Use of these Sort of mixt *Councils* was not yet entirely abolish'd.

Council
against
Becket.

In 1166 a *Synod* was held which appeal'd to the Pope, from the *Excommunication* denounced by *Thomas Becket* against those that observ'd the *Constitutions of Clarendon*.

Council
of Oxford
against the
Publicans.

The same Year, according to Dr. *Hody*, but six Years sooner according to *Spelman*, and according to others four only, *Henry II* order'd a *Council* to meet at *Oxford*, to inquire into the *Tenents* of certain *Hereticks* call'd *Publicans*, of whom I have already spoken in the Reign of that Prince. It is very probable they were Disciples of the *Waldenses*, who began then to appear. When they were ask'd, in the *Council*, who they were, they answer'd they were *Christians* and Followers of the Doctrine of the Apostles. After this, being interrogated concerning the Articles of the *Creed*, their Replies were very *Orthodox* as to the Points of the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But if we may believe *William of Newbury*, they rejected *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, *Marriage*, and the *Communion of Saints*. They shew'd a great deal of Modesty and Meekness in their whole Behaviour. When they were threaten'd with Death, in order to oblige them to renounce their *Tenents*, they were contented with replying, that *Blessed are they that suffer for Righteousness Sake*. The *Council*, finding there was no prevailing upon them, put them into the Hands of the *Secular Magistrates*. Unluckily for them; for the King, being then at Variance with the Pope, was afraid of giving him a Handle against him
if

if he shou'd spare them. Upon this Account he treated them more severely than he wou'd have done at any other time. After he had order'd them to be branded with a hot Iron, he forbad under great Penalties all Persons to give them the least Relief. They suffer'd this hard Treatment very chearfully, and as they cou'd meet with no Assistance either to stay in the Kingdom or to go from thence, they all miserably perish'd. This is all the Historians have related concerning these pretended *Hereticks*, without acquainting us with the Reason why they gave them the Name of *Publicans*. I observ'd that it is very likely they were Disciples of the *Waldenses*, because of their *Orthodoxy* about the *Trinity* and *Incarnation* of the Son of God, their Patience, and the Answer they made the *Council* that they follow'd the Doctrine of the Apostles, for that was precisely the Language of the *Waldenses*. It is true, we can't trace the *Waldenses* in the *Tenents* attributed to them concerning *Baptism*, the *Eucharist*, *Marriage*, and the *Communion of Saints*. But it is not impossible but that the Historians who have mention'd them, may have misrepresented their *Doctrine*. Perhaps they did not believe *Transubstantiation*, and refusing to communicate with such as did believe it, it was infer'd that they rejected the *Eucharist* and *Communion of Saints*. As for *Baptism*, perhaps they wou'd, with the *Waldenses*, have it stript of all the Ceremonies tack'd to it since its Institution. In fine, it may be they denied *Marriage* to be a *Sacrament*, and on that account were accus'd of rejecting it. However this be, they wou'd not be the first, to whom have been ascrib'd *Doctrines* little agreeable to their real Sentiments, by forced Consequences, as it is easy to make appear from the History of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* *.

What

* The *Waldenses* publish'd the Articles of their Faith, which they dedicated to the *French King*, who was then persecuting them. The Monks wou'd have conceal'd their *Doctrines*, but they came to light partly by the Quarrels of the *Papists* among themselves, and partly by the taking of *Monthbrun* in 1585, by the Mareschal de *Lesdiguieres*, a Protestant, who sav'd the *Records* of the Persecutions.

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What I have been saying on this Head is however no more than Conjecture. But it is plausible enough, to make one stand amaz'd at the Rashness of some *Protestant* Authors, who upon the bare Credit of *Neubrigensis* the Monk and some others of the same *Order*, have given these pretended *Hereticks* so little Quarter.

Gervase in his *Chronicle* speaks of another *Council* conven'd by *Henry II*, wherein he says that this Prince caus'd the Bishops to swear that they wou'd obey his Orders before he had inform'd them what they were. He adds, that in pursuance of this Oath he wou'd have oblig'd them to withdraw their Obedience from *Alexander III*, and own the *Antipope*: but that the Prelates flatly refus'd it. It seems that *Gervase*, who was a Monk of St. *Augustine's* and Cotemporary with *Becket*, shou'd have perfect Knowledge of all that pass'd in the Contest that Archbishop had with the King. But as he is extremely partial in favour of *Becket*, and as besides no other Historian speaks of this *Council*, one can hardly question but that it is a mere Fiction. The only Foundation for it is the Step *Henry* made in writing to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, as has been said in the History of his Reign. I shall observe here by the way, that certain Modern Historians, relying too much on the Authority of *Gervase* who was *Becket's* Creature, have taken him too rashly for Guide in their Account of this Quarrel. Hence they have been led to give their Relation a Turn favorable to the Archbishop, and to insinuate as if the King unjustly persecuted him. This join'd to what I remark'd in the Instance above mention'd, shews how easily the Writers of History suffer themselves to be drawn insensibly into the Notions or Prejudices of those that have writ before them.

In

ons, found in that Place, when the Monks design'd to have burnt them, because they not only contain'd an account of the Cruelties against the *Waldenses*, but prov'd that their Doctrine was the same with *Ours*. This makes *Rapin's* Conjecture the more probable, and shou'd be a Caution to Protestant Writers not to condemn too hastily for *Hereticks* all that are represented as such by the Monks.

In 1175 *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* conven'd in *Westminster* a *National Synod*, wherein he caus'd to be recited some *Canons* which he himself had drawn up. They, almost all of them, relate to *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, and the *Celibacy* of the Priests, which was not yet thoroughly establish'd. *Roger* Archbishop of *York* was not present at this *Synod*; but sent some *Proxies*, who made Protestations in his Name against three things wherein he thought himself aggriev'd. First, he complain'd of being denied the Privilege of having the *Cross* carried before him in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the second Place, he complain'd that the Bishopricks of *Lincoln*, *Chester*, *Worcester* [and *Hereford*] were unjustly taken from the Jurisdiction of the *See* of *York*. His third Grievance was on account of an *Excommunication* pronounced by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* against some Clergymen of *St. Oswald's* in *Glocester*. Hence it is evident, that the old Disputes between the two *Metropolitans* were all along kept on foot, maugre the Care that had been taken to put an End to them, in the Reign of *Henry I.*

Synod at Westminster.

Disputes between the two Archbishops.

What pass'd the next Year 1176 in a *Synod* held by *Huguccio* the Pope's *Legate*, is a further Evidence of this Matter. The Archbishop of *York*, having a Mind to sit on the Right-hand of the *Legate*, the Domesticks of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* fell upon him, drag'd him from thence, and trampled upon him with their Feet. This Accident caus'd the *Synod* to break up, and was follow'd by a long Process which occasion'd the two *Metropolitans* to carry to the Court of *Rome* several *Appeals*, from whence she reap'd great Advantage.

In the Year 1183, the Pope having desir'd *Henry II* to obtain for him a *Subsidy* from the *Clergy*, to enable him to carry on the War against the Emperor, the King assembled the Prelates to acquaint them with the Pope's Demand. The *Clergy* not daring to refuse the Aid the Pontiff requir'd, and on the other hand, dreading it might be made a *Precedent* to the Prejudice of the Liberties of the *Church of England*, us'd this Expedient to content him. They entreated the King to give the Pope what he shou'd judge

Expedient of the Clergy to satisfy the Pope for fear of Consequences.

judge reasonable, promising to repay him whatever he shou'd advance.

Synod at
Armagh in
Ireland.

In this Reign two *Councils* were held in *Ireland*, the first of which was conven'd at *Armagh*, presently after the first Conquests of the *English*. It was decreed in this *Synod*, that all the *English* Slaves shou'd be enfranchis'd, the Prelates being perswaded that the Calamities which began to afflict their Island, proceeded from the *Irish* detaining in Slavery Men who were Christians as well as themselves. Besides, they consider'd that they gave Encouragement to Pyrates, by affording them an Opportunity of selling Slaves in *Ireland*. The other *Synod* was held at *Cashel* in order to put the *Church* of *Ireland* upon the same Foot with the *Church* of *England*; that is to say, to reduce the *Irish* Clergy under the Pope's Jurisdiction, pursuant to the King's Promise when he demand- ed the Consent of *Adrian* IV to make that Conquest.

Another at
Cashel.

XI Coun-
cil of Late-
ran.

Before I finish what relates to the *Councils* held in the Reign of *Henry* II, I shall add a word concerning the XIth *Council* of *Lateran* conven'd at *Rome* by *Alexander* III. There were only three *English* Bishop* who went to the *Council*: for, according to the Testimony of *Roger de Hoveden*, it was one of the Privileges of the *Church* of *England*, not to be obliged to send more than four Bishops to *Councils* held at *Rome*. The *Albigenses* were excommunicated in this Council and all Christians very strictly forbidden to keep any Correspondence with them.

Hoved.
p. 352.

One of the *Canons* prohibited on Pain of *Excommunication* to promise *Benefices* before a Vacancy. But this Prohibition took place only with regard to *Patrons*, and not with respect to the Popes, who broke it continually, by Means of *Provisions*, which, in spite of this *Canon* they made frequent use of.

I

* *Hoveden* names four who were present at the Council, viz *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, *John* of *Norwich*, *Robert* of *Hereford* and *Reginald* of *Bath*. The Abbots were more numerous. See *Hoveden*, p. 332, anno 1179.

It was resolv'd moreover in this same *Council* to ease the vast Expence *Churches* and *Religious Houses* were liable to for the Entertainment of the *Visitors*, and their Train. It was decreed that in *Visitations* an Archbishop shou'd not have in his Retinue more than Fifty Horse, a Bishop more than Thirty, a Legate more than Twenty-five, and an Archdeacon more than Seven. A great Reformation truly, which plainly shews the *Moderation* of the *Council*. The Charges the *Abbies* and *Churches* were at upon this Occasion were call'd *Procurations*, doubtless because the *Churches* were oblig'd to *procure* what was necessary for the Entertainment of the *Visitors*. In Process of time this was turn'd into a certain Sum of Money, which kept all along the Name of *Procurations*, and became a fertile Source of Oppressions, which the *Nuntio's* and *Legates* made the *Churches* endure on this Pretence. *Tiltings* and *Tournaments* were likewise forbidden; but this Prohibition was not capable of abolishing them.

C O U N C I L S in the Reign of *RICHARD I.*

IN 1189, Baldwin Archbishop of *Canterbury* having put the Lands of Prince *John* under an *Interdict* on account of his Marriage with *Avisa* of *Glocester* his Relation, he had appeal'd to the Pope from this Procedure. Upon which the Pope sent into *England* a Legate, one *John d' Anagnia*, who call'd a *Synod*, wherein the Proceedings of the Archbishop were made Void and the *Interdict* taken off. After which, the Pope confirm'd the Marriage by his Authority. Notwithstanding this decisive Sentence, the Marriage was annull'd several Years after on the score of Kindred, and by the same Authority, all things being easy to those that are invested with Absolute Power.

The

The same *Baldwin* being about to attend *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, conven'd a *Synod*, wherein he declar'd that he left the Administration of the Affairs of the Province of *Canterbury* to the Bishop of *London*, and of his *Diocese* in particular to the Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

During the Absence of the two Archbishops, one of whom was in the *East*, the other in *Normandy*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Regent of the Kingdom, and *Legate* of the Pope, conven'd two *Synods*, one at *Gloceſter*, and another at *Westminſter*. But nothing of Moment was transacted, his Aim in assembling them being only to shew his Grandure.

Baldwin dying at *Acres*, as soon as the News reach'd *England*, the Bishop of *London* sent an Inhibition to the Monks of *St. Agustin*, forbidding them to proceed to an Election of an Archbishop, without the Consent of the Suffragan-Bishops. Some time after the *Suffragans* being met at *Canterbury*, the Monks came into their Assembly, and declar'd they had elected the Bishop of *Bath*. At the same instant they took and placed him on the *Archiepiscopal* Throne. The Bishops appeal'd to the Pope: but the Death of the Prelate elect, which fell out quickly after, put an End to the Difference.

A Synod
at York.

In 1193, *Richard* sent from *Palestine* a Letter to the *Suffragan* Bishops of *Canterbury*; Ordering them to proceed to the Election of an Archbishop, jointly with the Monks of *St. Agustin*. Pursuant to this Order a Sort of *Synod* was held, wherein was elected *Hubert Walters*, whom the King had strongly recommended. Two Years after, the same *Hubert*, being made *Legate*, conven'd in the Cathedral of *York*, a National *Synod*, wherein several *Canons* were made, among which two only deserve Notice. By the III^d Priests are forbidden to take Money for saying *Mass*. The Vth expressly forbids *Deacons* to administer the Sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, unless in Cases of Necessity.

C O U N C I L S in the Reign of King J O H N.

IN the Year 1200 Archbishop *Hubert* held a national *Synod* at *Westminster*, notwithstanding the King's Prohibition, the which is remarked by Historians as the first Usurpation of this Nature. Several *Canons* were made in this *Synod*, the Chief of which are these. *Synod held notwithstanding the King's Prohibition.*

The Ist regulates the Pronunciation of *Divine Service*, in order to prevent the reading the Prayers either too slow or too fast.

The IId forbids the consecrating the *Eucharist* more than once in a day, without urgent Necessity.

The XIth declares against clandestine Marriages, and forbids married Persons to travel beyond Sea without publishing their mutual Consent.

In 1206, the Pope having a Mind to levy in *England* an extraordinary *Romescot* or *Peter-Pence*, the Bishops met in a *Synod* to debate upon the Matter. But the King having sent them word to proceed no further, they broke up without coming to any Resolution. And indeed, *Peter-Pence*, not concerning the *Clergy* any more than the Rest of the Nation, it belong'd not to them to determine whether it was to be paid or not. Nevertheless, shortly after, a *Legate* one *Florentinus* call'd another *Synod* at *Reading* upon the same Account; and as if the *Clergy* had been the Occasion of the King's Refusal, he extorted from them a *Subsidy*, in lieu of the extraordinary *Romescot* the Pope had demanded. *Synod which refuses Money to the Pope.*

I pass over in Silence several *Councils* which were call'd purely to regulate the Restitution which the King was to make the *Ecclesiasticks*, after his Reconciliation to the Pope, having spoken of them elsewhere.

XII Council of Lateran.
M. Paris.

M. DuPin.

During the Reign of King *John*, Pope *Innocent III*, conven'd the *XIIth Council of Lateran*, at which were present four hundred and twelve Bishops *. There were pass'd seventy *Canons*, which according to the Report of Historians, were not very agreeable to the Prelates by whose Authority they were made. This gave Occasion to a famous Modern to conjecture, that the Pope had drawn up these *Canons* himself, and that they were read before the *Council*, whose Silence was taken for Approbation. This was an Artifice which began to be practis'd, in order to pass in *Councils* whatever the Pope had a Mind to. The President order'd the *Canons* ready drawn up to be read, and the Prelates perceiving by that, it was not intended they shou'd be debated, none of them durst be the first to oppose them. In process of time, this Expedient was frequently made use of, and the *Council of Vienna* which was held in 1312, and wherein the Order of the *Knights-Templars* was abolish'd, will furnish us with a remarkable Instance.

To return to the *Council of Lateran*, since the *Church of England* as a Member of the *Catholick Church* was no less concern'd than the other *Churches* in the *Canons* made there, it will not be perhaps foreign to the Purpose to say something of it. But however, to avoid Prolixity, it will be sufficient to take Notice of three *Canons* which seem remarkable above the rest.

Canons of the Lateran Council.

The Ist establishes in express Terms the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*.

The IIId imports, that the *secular Powers* shall be requested, solicited, and, if need be, compell'd by *Ecclesiastical Censures* to take an Oath to use their utmost Endeavours to exterminate all *Hereticks* out of their Territories. That for the future, all Persons without Exception shall be obliged to swear the same Oath, upon their being promoted to any Dignity *Spiritual* or *Temporal*. And if any *Temporal Lord* refuses to purge his Dominions of *Hereticks*, after having been admonish'd so to do, he shall be
excom-

* Among whom was *Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

excommunicated by the *Metropolitan* and his *Suffragans*. And in case he contemns the *Censures* of the *Church*, and refuses to make Satisfaction within a Year, the Pope shall declare his Subjects and *Vassals* absolv'd from their Oath of *Allegiance*, and at the same Time, shall invite the *Catholic* Princes to seize his Country, saving to the Sovereign of the *Fee*, if there is any, his Rights; upon Condition that the said Sovereign shall do nothing to obstruct the Execution of the *Canon*.

It is difficult to read this Decree without being surpris'd, that Bishops shou'd assume a Right to deprive Sovereign Princes of their Dominions; as if in Fact *Jesus Christ* had, in clear and precise Terms, invested them with such a Power. They might be allow'd a Right to exhort, to request, to sollicit Princes to purge their Territories of *Hereticks*. Let us allow them further, if you please, Power to *excommunicate* these same Princes, under Colour of their being, as Members of the *Church*, liable to *Ecclesiastical Censures*, as well as their Subjects. But that Bishops may extend their Authority so far as to decree *temporal* Punishments, and to deprive Princes, or even private Persons, of their Property, is what can't be granted them, without giving up to them at the same time the *temporal* Sovereignty of the whole Christian World. To what Purpose then, will some say, is *Excommunication*, if the Persons *excommunicated* happen to contemn it? I know not, God alone will be Judge in this Case in the other Life. But this is what contented not the *Clergy*, and much less the Popes who wou'd be respected, feared, obeyed, in this Life: For this was the sole End of all their *Excommunications*. And indeed to this *temporal* Punishments were absolutely necessary, *spiritual* ones not producing their Effect but in the next World, in regard of which they were little concern'd about what might happen there. Thanks be to God, the Generality of *Christians* follow at present another Sort of *Divinity*. Accordingly we see that the *Excommunications* of Princes are much less frequent, because People's Eyes are open'd, and they don't think themselves oblig'd to renounce their *Al-*

*Remarks
on the
Third Ca-
non.*

legiance to their Sovereigns, in Compliance to the Pope's Pleasure. It may be further observ'd on this *Decree*, that although it seem'd to be levell'd only against the Earl of *Toulouse* and the other Protectors of the *Albigenses*, yet the Consequences reach'd all *Christian* Princes in general. And indeed from this Principle naturally flow'd the unlimited Authority of the *Roman Pontiff*, which was but too often exerted.

The last *Canon* of the *Council* of *Lateran*, that I design to take Notice of, is the XIVth. By this *Canon* it is decreed that the Priests, who give themselves up to Debauchery in Countries where Marriage is allow'd them, shou'd be more severely punish'd than Those who live in Places where they are oblig'd to *Celibacy*. From hence it may be inferr'd that the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy* was not yet unanimously establish'd.

C O U N C I L S in the Reign of *HENRY*, III.

I Shall not take upon me to speak of all the *Councils* held in the long Reign of *Henry* III, because they were, for the most Part, conven'd only to furnish the Popes with Money, or to countenance their Exactions; I shall content my self with pitching upon such as had a more immediate Relation to religious Matters, or wherein some Thing remarkable was transacted.

*Synod at
Canterbu-
ry, where-
in were
condemn'd
three Per-
sons.*

In 1222, Cardinal *Langton* conven'd, in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, a *provincial Synod*, wherein three Men were condemn'd and deliver'd over to the *secular Arm*. The first pretended himself to be *Jesus Christ*, and shew'd on his Body the five Wounds of our Saviour. The second was a *Hermaphrodite* who accompanied that Impostor. The third was a *Deacon*, who in order to mar-
ry

By a *Jewish* Woman with whom he was in Love, had circumcised himself *.

In 1225 the same Prelate held a *Synod*, wherein was made a *Canon* confirming the Prohibition of the Marriage of Priests. This leaves room to presume that there were still in *England*, Priests who stood their Ground against all former Prohibitions. *Synod against the Marriage of Priests.*

In 1237, *Orto* the Pope's *Legate* conven'd a *national Council* at *London* in *St. Paul's Church*. As he was sensible that there was a Design to oppose the *Canons* which he wou'd have pass'd against *Pluralities*, he obtain'd of the King a Guard of two hundred Men. As soon as the Prelates had taken their Places, he order'd certain *Canons* to be read which he had brought from *Rome* ready prepar'd, according to the new Method. When the *Canon* against *Pluralists* came to be read, *Walter de Cantilupe* Bishop of *Winchester*, and some other Prelates, strenuously oppos'd it, and even protested against it. This Opposition oblig'd the *Legate* to declare that the *Canon* shou'd not be in Force but during the Time of his *Legateship*. However he had no sooner got it pass'd upon that Condition, but an *Ecclesiastick* in the *Legate's* Retinue read aloud a *Decretal Epistle* of the Pope's, by which it was ordain'd that this *Canon* shou'd be perpetually binding. *Council at St. Paul's.*

The II^d states the Number of the *Sacraments*, and reckons them seven *.

The III^d, fixes the *Eves* of *Easter* and *Whitsunday* for the Administration of *Baptism*, and as some People scrupled to baptize their Children on these Days, their Scruples were condemn'd.

The XXI^d enjoins the *Clergy* to reside on their *Benefices*, at least the best Part of the Year. This *Canon* was absolutely necessary at that Time. As the Pope dispens'd with the Residence of the *Italians*, who were in Possession

* He was tied to a Stake and burnt, whereas the *Imperator* was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, and to be fed with nothing but Bread and Water. *T. Wikes.*

* Namely, *Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Matrimony, and Orders,*

Possession of Abundance of *Benefices* in *England*, if the *English* had not been oblig'd to reside, the *Churches* won'd have been quite deserted.

In 1239, was held at *London* a *Council*, which flatly refus'd the *Legate* the Money he demanded to defray the Expences of his *Legateship*.

The next Year, the same *Legate* assembled another *Synod*, in which he demanded for the Pope, the fifth Part of the Revenues of the *Clergy*; but he cou'd not prevail.

All the Rest of the *Councils* which were assembled from 1240 to 1264, were conven'd upon no other Account but to demand *Subsidies* of the *Clergy*.

Synods at Reading and Northampton.

During the Barons Wars, were assembled two *Councils*. The first at *Reading*, wherein was confirm'd the Appeal brought in by the Barons, from the Proceedings of the *Legate* then at *Bologne*. In the second which was held at *Northampton* in 1266, *Otho* * the *Legate* excommunicated all *Clergymen* engaged in the Earl of *Leicester's* Party.

Council at St. Paul's.

In 1268 the same *Legate* * conven'd in *St. Paul's* at *London* a *national Council*, wherein were publish'd certain *Constitutions* which had been brought from *Rome*, and some whereof are still Part of the *Canon-Law* of the *English Church*. As several of these *Constitutions* tended to lessen the Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops, strong Opposition was made against them, which oblig'd the *Legate* to prorogue the Assembly till next Day. He knew how to make so good use of this short Adjournment, that having gain'd in this Interval, either by Promises or Threats, such as had appear'd the most averse, on the Morrow he met with no further Opposition. This was the Method of holding *Councils* in those Days.

Constitutions brought from Rome.

The Ist of these *Constitutions* allows *Laymen* to administer Baptism in Case of Necessity.

The IId forbids Priests to take Money for administering the Sacraments, and prescribes these Words to be made use

* Not *Otho*, but *Othobon*, *Otho* having left *England* long before in 1241, as *Rapin* himself has related in the Reign of *Henry III.*

use of in giving Absolution: *I absolve thee from all thy Sins*; or, *By the Authority committed unto me, I absolve thee, &c.* Hence it may be inferr'd that there were still some Priests who made a Scruple to pronounce the *Absolution* in a direct Manner, and were contented with a bare Declaration.

The IXth enjoins Residence to *Clergymen*.

The XIIth confirms the Privilege of *Sanctuary* to *Churches*.

The XIVth ordains the solemnizing of Marriage in Publick.

The XXth is against those that pretend to give a *Compensation* in lieu of the *Penance* enjoin'd them.

The XXIIId provides against alienating any Part of the Tythes from the Parochial *Clergy*. This *Constitution* regarded chiefly the *Monks*, to whom such Alienations were daily appropriated.

The XXXth is against *Pluralists*.

The XXXIst forbids the giving Benefices in *Commendam*, and declares all *Benefices*, held in that Manner, vacant. This Custom, which was become much in vogue, ow'd its Original to the Persecutions to which the *Church* was expos'd, whilst the *Northern Nations* broke in upon the *Western Empire*; when by the Fury of the Wars, the Priests and Bishops themselves were fain to absent themselves, the principal Prelates of the Province appointed Priests to *officiate* in the vacant *Benefices*, till the *Pastor* shou'd be able to resume the Care of his Flock: This Custom at length was abus'd in a Manner very prejudicial to the *Church*. After Peace was restor'd, they continued however to set over the *Benefices* such Priests as were not the true *Pastors*, and were stil'd *Commendatory's*. For this Reason several *Councils* endeavour'd to reform this Abuse, by decreeing that Those who held Benefices in *Commendam* shou'd not receive the Profits, or *officiate* as Pastor above six Months. But the Popes, pretending to a Power paramount to the *Canons*, continued to dispose of Benefices in *Commendam* for Term of Life.

*Original of
Commenda-
dam's.*

*Paul Hist.
of the In-
quis. of
Ven.*

The

The XXXIId Canon decrees that before a Bishop was consecrated, strict Enquiry shou'd be made whether he held more *Living*s than one without a Dispensation, and whether the Dispensation was authentick and in Form.

The XXXIVth declares null and void all previous Contracts made between Patrons and Persons presented to Benefices.

Artifice to
get certain
Canons
pass'd.

These are the principal *Councils* held in *England*, from the Beginning of the Reign of *Henry II*, to the End of that of *Henry III*, that is, during the Space of six score Years. After having observ'd the Manner of making the *Canons*, it will be necessary to add another Remark on that Head. It happen'd very often, that in order to get a *Canon* pass'd, which were likely to meet with great Opposition, several very useful Things was tack'd to it. This was done to the End the Opposers might be accus'd of being against *Regulations* of known Usefulness. This Artifice was not only practis'd in *Councils* but likewise in *Parliaments*, when to pass certain *Bills*, others of absolute Necessity were join'd to them. However this Practice has met from Time to Time with such strong Opposition, that it has not been able hitherto to grow into a Custom.

What we have observ'd in some of these *Councils*, concerning the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy*, is a clear Evidence, that it was not yet universally establish'd, though 'tis pretended that *Anselm* put the finishing Stroke to it in the Reign of *Henry I*. This Evidence may be further supported by Facts. Long after *Anselm*, *Richard* Bishop of *Lichfield* was Son of *Robert* Bishop of *Chester*; upon which an Historian remarks, that in those Days, the being Son to a Priest was no Obstruction to Promotions in the Church. The same Historian relates, that the Pope having complain'd that the Bishop Elect of *Ely* had not come to *Rome* for his Confirmation, the *English* Ambassador merrily replied, the Prelate had a very lawful Excuse taken from the *Holy Scriptures*, for he had just married a Wife. We see also in *Baronius's Annals* that a Legate sent by Pope *Innocent III*. into *Poland* to establish the *Celibacy*

of the *Clergy*, did at last carry his Point: But that attempting to do the same Thing in *Bohemia*, he was put in Danger of his Life.

There was another Article which was of no less Importance to the Popes, and which they push'd as vigorously as that of *Celibacy*, This was to give to their Ordinances or *Decretals* the same Authority as to the *Canons* of the *Councils*. In 1150 one *Gratian* publish'd a Collection of *Decretals*, containing all the Ordinances made by the Popes to that Time, that it might serve for a Rule in the Administration of *Ecclesiastical* Justice. To this *Collection* were added in Time several *Decrees* made afterwards, in order to compose a complete Body of the *Canon-Law*. *Raymond de Pegnosford*, Penitentiary to *Gregory IX*, was order'd to make this Collection which was intitled, *The second Part of the Canon-Law*, and publish'd in 1230. He annex'd to it some *Constitutions* of the *Councils*, and some *Resolutions* of the *Doctors*, since the Year 1250, where *the Second Part* began. This last *Collection* was not only a *Supplement* to the old *Canon-Law*, but even alter'd it in several Articles. For Instance, it is determin'd that Bastards shou'd not be capable of *Ecclesiastical* Preferments without a Dispensation from the Pope. By this Addition, *without a Dispensation from the Pope*, the Court of *Rome* assum'd indirectly the Power of favouring Bastards, when She shou'd think fit, contrary to the ancient *Constitutions* of the *Councils*. The Popes cou'd never have a better Opportunity to publish their *Decretals*, seeing their Power was now at the utmost Height. There was neither Subject nor Prince that dar'd to oppose their Pleasure, and therefore without much Trouble they enact-ed as a Law whatever they were pleas'd to decree, even though directly contrary to the Laws which till then had been in force. For Example, as to the Case of Bastards, the Laws of *England* reckon'd, as illegitimate, Children born before Marriage, notwithstanding their Fathers and Mothers were afterwards married: But the *Canon-Law* decrees the contrary; on which occasion there

Popes Decretals.

were great Contests in the Parliament assembled at *Merton* in 1236 *.

Religious
Orders.

Domini-
cans.

The *Roman Pontiffs* were no sooner become almost absolute Monarchs in the *Church*, but vast Numbers of *Religious Orders* sprang up, which were design'd to be as a *Standing Army* to support the Grandure and Power of the Popes. The *Council of Lateran*, had endeavour'd to prevent this Abuse, by expressly forbidding the Institution of a new Order of Monks. But this did not hinder *Dominic de Guzman* a *Spaniard*, who had preach'd a long while against the *Albigenses*, from forming the Project of a new Order under the Name of *the Predicant Fryars*, of which he petition'd for Pope *Innocent's* Confirmation. The Pope, on account of the Prohibition of the *Lateran Council*, made some Scruple at first of consenting to this Establishment: But if we may believe the Historians of this Order, he was advertiz'd by a heavenly Vision that he cou'd do nothing that wou'd prove more serviceable to the *Church*. However it was *Honorius* his Successor that confirm'd this new Order by the Name of *Predicant Fryars*, because the Design of their Institution was the Preaching against *Hereticks*. They were likewise call'd *Dominicans* from their Founder, and in *France* *Jacobins*, from their first Settlement in St. *Jame's* Street in *Paris*. The Court of the *Inquisition* was put into the Hands of the *Dominicans*, which made them famous for their Cruelties upon *Hereticks*, of whom that Court is Judge. They settled in *England* in 1317, a little after their Institution.

Francis-
cans.

The Order of *Franciscans* founded by *Francis d' Assisi* quickly follow'd that of the *Dominicans*. *Innocent III* had

* In the *Statute of Merton*, Chapter IX, it is declar'd that whoever is born before Marriage is a Bastard. Upon this the Bishops replied that it was contrary to the *Canons* of the *Church*, and were very urgent with the Barons to consent that such as were born before, shou'd be Legitimate as well as those born after, Marriage; the *Church* having decreed it so. But the Barons with one Voice answer'd, That they wou'd not consent, *that the Laws of the Realm shou'd be chang'd*.

had approv'd of it in 1215, but he had not authentickly confirm'd it. It was *Honorius III*, that establish'd it by a *Bull* in 1223, and the next Year this *Order* settled in *England*. The *Religious* who embraced this *Rule* took, out of Modesty, the Name of *Minors* or *Minorites*, and though in time they were divided into several Societies, they all acknowledg'd *Francis d' Assisi* for their Head and Founder. By their *Rule* they were not to preach or take *Confessions* in any *Diocese* without exprefs Leave from the Bishop. But this Article was not long observ'd by them. They represented to the Pope, that *Christians* were somewhat asham'd to *confess themselves* to their own *Pastors*. That Many scrupled to do it, by Reason the Parish-Priests themselves were guilty of the very Sins that were confess'd to them. In fine, that they had not Discretion enough to be *secret*. Upon this Foundation, they petition'd, for this Part of their *Rule*, a Dispensation, which was readily granted them.

These two *Orders* of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* had *Progress of these two Orders.* acquir'd so great a Character for Holiness, among the People, that there were few but what had one of these Fryars for Guide and Director. Consequently, the *Alms* they receiv'd were very considerable. They had moreover another Advantage, in that, for a long space, almost all the Popes were chosen out of one or other of these *Orders*. So that, by their Credit at the Court of *Rome*, they obtain'd very often a Grant of what belong'd to other *Orders*, under colour that it was necessary for their Subsistence. On the other hand, they heap'd up immense Riches, as well by the voluntary Gifts of the *Living*, as by the *Legacies* and *Grants* which they extorted from the *Dying*, by making them believe that nothing cou'd contribute more to their eternal Salvation. In the mean time, *Rupture between them.* as those two *Orders* labour'd with equal Ardour, to attract to themselves the Benefactions of the *Devout*, and as by that means they were Rivals to one another; a Jealousy arose between them, which quickly broke out into a most scandalous Quarrel, which was not made up without great Difficulty.

Cross-
bearers
sent out of
England.

In a *Council* held at *Rocheſter* in 1244, a new *Order* of Monks, call'd *Cross-Bearers*, appear'd and demanded leave to ſettle in *England*. Theſe *Religions* produced a *Bull* from the Pope, importing that they were to be reproach'd by no Body, and giving them Authority to *excommunicate* all that ſhou'd be ſo bold as to break this Privilege. The *Synod* not thinking proper to grant their Petition, they were ſent off, on Pretence that the licensing them was a direct Breach upon the *Canons* of the late *Council of Lateran*.

I ſhall cloſe this Abstract of the State of the *Engliſh Church* with ſome Remarks on the moſt celebrated *Eccleſiaſticks* of thoſe days.

John de
Salisbury.

Johannes Sarisburiensis Native, and not Biſhop, of *Salisbury*, as ſome have affirm'd, was one of the Ornaments of the Church of *England*, for his Learning, Politeness, and regular Life. He was very intimate with *Adrian IV*, who us'd to complain to him of the Weight of the Papal Crown. However the *Bull*, which this Pope gratified *Henry II* with, on account of the Conquest of *Ireland*, ſeems to ſhow that he was not one of the moſt ſcrupulous. *John de Salisbury*, who follow'd the Fortune of *Thomas Becket*, and accompanied him into *France*, procur'd by his Means, the Biſhoprick of *Chartres*. He wrote the *Polycraticon* or *de Nugis Curialium*; a Collection of Letters, and ſeveral other Tracts of little Moment. He died in 1181 or 1182.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of *Thomas Becket* or of *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having elſewhere ſaid enough of them.

Baldwin
of Canter-
bury.

Baldwin Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who attended *Richard* to the *Holy-Land*, where he died, paſs'd for a Good Divine. Some of his Works which are ſtill extant, ſhew that his Reputation was not ill-grounded. His great Conteſts with the Monks of *St. Auguſtin*, who were become very insolent, put him upon founding a Society of Regular Canons *, juſt by *Canterbury* *, with deſign

* *Hoveden* ſays, *Secular Canons*. p. 355.

* At *Hackington* about half a Mile from *Canterbury*. He had pro-

design to transfer to them the Privileges of the *Monastery* of *St. Augustin*. But the Monks, perceiving his Intent in time, made such Interest at the Court of *Rome*, that the Archbishop was constrain'd to desist from his Project.

Hugh Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Native of *Grenoble*, was Hugh of Lincoln. one of the most illustrious Prelates of the *Church of England*, in the Reigns of *Richard I.* and *King John*. His Virtue gain'd him great Reverence from the People of his *Diocese*, who were terribly afraid of being *excommunicated* by him, because they thought they observ'd that those who lay under that *Censure* seldom fail'd of being visited in this World with some Calamity. 'Tis related, as an Instance of the Zeal and Resolution of this Prelate, that by his own Authority, he order'd to be remov'd out of the Church of *Godstow* in *Oxfordshire* the Tomb of *Rosamond* Mistress to *Henry II.* which stood in the Middle of the *Quire* hung with black Velvet and Wax Tapers round about it. Though he was told that the Tomb was placed there by the King's Order, he thought he ought not to suffer it, saying, it was a shameful thing that the Tomb of such a Woman shou'd stand in so honorable a Place. This Bishop dying with the Reputation of a Saint, was *canoniz'd* by *Honorius III* in 1221.

Whilst *King John's* Contest with the Pope was at its greatest Height, one *Alexander Cementarius* a Clergyman, Alexander Cementarius. who had been *Professor* of *Divinity* at the University of *Paris*, publicly preach'd that the Pope had not Power to deprive Kings of their Crowns. This Freedom drew on his Head the Indignation of the Court of *Rome*, whereby he was reduced at length to the Necessity of begging his Bread from Door to Door. *Matthew Paris* inveighs mightily against the Errours of this Doctor, though no Body has appear'd more convinced than this Historian, of

ceeded so far as to build a magnificent Church, but was forced to demolish it. This Foundation was to be in Honour of *Becket*, and the secret Project was to draw the Election of the Archbishop from *St. Augustin's* to this new *Convent*.

of the ill-use the Pope made of his Power, as he has plainly let the World see in his History.

Walter of
York.

Walter de Gray Archbishop of *York* was more famous as a *Statesman* than as a *Bishop*. His Successors were enrich'd by his Liberality in purchasing the Manor of *Thorp* and annexing it to his *See*. He built likewise at *London* a stately Palace, which went by the Name of *York-Place*, but was afterward call'd *White-Hall* *. Unfortunately, this House which had been for many Years a Palace Royal was some time since burnt down to the Ground.

Edmund
de Dur-
ham *.

Edmund, who from a *Chanon* of *Salisbury* was promoted to the Archiepiscopal *See* of *Canterbury*, after the Pope had annull'd three Elections to make room for him, was very commendable for his Moderation and Regular Life. He cou'd have wish'd, that the Pope's Power, which was then at the highest Pitch, might have been reduced within due Bounds. But perceiving there was no likelihood of succeeding in an Attempt of that Nature, considering the Circumstances *England* was in, he chose rather to give way to the Torrent, than to stand against so formidable a Power, back'd likewise by the King's Authority. However, to avoid the Blame of a base Compliance, he retir'd into *France*, to the Monastery of *Pontigny*, where his *Austerities* shorten'd his Days. He was canoniz'd by Pope *Innocent IV*, in 1246.

Richard
Poor de
Durham.

Richard Poor, first Bishop of *Salisbury* and then of *Durham*, is remarkable upon two Accounts. Whilst he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, he perswaded the Inhabitants of *Sarum*, to remove to the Place where *Salisbury* now stands. Here he laid the Foundation of a stately Church, which was not finish'd till thirty Years after, and is standing at this

* This House is said to be first built by *Hugo de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, and given to the *Dominicans*, of whom the Archbishop bought it. When Cardinal *Woolsey* fell, *Henry VIII*, seiz'd it and made a Palace Royal of it.

* This is a Mistake for he was not born at *Durham* but *Abington* in *Berkshire*. His father's Name was *Reynald le Rich* and his Mother *Mabil* was reputed a *Saint*. He founded a School in *Oxford* and bred up under him many great Scholars. *Hist. & Antiq. of Oxf. l. 2. p. 9.*

this day. The second Thing which render'd this Prelate famous was, his *Synodal Constitutions* for the use of the Church of *Salisbury*. They are in all 87, of which I shall mention only the XVth, which forbids the Priests to take Money for saying *Mass*, and the XXXIVth whereby it plainly appears that the *Laity* communicated at that time in *Both Kinds*.

Alexander Hales, born in *Glocestershire*, a great Canonist, Alexander and to whom was given the Title of *Irrefragable Doctor*, Hales. was Professor of Divinity at the University of *Paris*. Among his other Works, he compos'd short *Notes* upon the whole *Bible*, and a *Commentary* [in four Books] upon the *Master of the Sentences*, wherein, as the learned *Du Pin* observes, he discovers more skill in *Logick* and *Metaphysicks* than in the *Antiquities* of the Church.

Sewald, Archbishop of *York*, was an able Divine, and Sewald of of an unblameable Life. He took Pattern by *Edmund* York. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been his Master. The frequent Exactions of the Court of *Rome* gave him so great Disgust, that he cou'd not forbear writing a sharp Remonstrance to Pope *Alexander IV* upon that Subject. Amongst other things he told him, that when *Jesus Christ* commission'd *St. Peter* to feed his Sheep, he did not give him Authority to slay them. This Freedom, added to his Refusing to admit certain *Italians*, who came with *Provisions* from the Court of *Rome*, drew on him the Displeasure of *Alexander*, who at length excommunicated him. The Archbishop, when upon his Death-bed, complain'd bitterly of the Pope's Injustice, and made Appeal to *Heaven*. *Matthew Paris* was not of Opinion doubtless, that this *Excommunication* depriv'd *Sewald* of eternal Salvation, since he affirms that this Prelate wrought a Miracle in his last Sickness.

Robert Kilwarly, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was a Kilwarly very learned Prelate, for the Age he liv'd in. His of Can- Merit having caus'd him to be promoted to the Dignity of Merit terbury. a Cardinal, he resign'd his Archbishoprick to go and live at *Rome*.

Grotest of
Lincoln.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the most noted *Ecclesiasticks* of those days, with an Account of one of the most Eminent, I mean, *Grotest* Bishop of *Lincoln*. As there are several curious Particulars relating to him, I shall speak more fully of him than I have done of the rest.

Grotest was a Prelate of Resolution and Courage, who was neither to be gain'd by Court-Favours, nor frightened by the Pope's Menaces, Rocks which few *Ecclesiasticks* in those days knew how to avoid. He, wholly bent upon following what appear'd to him reasonable and just, without being sway'd by any other Consideration, had little Regard to the Circumstances of the Times, or the Quality of the Persons, and oppos'd equally, the King's Will, and the Pope's Pleasure, according ~~or~~ it happen'd. By this steady Conduct, he had acquir'd a great Reputation among the People, who had long been accusom'd to see the Bishops truckle to the King or the Pope. It fell out one day that he *excommunicated* the *Sheriff*, for refusing to imprison an *excommunicated* Person * who contemn'd the Church's *Censures*. *Henry III*, very Angry with the Bishop for not applying to him, in order to oblige the *Sheriff* to put the *Canons* in Execution, address'd the Pope to secure his Authority, a Remedy worse than the Disease.

M. Paris.

This Affair obliged *Grotest* to take a Journey to *Rome*, where he was confirm'd in the ill Opinion he had of the Court of *Rome*. He cou'd not see without Indignation and without showing his Concern at it, the best Preferments in the Kingdom, bestow'd on *Italians*, who neither resided on their Benefices nor understood a Word of *English*. His Grief to behold the Church's Revenues devour'd by these Harpies, having caus'd him to refuse to institute an *Italian* to one of the best *Living*s of his *Diocese*, he was presently after *suspended*. But, not at all

* One *Ralph* a Clergyman whom he had depriv'd for *Incontinence*, and afterwards *excommunicated* for refusing to submit to the Sentence. The *Sheriff* was *Ralph's* Friend.

all concern'd at this *Censure*, he continued his *Episcopal* Functions, his Flock being no more scrupulous in the Matter than himself. He even refus'd, at that very time, to admit some new *Provisions* sent from the Pope in favour of other *Italians*. He declar'd that to entrust *the Cure of Souls* to such Pastors, was to act in the Name of the Devil rather than by the Authority of God.

The Court of *Rome* was unwilling then to make any Noise, for fear of bringing upon her the whole Body of the *Clergy* of *England*, from whom she reap'd a plentiful Harvest. This was the Reason that the Pope thought it his wisest Course to shut his Eyes at the Disobedience of this Prelate, who was of a known Resolution and in great Repute with the People. He chose rather to try to win him by fair Means; and accordingly, to give him a Testimony of his Esteem, he sent him a Commission to reform certain Abuses crept into the *Monasteries*. This did not hinder but that soon after *Grotest* touch'd the Pope in a very sensible Manner, by computing the Sums which the *beneficed Italians* drew every Year out of *England*, as hath been related in another Place. *Innocent IV* sat then in the *Papal* Chair. He had been so us'd to treat the *English* with Haughtiness, that he cou'd not hear of the Bishop's Proceedings without being extremely provok'd. But as he durst not attack him upon this Score, because what he had done, had met with universal Approbation, he fell upon him for having refus'd to admit his *Provisions*, and sent him a menacing *Bull*, which wou'd have frighten'd any other but him. *Grotest* return'd to him, who had been order'd to send him the *Bull* ~~which~~ ^{with} certain Instructions *, a very bold Answer, of which the Reader perhaps will not be displeas'd to see the following Extract.

* *Matthew Paris*, mentions not the Contents of the *Bull* but only takes Notice in general that the Bishop look'd upon the Instructions, the Pope had sent him, to be unreasonable, as they usually were, says our Author.

I desire your Prudence to take Notice, that I am always ready to obey the Apostolical Instructions, and declare my self an Enemy to whatever is repugnant to them. For to both these Things I am bound by the Command of God. To apply this: the *Apostolical* Instructions * must of Necessity be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostles and of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, who is principally represented by the Pope. Seeing *Jesus Christ* has declar'd, *be that is not with me is against me*, the Sanctity of the *Apostolick See* is such that it can never appear in Opposition to our Lord. From hence it plainly follows that the Letter in Question *¹ is directly opposite to an Apostolical Character. First, because of the Clause *Non-obstante*, so frequently made use of now-a-days, which has nothing of natural Equity in it. On the contrary, it is certain it introduces a Deluge of Mischief, as it gives Occasion to a great deal of Inconstancy and Breach of Faith. It shakes the Foundations of mutual Trust, and makes Language and Writings of no Force or Significancy. In fine, it can't be, but that the Purity of Religion and the Peace of Society must suffer extremely by such a Stretch of Apostolical Authority. In the second Place, next to the Sins of *Lucifer* and *Antichrist*, there cannot be a greater Defection, or which carries with it a more direct Opposition to the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, than to destroy *Souls* by depriving them of the pastoral Office. And yet it is evident that those are guilty of this Sin who undertake the *sacerdotal* Function and receive the Profits without discharging the Duty. For in the Scripture Account, the *Pastor* who neglects his *Flock*, is a downright Murderer of the *Sheep*. Can one help therefore considering as a most flagrant Crime, a Conduct which tends so strongly to the Destruction of Truth and Virtue, and the Happiness of Mankind? If in moral Productions the Cause of Good is better than the Effect, it is but just the contrary in the Propagation of Vice, the Source and Original

* By which are meant *the Pope's Orders*.

*¹ Meaning the Pope's Bull.

ginal whereof are worse than the Disorder that flows from them. It is manifest therefore, that tho'è who bring such unqualified Persons into the Church, and by that Means debauch the *Hierarchy*, are most to blame, and that their Crime rises in Proportion to the Height of their Station. From hence I conclude, that the *Apostolical See* which has receiv'd so full an Authority from our Saviour, *for Edification and not for Destruction*, ought not to countenance, much less to command so horrid and pernicious a Prevarication. To attempt any Thing of this Kind wou'd be a notorious Abuse, if not a Forfeiture of her Authority. It wou'd be in Effect to stray at a vast Distance from *the Throne of Glory*, and to represent in a very ill Manner the Person of our Saviour. Such Persons may be said rather to be placed *in the Chair of Pestilence*, and to sit upon the *Bench* with the *Devil* and *Antichrist*. Neither can any *Christian* who desires to continue in the Communion of the Church, and pays a due Regard to the *Apostolick See*, obey any Commands of this Kind, though impos'd by an Angel from Heaven. On the contrary, he ought to rebel, if I may call it so, against the Order, and oppose it to the utmost of his Power. For this Reason, since the Instructions above-mention'd are so plain a Contradiction to *the Catholick Faith* and the Sanctity of *the Apostolick See*, my Duty obliges me to refuse them, and not to comply out of Deference to the Person by whom they are sent. Neither can your *Prudence* justly put any Hardship upon me, because properly speaking, my Refusal ought not to be look'd upon as a Contumacy but rather as a filial Respect. For, to sum up all in a word, the *Apostolick See* has its Commission only for *Edification*, and not for *Destruction*, and the Plenitude of its Power ought not to extend beyond what relates to *Edification*. But these *Provisions*, as they call them, have a manifest Tendency to *Destruction*. Therefore *the Holy See* can by no means allow such a Liberty; For to conclude; these Practices are *reveal'd by Flesh and Blood, which cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, and not by the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

This Letter put *Innocent* into a terrible Rage. *What!* says he, *has this old Dotard the Confidence to censure my Conduct? By St. Peter and St. Paul I will make him such an Example that the World shall stand amaz'd at his Punishment* *. His Passion however was somewhat moderated by the *Cardinals*, who represented to him the ill Consequences which might proceed from too much Rigour against the Bishop: That the Noise which wou'd be made on this Occasion wou'd be prejudicial to *the Holy See*, since it wou'd infallibly cause the *English* to examine into the Matter. That it was to be fear'd that in the Temper they were in, with regard to *the Holy See* and to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, they wou'd think it very strange that a Prelate of so establish'd a Reputation shou'd be treated with such Severity. That on the contrary, there was a Necessity of carefully avoiding the giving Occasion to enter into the Examination of what he alledged to justify his Non-compliance, and that therefore, upon all these Accounts it was most adviseable to take no Notice at all of this insolent Letter. Though these Remonstrances moderated the Effects of the Pope's Fury, they were not however sufficient to appease him entirely. The *Annals of Lanercost* inform us, that the Bishop was *excommunicated* a little before his Death, and that without concerning himself about *the Censure*, he appeal'd to *the Court of Heaven*. This is further confirm'd by the Report of several Historians who say, that *Innocent* mov'd in the *Conclave* that the Body of *Grotest* might be taken up and buried in the High-way, but that the *Cardinals* consented not to it. Be this as it will, if he was *excommunicated*, he minded it not, but kept on discharging his Office; neither had the *Clergy* of his *Diocese* any more Scruples about it than their Bishop, but continued to obey him till the Day of his Death. The Bishops his Brethren, and

Angl. Sacr.
p. 341.

* " For, continues the Pope, is not his Sovereign the King of England, our Vassal, nay is he not our Slave? It is but therefore signifying our Pleasure to the English Court, and this antiquated Prelate will be immediately imprison'd, and put to what further Disgrace we shall think fit. *M. Paris.*

and the Monks themselves, though great Sticklers for the Pope, did not think that this *Excommunication* wou'd have any Effect. Some of them, who were present at his Death, affirm'd that they were entertain'd with such *M. Paris.* divine Musick in the Air over the House where he died, as they never heard before. We find likewise that in the *Pontificate* of *Clement V*, the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *St. Paul* petition'd very earnestly for the *Canonization* of *Groset* on Account of several Miracles wrought by him after his Death. But as he was not of that Sort of *Saints*, *Angl. Sacr.* which the Court of *Rome* fill'd the *Calendar* with, their *p. II. p. 343.* Petition was rejected. An Instance of a Bishop dying under the Sentence of *Excommunication*, and yet passing for a *Saint* in the Country where he liv'd, is a Difficulty which must be left to be clear'd up by Those whom it may concern. I shall content my self with relating on this Subject one Circumstance more, which, if not true, is at least a Proof of the great Opinion of this Prelate's *M. Paris.* Sanctity. An Historian reports, that *Groset*, a little after his Death, appear'd in his Robes to *Innocent IV*, and striking him a Blow on the Side with his *Crosier*, gave him a severe Reprimand. He adds, that the Pope was so frighten'd at this *Apparition*, that he continued two Days without eating. I have nothing to say for the Truth of this Relation. I only draw this Inference from it, that although the Bishop died *excommunicated* by the Pope, and in Sentiments very opposite to those of the Court of *Rome*, the Historian for all that testifies by this Circumstance, that he was fully persuaded of his being glorified in Heaven.

Groset * wrote several *Tra*cts. Amongst other Performances he translated from the *Greek* into *Latin*, *The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, a Copy of which one *John de Basingstoke*, who had met with it at *Athens*, put into his Hands. As to the Time when the *Original* was written it is uncertain. Doctor *Cave* assigns it to the latter End of the second Century. *Dodwel* places it in the *First*,

* He was born at *Stedbrooke* in *Suffolk*.

Græbrius.

First, and some others believe it was compos'd by some *Few* before our Saviour's Birth *.

* As to the Historians who liv'd in these four Reigns, the most noted are,

Simæon of Durham, a Monk and *Precentor* of the Church of *Durham* in the Year 1164, one of the most learned Men of his Age. He wrote, besides other Things, two Books *de Gestis Regum*, which are not his Master-Pieces, being only a few indigested Collections chiefly out of *Florence of Worcester*, whose very Words he frequently copies. He begins where *Bede* left off, and goes as far as the 29th of *Henry I.*, 1129. He is one of the *X Scriptores*, publish'd 1652 at *London*.

Henry Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* flourish'd about the same Time, whose eight Books concluding with the Reign of King *Stephen*, were publish'd by Sir *Henry Savil*. He is a Follower of *Bede*, and has borrow'd a great many Lies from *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*. He writes confusedly, and reduces the Transactions of the *Heptarchy* to the several Reigns of the *West-Saxon Kings*, but has not adjusted them so well as he ought to have done.

William of Newburg, so call'd from a Monastery in *Yorkshire*, whereof he was Member. His History ends at the Year 1197. He was a violent Persecutor of *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*. His *Latin Style* is preferr'd to that of *M. Paris*, and equall'd with Those of *Eadmer* and *Malmesbury* by Dr. *Watts*.

Gervase a Monk of *Canterbury* wrote a Chronicle of the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry II.*, and *Richard I.* with Judgement enough, says Bishop *Nicholson*. It was publish'd among the *X Scriptores*. Lond. 1652.

Roger de Hoveden, Chaplain some time to *Henry II.* He is charged with borrowing from *Simæon of Durham* without acknowledging it, but, as Bishop *Nicholson* observes, if he did, he has improv'd his Story, adding years to many things confusedly related in that Author. There are in his Book many *Letters*, *Speeches*, &c. relating to Ecclesiastical Matters. He was Cotemporary with *Gervase*, 1201. His History was publish'd by Sir *H. Savil*, *Francos*. 1601.

Ralph de Diceto Dean of *London*. He wrote about the Year 1210. His *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* contains an Abstract of our History down to the Conquest; and his *Imagines Historiarum* gives the Protraictures of some of our Kings more at length, ending with the first years of King *John's* Reign. Mr. *Selden* praises this Author and his Works, though Bishop *Nicholson* says he usually copied *Verbatim* out of other Writers. He is among the *X Scriptores*.

Walter a Monk of *Coventry*, a clear and faithful Writer. He liv'd in *Coventry* in 1217. He has some few Things of Note not to be met with in *Jeoffrey of Monmouth*, *Hoveden* and *Huntingdon*, in his three Books of *Chronicles*, which are chiefly Collections from the said Authors.

Matthew

Matthew Paris a Monk of *St. Albans*, one of the most renown'd Historians of this Kingdom. His *Historia Major* contains the *Annals* at large of eight of our Kings from *William the Conqueror* to *Henry III.* 'Twas first published at *London* 1571, and reprinted with Additions of various Readings, &c. by *Dr. Wats*, *London* 1640. From the year 1259, wherein *M. Paris* died, to *Henry III's* Death, it was continued by *William Rishanger* a Monk of the same *Fraternity*. The whole Work manifests a great deal of Candour and Exactness in the Author, who tells us so particularly of the brave Repulses given by many of our Princes to the Usurpations of the *Roman See*, that 'tis a Wonder how such an *Heretical* History came to survive thus long. A fair Copy of this History, suppos'd to be written by the Author's own Hand is in the *King's Library* at *St. James's*. He wrote an Abstract of his History, which *Lambard* files his *Historia Minor* having in it several Particulars of Note omitted in his *Historia Major*. 'Tis pretended that *Paris* had but a small Hand in the whole History, having begun only at the year 1235, the Rest being done to his Hand by one *Roger de Windlesore*, or *Windsor*, (or *de Wendover Prior de Bealvair* as it is in the MS. Copy in *Cotton's Library*) one of his Predecessors in the same *Monastery*.

The End of VOL. III.

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